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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
QUARTERLY  
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW,  
AND  
*Ecclesiastical Record.*

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VOLUME XIII.

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LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL;  
AND  
SOLD BY BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH; AND  
MILLIKEN, DUBLIN.

1833.

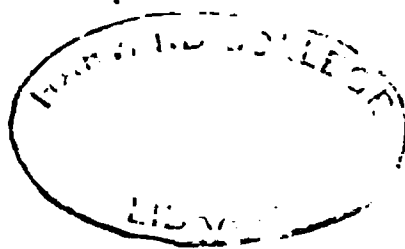
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BP 302.16.4

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LONDON:  
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,  
TEMPLE BAR.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
Quarterly Theological Review,  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JANUARY, 1833.

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ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Life and Administration of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.* Vols. II. and III. By Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London. 4to. 1831.

MONTH after month have these tremendous quartos been lying on our table—*terribiles visu formæ*; and we must honestly confess that the very sight of them has hitherto fairly beaten us. Our hearts have positively sunk within us at the thoughts of an encounter with the Titanian apparitions. However, as we have survived a grapple with their elder brother,\* we are bound in honour to go through with the adventure; and we accordingly take advantage of the earliest impulse of desperate daring, of which we have felt conscious since we first looked upon them; and we rush headlong into the undertaking in the hardest spirit of faith. We *believe* the affair may be accomplished, *because* it seems impossible!

It is not forgotten by us, that we inflicted on the public a somewhat unmerciful extent of disquisition, in our remarks on the first of Dr. Nares's three gigantic tomes; and we do grievously apprehend that gods, and men, and columns, may be thrown into resentful commotion by a repetition of the experiment. We therefore *commence* our task with a virtuous resolution to resist, as much as possible, the excursive propensity. The events and the periods, indeed, which Dr. Nares has undertaken to illustrate, are full of temptation. There must be a strange apathy in the mind which does not feel itself seduced to take its pastime in that vast ocean of historical inquiry.

“Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,  
Singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.”

\* See British Critic, vol. vi. Oct. 1829. Art. I.

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B

*Vol 13.*

Mindful, therefore, that the impatience of our readers may frequently recal these lines to their recollection, we shall, assuredly, do our best to confine our observations within "all reasonable compass."

We see nothing in the two volumes now before us which induces to alter the estimate, which we have been led to form of the powers of the historian, from our perusal of the first. As a repertory of materials his work is unquestionably valuable. His collections must have been the result of immense labour: and nothing but a copious and accurate index is wanting to render his book extremely useful for the purposes of reference. It must, further, be allowed that there runs through the whole a very commendable spirit of impartiality. The writer appears to be constantly on the watch against the undue influences of that admiration and gratitude which the services of the illustrious statesman demand of every English heart. He makes no effort to withdraw the public attention from those parts of his conduct and policy which have been visited, sometimes with sorrowful reprehension, sometimes with loud and indignant reprobation. He produces, indeed, the usual topics of palliation: but he does this with a temper of perfect fairness. He only calls upon the reader to throw himself back, as it were, into the very midst of the snares and pitfalls which, in that age, beset the footsteps of integrity; and then to trace, in a spirit of equity and moderation, the path which was actually taken by the greatest minister of the time. When, however, we have said this, we have said nearly all that can be justly stated in favour of the performance. Of the loftier attributes of historical composition it is utterly bereft. It is distinguished by none of that power which seizes and enchains the attention, and hurries it on, with the impetuous current of great events. There is no exhibition, either of picturesque and romantic vividness, or of deep, original, philosophic sagacity. After embarking upon the vasty deep of this narrative, we neither feel as if we were bounding over the billows of the Atlantic, or sailing smoothly over the surface of the Pacific. We fancy ourselves, at times, upon the expanse of a sort of *mare mortuum*: and, occasionally,—even in the very region of tempest and tornado,—we, some how or other, find ourselves unaccountably becalmed. In short, if we may judge by our own experience, the effect of the work is, heaviness of eyes, and weariness of flesh! It has abundance of alluring and palatable ingredients; but there is, after all, some overpowering infusion in the compound, which it is not in mortal brain to resist. The author doth, in sober truth, too much resemble the sacred personage of old, who presided over the



temple of the Hesperides, and who, in preparing his daily meal for the guardian monster, is described, as

“*Spargens humida mella, soporiferumque papaver.*”

Verily, the hydra heads of our dragon-like fraternity have, at times, bowed down under the influences of his preparation.

Among the elements of lassitude which are scattered through the work, we have to reckon the unhappy practice of incessant repetitions. For instance, the author is very justly anxious to show that the dangers with which the realm was perpetually threatened during Burghley's administration were not imaginary, but substantial,—that perils averted by vigilance and foresight are not to be treated by historians as if they never had any existence but in the brains of fantastic or knavish politicians,—that good faith was well-nigh banished from courts or camps in that profligate age,—and that to expect the cultivation of it from any *one* government, in such a state of things, would be to exact of innocence that it should surrender itself, bound hand and foot, to the gripe of merciless and guilty ambition. All these are matters which, doubtless, fall within the legitimate province of philosophic history. But no words can adequately describe the tiresome iteration by which this writer has contrived to render all such topics nearly intolerable. He is perpetually stopping us, in our progress through the labyrinth of European politics, to remind us that these reflections furnish the only clue which can enable us to emerge from its intricacies. We literally shivered every time that we arrived at any passage of more than usual perplexity, lest he should seize us by the button, and insist upon our listening, for the hundredth time, to his eternal lecture on that rascally spirit of expediency which then presided over the councils of sovereigns and statesmen: and very rarely, indeed, did our apprehensions turn out to be visionary! We do not mean to affirm that his speculations were unfounded. On the contrary, we do most potently believe that the crooked science of politics was never, since the world began, more odiously serpentine than in the days of Queen Elizabeth: and it would be no better than mere childishness to estimate the designs and proceedings of public men, without perpetual reference to this humiliating fact. But then, the reference should be made, not in the way of formal and incessant inculcation. When the degenerate morality of those times has once been vigorously represented to the reader, he should be left to make the application of it for himself; or, at all events, should be recalled to it by skilful and indirect insinuation. He is sure to be wearied by numberless recitations of the same lesson.

In presenting to our readers an account of that portion of the biography of Cecil which occupied the first volume of this publication, our task was comparatively light. There was no great difficulty in extricating the thread of his earlier life from the voluminous texture of the main narrative. Cecil was, indeed, a public man, long before the accession of Elizabeth; and a very important public man. But after she ascended the throne of these realms, his history becomes identified with the history of England—we might rather say, with the history of Europe. He was then so completely a public man, that he can scarcely be said to have any private or domestic history: none, most certainly, the details of which might not easily be comprised within the space of a half-crown pamphlet. Not that his life, as an individual, is destitute of interest or instruction. It is, on one account, unspeakably valuable. It exhibits to us a lesson which we heartily wish the present generation would condescend to read. It shows us that a magnanimous disregard of sacred things is by no means an indispensable qualification in a great statesman; that a man may devote the energies of his understanding to the service of his country, without forgetting his God and his Redeemer; and that a sagacious politician may watch the craft, and the legerdemain, and the nimble evolutions, of this world's wisdom, without losing sight of the Supreme and Unchangeable Intelligence which overrules all these bewildering movements, and compels them to conspire for the accomplishment of his will. We speak this advisedly, though, perchance, the remark may cause the enemies of his name to curl their lip for very scorn. For, even though it should be conceded, that the terrible exigencies of the time may occasionally have forced him aside from the steep and narrow path of abstract right, yet it appears to us impossible to rise from the perusal of Dr. Nares's narrative without a firm persuasion that Cecil, from first to last, *laboured* to have a *conscience void of offence towards God and towards man*. But there is something further to be learned from the biography of Cecil, which may probably recommend itself more forcibly to the attention of those who would be thought *wise in their generation*: his history shows that a prudent and vigilant regard to his own individual concerns is by no means inconsistent with a patriotic consecration of a man's faculties to the public interests. The worshippers of Mammon will doubtless exult to hear that, in the midst of all his overwhelming political cares, his household was magnificent and admirably regulated, his affairs prosperous and flourishing, and his family established in an honourable rank among the peerage of England. They are welcome to whatever comfort may be derived from these encouraging considerations.

Prudence, as we have already observed in our notice of his earlier life, undoubtedly bore a most distinguished place on his catalogue of cardinal virtues; and, in him, it was seconded by habits of regularity and application, to which few parallels can be found. But here the satisfaction of the children of this world, in contemplating his example, assuredly must stop. Except in a single instance, it is, we believe, beyond the power of malice to show that his prudence involved the slightest sacrifice of charity or integrity. It cannot be denied that the spoils of the Church contributed something to the foundation of his fortunes. In this respect he was carried away with the multitude to do evil. But even here his delinquency was moderate, when compared with that enormity of pillage which has covered other names with infamy, and has made our Reformation almost *a hissing and a curse* in the mouths of its detractors: and it should, moreover, be remembered that his maturer convictions withheld his hand from sacrilege; for he left a solemn warning to his son to abstain from touching, even in the way of purchase, the possessions which had once been dedicated to the service of God. We wish we could add that his conscience had prompted him to give that most effective proof of repentance — *restitution!* Beyond this, however, it would be impossible to show that his *walls were raised by iniquity, or his chambers by wrong*; or that he *added house to house, or field to field*, in compliance with any motive at variance with the principles which he uniformly professed. He distinctly avers, that he never received or asked any grants from his Royal Mistress: and it is, further, quite notorious that, in his hands, and that of his exemplary lady, the *unrighteous mammon* was liberally employed for the purposes recommended by our Lord himself. In the princely scale of his expenditure, the poor were always most munificently remembered: and so utterly was he a stranger to the spirit of grinding and merciless rapacity, that he never would raise the rent of one among his numerous farms; but continued to be satisfied with 20*l.* a-year for land which, without oppression, would have yielded 100*l.* to any other landlord. So long as the constitution of human society renders great accumulation of property all but inevitable, we scarcely can imagine a greater public blessing than such a steward of the bounties of Providence. With regard to the splendour of his living, it may be considered as incidental to the very distinguished position to which he had been elevated. A style of noble hospitality was expected from those who were blessed with opulence, and distinguished by official rank. The sovereign was, then, in the habit of conferring on such persons the costly honour of protracted visits: and no one received these marks of the royal favour more frequently

than Cecil. It was actually for the Queen's accommodation that he was compelled to enlarge his country seat of Theobalds to something like the dimensions of a royal residence; though he had originally designed it as a comparatively humble retreat from the fatigues and anxieties of public business. All this while, nothing could exceed the simplicity of his own personal habits. The pomp and circumstance, with which he was unavoidably surrounded, were to him, probably, no more an object of attention than the finery of a court dress. His thoughts were occupied with higher and graver matters than the gilded spangles which adhere to the surface of rank and power. These were the outward and visible signs of more substantial things: and he submitted to wear them with composure and dignity.

So much for the life of Cecil, as an individual gentleman. But where is the power of condensation which can bring into the compass of an Essay the vast and various materials of his public history? It may truly be said of this man, that he presided over the fortunes of England in the very agony and crisis of her destiny. Elizabeth, it is true, was herself a prodigy of masculine vigour and intelligence. But, still, it is appalling to think of what might have been the fate of our country if this marvellous woman had been unable or unwilling to collect around her such a mighty force of wisdom, ability, and application, as we generally find assembled in her council chamber; and it is, moreover, a very doubtful matter whether the frequently conflicting elements of her *cabinet* could have been brought into any harmonious and steady course of action, without the incessant influence of an intellect and a temperament like that of her great minister. There was a serenity about him, which the stormy agitations of that period could never darken or disturb. His mind seems, at all times, to have been above the region of tempests. It looked down, with calm and patient sagacity, upon the boiling confusion beneath. It even seems to have been gifted, in a certain measure, with the faculty of riding in the whirlwind, and directing its fury. And this astonishing power we are old fashioned enough to connect, at least in part, with that nearly obsolete peculiarity in his character to which we have already adverted. His thoughts were constantly elevated to that Power which doth, indeed, control the raging of the winds and waves, and the madness of the people. In the very midst of the wildest commotion—yea, even when Vengeance had concentrated all her stores of ruin in the shape of the Invincible Armament,—this Christian philosopher had but one brief and simple commentary to offer upon the dreadful signs with which the firmament was lowering. Our enemies, he was accustomed to say, shall do nothing more than is permitted to

them. And, with this *faithful saying*, he commended all his own efforts for averting the desolation, to the blessing and the protection of the *only wise Potentate*. If any thing can impart to mere mortal capacities an almost super-human self-possession, it is, surely, their perpetual communion with the Sovereign Perfection. Here, after all, is the grand secret of composure and sedateness in the midst of bewildering perils. And we presume that no statesman has appeared, since the days of Elizabeth, quite great enough to be ashamed of imbibing this, or any other wisdom, from the example of her illustrious counsellor.

We have ventured to say thus much of Cecil's public policy, having all the while before our eyes the knowledge, but not the fear, of that hatred and disdain which the very mention of his name is pretty sure to excite among certain classes of the readers of history. His memory is by no means in the odour of sanctity with the Protestant adversaries of the Church of England. In the nostrils of her Popish enemies its savour is positively abhorred. And by the sentimental admirers of fallen greatness and persecuted loveliness, he is execrated as a cowardly traitor to all the most ennobling principles and feelings of humanity. The prepossessions of religion, and the emotions of romance, have thus conspired to represent him as foremost among the "counsellors of fraud, the princes of falsehood, the artificers of mischief, the cold-blooded monsters of hypocrisy and craft."\* Persons under the influence of these persuasions, will, of course, receive with a scowl of withering contempt all intimations, which tend to exhibit him as one who ever took any solemn counsel with his own heart, or even directed a single thought to Him who is *greater than our heart, and knoweth all things*. It would be a vain and endless thing to attempt a controversy with such adversaries: it would be the business of man's life; nay, it might be handed down from generation to generation, like a game of chess. We, therefore, look upon these foes to the memory of Burghley chiefly in the light of monitors, who do us the good office of suggesting to us three very convenient divisions, under which an Historian, or an Essayist, might discuss the merits and demerits of so extraordinary a man. And, in compliance with their valuable hints, we shall offer a few remarks on each of these three departments of his administration of public affairs.

We do verily believe that it is beyond the power of the most inventive imagination, to figure to itself a complication of diffi-

\* ———— ὅληα βουλευτήρια,  
 ψευδῶν ἀντικταῖς, λανθασμέναις καὶ  
 ἑλκυστὰς, καὶ δὲν ὑγίης, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πείρει  
 φρονοῦντας. Eurip. Androm.

culties more appalling than that which marked the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England. In order to make this manifest, we would only suppose an intelligent and sagacious man transported, in spirit, into the very midst of the turmoil and terror of those troublous times,—*falling, as it were, into a trance, but having his eyes open.* And what would be the visions wherewith he would find himself environed? In the first place, he would behold the terrific form seated on the seven hills, recently drunken with the blood of our saints, and enraged to seven-fold madness at finding the prey a second time rent from his jaws. And then he would hear the words of blasphemy which came forth from the lips of that unhallowed power, proclaiming of itself, to the whole earth, in the perverted and desecrated language of prophecy,—*Behold I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to overthrow, and to build, and to plant.* And then, his eye would be attracted by a luminary of surpassing beauty and splendour—even the youthful majesty of Scotland—rising up from the horizon, and hovering, for a while, in disastrous brightness, over the firmament of this empire; and at last, by an accursed mischance, suddenly descending, like the wormwood star of the Apocalypse, into the very heart of our country, and threatening to turn its waters into gall and blood. From this spectacle his gaze would naturally wander “into the bowels of the land,” to see the resources of health and strength with which it was prepared to encounter such fearful visitations and perils. And there, too, alas! he would find, that the fountains of bitterness were unsealed, and issuing forth in all directions to spread feebleness and infection throughout the realm; the national Church labouring to direct the devotion of her people into one peaceful channel, and the restless spirit which had been conjured up at Geneva, perpetually at work to make the current impetuous and turbid, till the whole country was threatened with the ruinous inundation. We might appeal to any sober-minded Christian man—be he Dissenter or Churchman—Romanist or Protestant—the chivalrous admirer of Mary, or the loyal champion of the Virgin Queen—and we might challenge him to say whether the above is an extravagant picture of the dangers and perplexities of that time? It cannot be denied that the history of Elizabeth’s reign was the history of one incessant conspiracy against her throne and person, of which the Papal power was the very life and soul, and of which the residence of her royal kinswoman was one chief “local habitation.” The Pope denounced the Queen of England as a rebel and an apostate; and the apparition of her captive rival was incessantly at hand, in readiness, as it seemed, to execute the



sentence of forfeiture, and to snatch the diadem from her brows. And while the forces of the ancient superstition were labouring for her destruction from without, the very vitals of her kingdom were convulsed by the activity of a principle, almost as formidable as superstition itself to the stability either of the Church or the State. Such was the prospect, at that period, constantly before the eyes of every sagacious observer. Such were the difficulties which, every hour, were gathering round the head of her celebrated minister. From these perils the country most happily emerged. The season of her most mortal danger was, in fact, the great seed-time of her prosperity—of such a prosperity as the world had never seen before. And, who can endure that the wisdom which helmed such mighty business, for forty years together, should be degraded by a comparison with the most unprincipled and vulgar state-craft?

Undoubtedly it would be a spectacle for men and angels, to behold a Christian people, seeking, first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and trusting that all other things should be added unto them; and, in the strength of this holy reliance, abjuring all indirect courses, and defying all the mischiefs which the subtlety of the devil or man could work against them. It is scarcely to be imagined that such a country and such a government would ever be abandoned by Providence. The God of righteousness would be on their side; and the wise men, who should direct the councils of their adversaries, would, eventually, be taken in the pitfalls dug by their own hands. But, alas! every one must see that such a case is visionary and Utopian. Suppose that the sovereign, or the ruling minister of the day, were prepared to seek counsel *only* of the Lord, or of his revealed law, even in the darkest hour of calamity; it might avail them comparatively little, unless the faith and the virtue of all the other members of the government were equally heroic; and this, again, would scarcely be sufficient, unless the same spirit of religious integrity should pervade, not only the whole body of their subordinate agents, but, at least, a decided majority of the people themselves. To expect this, however, would be to anticipate the advent of the Millennium—nay, it would be even still more extravagant than this;—it would be to imagine the establishment of Millennial holiness in some one particular people, while the powers of Evil were permitted to retain their licence of iniquity over the other nations of the earth. As the world is actually constituted, what, according to all human calculation, could be accomplished by the inflexible and solitary virtue of a single statesman, or a single cabinet,—treading, at every step, on the concealed fires of domestic profligacy,—assailed on all sides by foreign perfidy and

violence,—and yet steadfastly purposed to abstain from defiling themselves by the slightest touch of those very arts which were prodigally employed by others for their destruction? In the existing state of society, the principle of self-defence, and self-preservation, may surely be allowed to afford some palliation for a less exalted policy. It may be permitted to plead with us, almost in the language of Cecil himself, “that it is agreeable to the law of God and nature, that every prince and public state should defend itself, not only from the perils *presently* seen, but from dangers to be *probably* seen to come shortly after: and that nature and reason teacheth every person, politic or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth in offence.”\* Some limits unquestionably there are, which this defensive policy must, on no account whatever, be permitted to overpass. The direst exigencies, or the most imminent perils, will never justify the imitation of our enemies, when their practices are such as to outrage the most solemn sanctions both human and divine, and tend to bring back the dominion of barbarism over the face of civilized society. It were better, for instance, to look destruction in the face, than to retaliate upon our persecutors with dagger or with poison. The voice of necessity, or of fear, will never be powerful enough to silence the “trumpet-tongue” which must always plead against the “deep damnation” of following an example so detestably pernicious. Neither is it possible for any casuistry to vindicate the unprincipled artifices occasionally resorted to by such men as Leicester and Walsingham, in order to countermine the practices of the papal conspiracy. There is something intolerably odious in the thought of “*groping men’s minds*,” (to use the words of Camden) by dropping counterfeit letters in the houses of papists, under the name of the Scottish Queen and her fugitive adherents; or by infesting social confidence with a hidden agency, employed for the purpose of “gathering rumours,” and seizing on words and syllables, and dispersing fictitious intelligence or insidious reports. The Jesuit should have been left to say to his disciple, *hæ tibi erunt artes*. Christian integrity should be prepared to brave the worst, rather than join in converting society into a vast collection of ambushades. It is a wretched and disgraceful policy which exhibits *nothing* but the serpent’s wisdom. But, after making this concession, the question must still recur,—what must have been the condition of the pure and unsullied innocence of the dove, when assailed on every side by atrocious artifice and dissimulation? Is it not too much to expect that one party should go straightforward on the most exposed and narrow path, while the politics of all the rest of the

\* Memorials drawn up by Cecil.—*Nares*, vol. ii. p. 105.

world are issuing, at every instant, from their hiding places, and describing every imaginable curve around his path; sometimes encountering his front, sometimes harassing his flank, and sometimes starting up in his rear? When duplicity and deceit form the daily and hourly habit of our foe, must we persist in "wearing our heart upon our sleeve, for daws to peck at?" When we know that the agents of every other government are about our path, and about our bed,—that our very walls have eyes and ears,—are we to recoil, in high disdain, from the very thought of invading the treacherous privacy of them that seek our ruin? By the time that Elizabeth ascended our throne, political sincerity had been well nigh hooted from the earth. The politicians of that age never mentioned the word, but they "used it for their mirth, yea, for their laughter." The spirit of Lewis XI. continued, ever since his departure, to preside at every council board in Christendom. His successor, Lewis the XII., was more honest, or, at least, more incautious. And what did he gain by his straight-forward unsuspicious dealing? "The King of France," said the most Catholic Ferdinand of Spain, "is fool enough to affirm that I have deceived him once. The drunken dog lies. I have deceived him twenty times." Again—it was a maxim with the mother of Mary of Scotland, that no faith was to be kept with heretics or rebels, and that the promises of princes are not always to be holden. As for the Roman Pontiff, he appeared, indeed, to hold the keys of hell as well as those of heaven; and to claim the prerogative of letting loose the cunning of daemons upon the world, according to his good pleasure. And though, as Dr. Nares observes, he could not, in the midst of all the insanity of his pretensions, invade the attributes of the Deity, he, at least, could venture on an attempt to imitate them; and it must be confessed that Salmoneus was a pitiful bungler indeed, compared to him. All that the Pagan monarch could accomplish was a beggarly counterfeit of the thunders of Jove. The Christian Potentate not only emulated, with much more dreadful effect, the artillery of heaven, but he contrived to invest himself with something like Omniscience and Omnipresence. There was scarcely a corner of Christendom beyond the reach of his observation. The genius of Loyola converted the whole of Europe into one vast *ear of Dionysius*; by means of which the slightest murmurs were conveyed from every Court to the Chambers of the Vatican, and to every quarter with which the Vatican had any intimate connection. How, then, could it be supposed that England alone should rely on the unassisted faculties of her ministers, for the power to penetrate into the recesses, where the preparations for her ruin were incessantly carried on? While the Pope and the Spaniard were

omnipresent throughout Europe, how could she afford to dispense with a whispering gallery of her own?

It is, indisputably, very afflicting to be driven to such a vindication of practices, from which the most generous and honest hearts will be the most apt to revolt. But, at all events, it would well become those who hurl about so prodigally the firebrands of their reprobation, to ask themselves one question;—was it possible, humanly speaking, for the country, in those perfidious times, to leave the powers confederated against her, in unmolested and unrivalled possession of their *black art*, without surrendering herself to certain perdition? Could she suffer the snare to be spread out for her entanglement, and yet magnanimously confine herself to the resources of open, undisguised, and frank hostility? To us, this really appears to be almost as impossible as it would be for any one warlike people to adhere to the use of bows and arrows, and slings, and swords, and lances, subsequently to the invention of gunpowder. Humanity and Religion might sicken at the thought of a new and exterminating method of carnage; but the necessity of conforming to the improved artifices of destruction would be obviously overpowering. The truth, as we grievously apprehend, is, that even in the best of times, the craft or mystery of politics, with all its dignity and importance, is one which unavoidably involves more sordid, pettifogging, and unscrupulous work, than any other human occupation that can well be named. But in the 16th century it was neither more nor less than a regular institute of cruelty and deception. And if the counsels of England had disdained to imbibe something of the spirit of the times, it is difficult to imagine how any thing short of a series of miracles could have preserved her from ruin and subjugation. Had all the Roman Pontiffs, indeed, and all the sovereigns of Europe, resembled Sixtus V., the conflict might have been carried on in a more noble and generous spirit. It might, then, have been, throughout, more like an open and magnificent struggle for the dominion of the world. The impetuous *swine-herd*, it is true, emerged into the Papacy by a trick. Previously to his election, he affected the appearance of feebleness and decrepitude. But the sonorous intonation with which he thundered out the thanksgiving hymn, soon convinced the conclave that they had placed the tiara upon a brow which was quite as well fitted for the helmet. When once, however, he had reached the summit of grandeur, he threw aside all cowardly and reptile craft. The Jesuits, together with their whole apparatus of fraud, were the objects of his contempt. He admired the masculine vigour of Elizabeth's spirit, and said that she ought to have been his wife, in order that another Alexander might have been their progeny.

As it was, he regarded her as an antagonist worthy of his magnanimous ambition; and was prepared to assail her, not with dark and traitorous stratagem, but with an undisguised and intrepid application of the arm of flesh; and the gigantic power of Spain was the instrument with which he proposed to second the fulminations of the Vatican. An enemy like this might be encountered with high-minded and heroic daring. There would, then, have been but little fear of assassination or treachery to infect and to degrade the counsels of Elizabeth. But Sixtus V. was a very different man from the dastardly and murderous adversaries with whom she had hitherto to contend. His temper, doubtless, had but small resemblance to that which becomes a Vicegerent of Christ; but it seems, at least, to have disdained the Satanic combination of ferocity and cunning, which drove her to measures so often and so loudly condemned. With regard to the most violent of those measures, the necessity which extorted them appears to us to be well illustrated by Dr. Nares. "The base intrigues and sanguinary purposes of other Courts," he observes, "have often brought to our recollection a story, almost below the dignity of history, but yet too significant to be altogether omitted:—A sentinel on duty, being attacked by a ferocious dog, presented his piece, and shot him dead. The owner of the dog remonstrated against the suddenness and cruelty of this action, demanding of endangered soldier why he had not rather defended himself by *milder measures*, and struck the dog only with the but-end of his gun. 'And so I would have done,' the soldier replied, 'you may depend upon it, if he had but run at me with his tail foremost.'"<sup>\*</sup>

With regard to the history of Mary of Scotland, Heaven forefend that we should plunge into that interminable wilderness of controversy. Volumes almost without number have been written on the single question of her guilt or innocence with respect to the murder of that head-strong idiot, her husband. Pinkerton, indeed, offered to answer every thing that ever was alleged in Mary's favour, in a five shilling pamphlet,—*but not in less than five years!*<sup>†</sup> From such a view of the matter as we find in Dr. Nares's work, and Mr. Turner's history of Elizabeth, we cannot avoid this conclusion at least—that if Mary was guiltless, there must have been some malignant power at work to combine circumstances and casualties into such a formidable shape of *presumptive* evidence, as never before was marshalled against the reputation of any innocent human being. Mr. Turner's judgment on her case is formed independently of those letters and documents which her advocates have stigmatized as forgeries, but which nevertheless he believes to be genuine, although he has

<sup>\*</sup> Nares, vol. iii. p. 378.

<sup>†</sup> *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 418, note.

forborne to make use of them to her disadvantage. And the opinion of Mr. Turner, be it remembered, is entitled to most respectful consideration : first, because he is an unwearied investigator of original authorities ; and, secondly, because no one of Mary's champions is more thoroughly *instinct* than he with a sentiment of devotion to the honour of the gentler sex ! If his inquiries had conducted him to materials which could be framed into any thing like a plausible vindication of her conduct; his chivalrous and gallant nature would have prompted him to seize upon them, like one who had found great spoil : and then we should, probably, have seen him combating in the ranks of those literary cavaliers who, for the last fifty years, have taken the good name of this unfortunate lady under their especial patronage, and have been doing battle for her, till the world is well nigh weary of looking upon the lists. Guilty or innocent, however, the Scottish Queen, in a calamitous and evil hour, threw herself into England ; and from that moment the politics of this country began to wreathe themselves into such desperate intricacy, that it became necessary, at last, to cut the knot by one ruthless blow. When that blow fell, it was the signal for one universal war-whoop against Elizabeth and her cold-blooded counsellors. The chorus of indignation echoed throughout the realms of Papistry ; and all the enormities which could be perpetrated by the joint influence of venomous personal jealousy, heretical madness, and perfidious cruelty, were liberally ascribed to the sovereign and government of England.

It would be absurd to question that a bitter feeling of womanish rivalry formed one ingredient in that curious compound, the disposition of Elizabeth towards her fugitive kinswoman. But it would be equally absurd to deny that the imagination can scarcely figure to itself the union of Christian integrity and political wisdom or courage, which could have carried either of the " good sisters," in perfect innocence, through the conflicts and perplexities incident to their relative position. Their condition in some sort resembled that of two individuals meeting on a narrow path, with a precipice on either side, so that the parties should both be compelled to remain fixed and stationary, or else to resort to a trial of strength, the event of which would consign one of them to destruction. As to Cecil, he was, of course, politically identified with his royal mistress. But nothing can well be more senseless or unjust than the conceit, that the minister adopted the mere individual feelings of his sovereign, or suffered his sense of public duty to degenerate into personal aversion for her rival. He has been called the *enemy of Mary* ; and the enemy of Mary he most undoubtedly was ; just as he was the



enemy of every mortal whose designs, or whose fortunes were, in his judgment, imminently dangerous to the peace and safety of his country: and it is not at all surprizing that this sort of hostility should become, in his mind, a principle of action more intense, precisely in proportion to the mischief to be apprehended. Of course, a detailed examination of his measures relative to the ill-fated Queen is entirely out of the question in a paper like this. We must, therefore, content ourselves with adverting to one or two particulars of his conduct, which it would be most difficult to defend.

Of these, the first is the letter which he condescended to write, in 1572, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, for many a wearisome and painful year, was burdened with the custody of Mary. In this document Cecil urges the noble Warder to entangle his prisoner by discourse on the subject of the intrigues which had recently been brought to light, and thus to seduce her into disclosures injurious to herself. The words of Burghley are as follows:—

“ Her Majesty willed me to let your lordship understand that she would have you use some speech to the queen of Scots in this sort:— that it is now fully discovered to her majesty what practices that queen has had in hand, both with the Duke of Norfolk and others, upon the sending away of Ridolpho into Spain. And though it is known to her majesty, by writings extant, how she was in deliberation what were best for her to do for her escape out of this realm, and therefore caused the Duke of Norfolk to be conferred withal, and that she made choice rather to go into Spain than into Scotland or France; yet her majesty thinketh it no just cause to be offended with; those devices tending to her liberty. Neither is she offended with her purpose to offer her son in marriage to the King of Spain's daughter, in which matter the late King of Spain solicited her; neither that she sought to make the King of Spain believe that she would give ear to the offer of Don John of Austria. But the very matter of offence is, that her majesty understandeth certainly her labours and devices to stir up a new rebellion in this realm, and to have the King of Spain to assist it. And, finding the said queen now so bent, she must not think but that her majesty hath cause to alter her courteous dealings with her. And so, in this sort, *her majesty would have you tempt her patience, to provoke her to answer somewhat.* For of all these premises her majesty is certainly assured, and much more.”

This missive provokes the following wrathful commentary from Mr. Lodge, in his illustrations of British History:—

“ We have here the prime minister of a powerful and wise monarch directing, by her order, one of the first noblemen of the realm to visit the cell of a prisoner, and to exercise the office of a spy of the Inquisition, by artfully drawing the proofs of the prisoner's guilt from her own

mouth. The terms in which this treacherous mandate is couched aggravate the idea of its turpitude. The earl, deep in the secrets of her story, already master of all the known evidence against her, is ordered, not only to sift her by artful questions, but to assail her passions, and to work upon the weakness of a feminine temper, which had been rendered *infinitely irritable* by a long series of misfortunes, in a word *to tempt her patience, to provoke her to utter somewhat*. What a frightful addition is this to the horrors of Mary's prison."\*

This virtuous indignation will, probably, find an echo in many a kind and generous heart. We hope, however, to escape the imputation of unamiable apathy, if we venture to confess that to us it appears little better than mere puerility to speak of Mary as an ordinary *prisoner*. Her case bore very little resemblance to that of a subject committed to custody, in order to take his trial for an imputed offence against the laws. The case was one entirely *sui generis*. It was a case altogether without precedent. It was the case of one sovereign princess charged with hatching rebellion in the dominions of another sovereign princess. It was a case which exhibited two individuals in a position so peculiar, and so embarrassing, that no existing system of law was applicable to the purpose of their extrication. It is idle to compare the dire exigencies of such an affair as this to the instance of an individual criminal or traitor. The jurisprudence of this land, it is true, abjures all practices which tend to involve a *prisoner* in self-accusation. But this was no contest between the offended laws and a private delinquent. It was a sort of fearful *pancratium* between the representatives of two mighty and conflicting interests, brought into collision by a train of casualties which no law had ever contemplated, and for which, therefore, no law had ever provided. It was hardly to be expected that a struggle so dreadful should be conducted with a scrupulous attention to all the forms and principles which regulate the ordinary administration of domestic justice. Here were two queens, placed, no matter how, in a condition which, in the persuasion of the ablest and wisest men, had rendered the destruction of one or the other absolutely inevitable. And yet we are to believe that, in this horrible crisis, it was an instance of unheard of turpitude to omit all the delicacies and niceties of a regular legal prosecution! We must repeat, that when we hear of "the office of a spy of the inquisition, and of the insidious visit to the cell of the prisoner," we fancy ourselves listening rather to the rhetorical common places of a school-boy, than to the reflections of a grown-up philosophical historian!

But, although this is our view of the matter, we are quite ready

\* Nares, vol. ii. pp. 586, 587.

to allow that both Elizabeth and her minister would much more effectually have consulted their own dignity and honour, if they had abstained from these unseemly tamperings. Let it be allowed that the necessities and the dangers of the English queen were urgent enough to absolve her from the obligation of *extreme* fastidiousness in the use of expedients for her deliverance; it should still have been remembered that there was, undoubtedly, an air of baseness about the proceeding in question, which would place her in a very unenviable condition as soon as it should transpire, and would furnish her adversaries with a formidable topic of reproach and obloquy. It should, moreover, have been recollected that the expedient was altogether needless; for the evidence already collected against Mary was, in the estimation of parliament, abundantly sufficient for her conviction; and that Elizabeth had almost offended them by resisting their impatience for her trial. It is, lastly, somewhat surprizing that the folly of such an attempt should have escaped the penetration of the queen, and the wisest of her counsellors. *It is surely in vain that the net is spread in the sight of any bird;* especially of a bird so long accustomed to the contrivances of the fowler! As might have been anticipated, Mary protested that she would not give utterance to many things that she knew, unless admitted to a personal conference with her good sister, conformably to her reiterated demand. Such a conference she pretty well knew would never be granted. The pretence, however, enabled her to evade this "temptation of her patience;" and, at the same time, served to throw upon Elizabeth all the blame of failing to obtain the explanations which she demanded. It appears, therefore, clear enough that the appearances of generosity were sacrificed to no purpose; and that, in this instance, both she and Cecil were guilty, not only of a fault, but of a most egregious blunder. They disregarded the dictates of high-minded wisdom; and all they have got by it is an additional brand of infamy.

The next transaction which we have to consider took place in the same year, 1572, and is, unquestionably, of a much darker character. In that year Killigrew was dispatched on an embassy to Scotland, with two sets of instructions; the one open, the other secret. By the first he was commissioned to apprise "the principal persons of either party of the late horrible universal murder in France, (the Bartholomew massacre,) and thereupon to move them to have good regard to that state, that the like be not there attempted." By the other he was enjoined to promote, if possible, a requisition from the government of Scotland to procure Mary to be delivered up for the express purpose of being there tried and executed. This "horrid proposal" Dr. Nares is

obliged to confess "must appear to equal some of the worst proceedings in France." And every one who reads of it at the present time will, doubtless, feel impelled to apply to the day in which such a project was hatched, the very lines which have been actually applied to the day of Bartholomew itself:—

"Excitat iste dies ævo, nec postera credant  
Sæcula: nos certè taceamus, et obruta multa  
Nocte premi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis."

Nevertheless, before the thunders of execration are fairly let loose upon the head of Cecil, it will be but equitable to transport ourselves back into the sixteenth century, instead of weighing the matter in our studies, as if all had then been as quiet about him as the books upon our own shelves. It must be kept in mind, then, that, at the period in question, the government of Elizabeth had been for years harassed and distracted almost beyond endurance, with the inextricable difficulties brought upon them by Mary's residence in England. Cecil himself protested that he was *at his wit's end*. He was stunned with the exclamations of horror and alarm which echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other at the frightful intelligence from France. He was assailed with letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, expressive of the gloomiest apprehensions. "If," said the primate, "*that only desperate person were away, as by justice it soon might be*, the queen's good subjects would be in better hopes, and the papists' daily expectations vanquished." The latter (Dr. Sandys), after declaring that many were impatient for a fast and public prayer, for confounding the enemies of God's gospel, concludes with nine distinct propositions, "for the safety of the realm, if God will;" and in the front of them is the following recommendation:—"first to cut off the Scottish queen's head. *Ipsa est nostri fundi calamitus.*"\* While Elizabeth herself was reprobated by the Romanists as a prodigy of wickedness, her indulgence to those very Romanists was perpetually exposing her to the suspicion of being little better than a Papist in her heart. The panic, in short, was universal and intense. It was the serious persuasion of all the Protestants in the kingdom that the person of the Scottish queen was neither more nor less than a concentration of mischief, which, if not mercilessly extinguished, would explode in massacre and havoc, similar to that which had recently burst forth on the continent. It would be absurd to ascribe all this fierce agitation to malignity of heart. No one can believe that such men as Parker and Sandys were capable of deliberately recommending murder to the prime minister of their

\* Ellis, Orig. Lett. No. cxcii. Second Series.

sovereign. It is evident that, in their honest judgment, Mary deserved the fate of a traitress, and that the emergency admitted of no further delay; and Cecil was far too deeply acquainted with the designs of the Catholic powers to regard these apprehensions as visionary and extravagant. He, and the rest of Elizabeth's council, were charged with the defence of her person, her crown, and her Protestant Church, against these ruthless machinations; and it cannot be thought astonishing that they should be smitten with the prevalent impatience for the removal of that "accomplished snare" by which the peace of the kingdom was constantly endangered. That Mary was, at this time, regarded by Cecil as a sort of "planetary plague" suspended over the land, is clear from a letter of his to Lord Shrewsbury, written at the very time when Killigrew was dispatched to Scotland, in which he writes thus:—

"These French tragedies, and ending of unlucky marriage with blood, and vile murders, cannot be expressed with tongue to declare the cruelties. These fires may be doubted that their flames may come both hither and into Scotland; for such cruelties have large scope. God save our gracious queen, who now assembleth her council that may consult what is to be done for some surety. We have sent Killigrew into Scotland. *All men now cry out of your prisoner.*"

The result of the council's deliberations probably was a resolution, that it would be exceedingly desirable that the *prisoner* should be handed over to the tender mercies of her own countrymen, and that England should be delivered from the perplexity and torment of any further concern with her fate; and that this determination was sent after Killigrew and formed the subject of his *secret instructions*: for the date of those instructions is on the 10th of September, 1572, three days subsequent to that of Cecil's letter to Lord Shrewsbury. This counsel, however, came to nought. His lordship's prisoner remained in England, doubtless to his infinite annoyance; and if, as Mr. Ellis suggests, the thought of beheading her arose out of the Bartholomew panic, it still took fourteen years to ripen it into execution.\* It would appear, therefore, that the English government were not so very swift to shed her blood themselves; though it is quite undeniable that they would have felt prodigiously relieved if the Scots would have acted upon the hints of the ambassador, and have taken the work of retribution into their own hands. We are sensible, indeed, that no disguise can be cast over this proceeding which can greatly mitigate its extreme ugliness in the eyes of modern spec-

\* Ellis, Orig. Lett. Introd. to No. cxcii. Second Series.

tators: and we should be deeply grieved if any individual could be found in the present generation who could contemplate it without a violent insurrection of his better feelings. All that can be demanded of the student of history is this, that he should recollect what a pestilent moral atmosphere was breathed in that age by princes and statesmen, and what an Iliad of terrors and disasters was involved in the tale of Mary's residence in this country! It would be idle to deny that, healthy as Cecil's mental constitution naturally was, he was unable wholly to resist the general infection, or to escape the bewildering influence of the universal alarm. That he was prompted, however, to join in this odious measure by a spirit of infernal malice, is totally incredible. "God amend his spirit and confound his malice," said he of the author of a virulent libel against himself and the lord keeper, published in France this very year, "and, for my part, if I have any such malignant spirit, God presently confound my body to ashes, and my soul to perpetual torments in hell." And again, "God send this estate no worse meaning servants than we two have been, who, indeed, spared not labour nor care to serve our queen and country; *and if we had not, we may truly avow neither our queen nor country would have enjoyed that common repose that it has done.*" It is impossible to believe that this is the language of impudent hypocrisy. It is manifestly no other than the indignant expression of calumniated good intentions; and it is the more remarkable, as it came from one whom it was said, that, in thirty years together, he was "seldom known to be discomposed by anger." Even Camden avers that this libel was "a device of their enemies to bring *them* into hatred with the prince and people, who, by their diligent care, had prevented or broken their dangerous designs and wicked hopes." It is indeed, by no means impossible that the iniquity of the times may, almost imperceptibly, have brought upon them some occasional obliquity of moral vision; but it is downright raving to maintain that it ruined their perception of right and wrong.\*

We cannot dismiss this part of the subject, without adverting to one instance of the perverseness, with which even the most unexceptionable passages in Cecil's life have been tortured into evidence of his atrocious want of humanity and honour. About a month before the marriage of Mary to Daruley, Randolph described, in a letter to Cecil, the miserable forebodings with which the match was contemplated in Scotland.

"People have small joy," he says, "in this their new master, and find nothing, but that God must find *him* a short end, or *them* a miser-

\* Nares, vol. ii, pp. 613, 620.



able life. The dangers of those he now hateth, are great ; but they find some support, that what he intendeth to others may light upon himself." Again, on the 2d of July following, 1566, just after the marriage, he writes,—“with my Lord Murray I have lately spoken. He is grieved to see the extreme follies of his sovereign. He lamenteth the state of the country that tendeth to utter ruin. He feareth that the nobility should be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence, as in duty bound, but, at the same time, to provide for the state, that it do not utterly perish. The Duke, the Earl of Argyle, and he (Murray) concur in this device; many others are like to join in the same device. What will ensue, let wise men judge.” And in the same letter he adds—“Darnley's behaviour is such that he is run in contempt of all men; even of those that were his chief friends. What shall become of him, I know not. But it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people.”

Now, any one who should peruse this communication, without any previous knowledge of the historical debates which have arisen out of the transactions of that period, would surely be unable to discern in it any indications of a guilty confederacy between the English Government and any party in Scotland. The Catholic Queen of that country had chosen for her husband a hot-brained, self-willed, arrogant stripling, little more than eighteen years of age, himself likewise a Catholic. The foolish boy had already given “a taste of his quality;” first, by nearly murdering Lord Ruthven on a slight affront; and, further, by his close intimacy with that worthless upstart Rizzio, who was believed to be a secret agent of the Pope. All this while, the country was in a fearful state of distraction; which, combined with the ferocious manners of the age, might reasonably warrant an attentive observer on the spot, in anticipating some desperate extremity, as the probable event of such a condition of things. It was not very unnatural that the Protestant nobility of Scotland should be disgusted by the elevation of a beardless and ignorant lad, and by the insolence of an officious and ignoble foreigner; nor very improbable that their resentments might find vent in an eruption which it was fearful to contemplate. And yet the enemies of Cecil, and the advocates of Mary, have found, in this letter of Randolph's, conclusive evidence that the whole English Government were “privy to the black designs which lay brooding at the heart of the bastard brother of the Queen—that the assassination of Darnley was intended, and had the implied, if not the direct sanction, of Randolph and of Cecil”—and, in short, that they were, if not the original authors,\* at least the secret abettors of all the worst atrocities that actually followed. So that the

\* Nares, vol. ii. c. vii. p. 367—373.

whole matter amounts to this: the resident at a foreign court informs his government that the people there looked forward to a life of misery from the marriage of their sovereign to a youthful and tyrannical blockhead, and that they saw no prospect of deliverance but in his speedy and providential removal: and from this language it is very gravely inferred that the parties in correspondence were fully prepared to acquiesce in his murder! This is the way in which history is often converted into a labyrinth of angry controversy—the names of illustrious men consigned to execration—and the world infested by a withering scepticism as to the possible existence of such a thing as public virtue.

We cannot retire from this portion of the subject without a word or two on the fate of the ill-starred Queen of Scotland. It is, as Rapin remarks, a very fine subject for rhetoric and romance. But facts and documents are proverbially stubborn and untractable. And a most laborious examination of facts and documents has *extorted* the following sentence from Mr. Turner—"That Mary was fully involved in the conspiracy for invading Elizabeth, and that she patronized the plot of the Queen's assassination, by Babington and his friends, *there seems to be no reasonable doubt.*"\* We have said that this judgment is *extorted* from Mr. Turner, for reasons already adverted to. We are persuaded that nothing but the pressure of irresistible evidence would have wrung such a declaration as this from so devoted an advocate of the more virtuous sex. Of course, his opinion will be as the "the idle wind" to the knight-errantry which has long been careering over the literary world, and challenging "to the utterance" all who presume to "wag their tongues" in disparagement of her name. But it may, at least, be sufficient to satisfy these gallant adventurers that righteousness has not finally taken leave of the earth; and that, while they are prancing and *caracoling* over the ground, there still are honest and "worthy pioneers" employed in the humbler toil of digging up the truth, *in the sweat of their brow*. As to the question whether one sovereign ever can, under any circumstances, be *legitimately* dealt with as a traitor to another sovereign,—if nothing but a strictly *technical* answer will be accepted, that answer must, undoubtedly, be in the negative. The ancient Roman law made no provision for the crime of parricide. The letter of the English Constitution makes no provision for the extreme case of outrageous and intolerable oppression, personally exercised, or attempted, by the Chief Magistrate who "*can do no wrong.*" Neither has the law of this, or of any other land that we know of, made express provision for an emergency like that which arose out of Mary's long captivity in England.

\* Turner, *Eliz.* c. 34.



When cases such as these occur, the exigency must provide for itself. To appeal to precedents would be nugatory. There is nothing to appeal to, in such extremities, but that unwritten law whose supremacy can never be obliterated or impaired: and that law may, surely, be searched in vain for any dispensation which shall entitle a foreign potentate to perpetrate crimes in a country to which he is, by birth, a stranger, and which owes him no submission or allegiance. 'There is no sanction under heaven which can "license a King, because he is a King, to overthrow the Government under which he is dwelling, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, or to injure the persons or property of any of its people."\*' On this view of the matter, the Ministry, the Legislature, and the Judges of England, determined that Mary was amenable to an English tribunal for a conspiracy to subvert the national government and religion, and to assassinate the Queen. To condemn their decision, and the consequent proceedings, as atrocious and illegal, is neither more nor less than to proclaim, that the Queen of Scotland was invested with the right to commit one murder, or a thousand murders, with impunity. If we are to talk of *illegality*—the original detention of Mary was *illegal*. To deprive her of the means and opportunities of mischief by increasing the rigours of her confinement, would, of course, be equally *illegal*. To bring her to the block, might, indeed, be more merciless, but could not be more *illegal* than the whole course of antecedent measures adopted by the government from the first moment of her arrival in England. The only legal method of proceeding would have been to say to her—"Your Majesty is a Sovereign Princess; we assume no right to control your movements; you are entitled to the hospitable attentions of our Royal Mistress; you are at liberty to remain in the country so long as you may find it agreeable; and to depart whenever it may suit your interest or your pleasure." And, what if all this generous confidence should be abused? What if the little court of the illustrious and Royal Sister should be converted into a focus of intrigue, imminently dangerous to the person of the native Sovereign and the civil and religious institutions of her Empire? Why then, truly, it might be reasonable and right to suggest to her foreign Majesty, that she must quit the realm, and chuse some other spot for the fabrication and the conduct of her pernicious designs. All this, most assuredly, the English Government might have done; and, by so doing, they would have saved their own memories from a vast irruption of obloquy, and, perhaps, succeeding generations from a long course of tiresome contro-

\* Turner, Eliz. c. 34.

versy. Whether this sort of policy would have saved Elizabeth from the dagger, or her dominions from Popery and servitude, is another question: and this question we must leave to those who have patience and stomach to continue the debate upon it. Thus much, however, we again take leave to say, that the difficulties of that question were immense and complicated: and that a man must have unbounded reliance on his own wisdom and integrity, if he should venture to consign to infamy the counsellors who chose the safer, though less regular and less magnanimous course of action.

Intimately connected with the treatment of Mary, is the policy pursued by the government of Elizabeth towards the Roman Catholics in general: a theme so endless, that two pugnacious individuals might fight upon it, "until their eye-lids could no longer wag." The one would contend that this policy grew more ferocious, only as the Papists grew more dangerous and bloody. The other party will maintain, with Dr. Lingard, that there was no real danger whatever; or, at all events, that the danger was grossly and shamefully exaggerated, by the fierce rhetoric of the crown lawyers. For our own parts, we should be very willing to leave this matter to the decision of any reader, if any such could be found, who, with a perfect knowledge of the circumstances, should be in a state of the profoundest indifference as to the merits of the mere theological dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants. Such a person might laugh at the eternal controversies about Purgatory and Transubstantiation. But it would be impossible for him to shut his eyes to these facts,—namely, that there was still enthroned at Rome a certain portentous power, the supremacy of which had for ages been regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion; that, from the lips of this phantom, words, if not of impiety, at least of insufferable arrogance, were perpetually issuing forth; that these words were received as divine oracles, and were devoutly laid up in the hearts of the faithful; that they loudly declared the Queen of England to be a bastard, an usurper, and an impious adversary to God's Vicegerent; that they, moreover, pronounced her to have forfeited her crown, and openly absolved her subjects from their allegiance; and that these edicts were, once, actually fixed to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace. It may be very easy for a Papal historian to assure us that these fulminations had become innocuous; and that the time was past when the Pope's sentence of excommunication was formidable to princes.\* If there were any mode of getting at the

\* Dr. Lingard.

real sentiments of persons devoted to the Romish interest, we have not the slightest doubt that they would be compelled to acknowledge that this assertion must be understood with such limitations as would reduce it to utter insignificance. The thunders of the Vatican may, in that age, have lost a portion of their force. But they resembled spent balls, which, though deprived of their original and resistless momentum, still retained the power of inflicting a desperate amount of damage. If we recollect rightly, it was Henry III. of France, who professed, that it might be all very well for people to affect contempt for the denunciations that went forth from Rome; but that, for his part, he frankly avowed himself to be always exceedingly desirous to keep out of their way. It is very true that the Pope could no longer hurl the sovereigns of Europe from their thrones, or lay their kingdoms under the curse of an effectual Interdict. But if he could no longer do all this, he could do that which was pernicious in the next degree. He could convert their kingdoms into nests of conspiracy and treason; he could infest their very courts with emissaries and spies; and he could heap combustibles beneath the thrones which his lightnings were unable to consume. All this he could do by means of the formidable remnants of that very prerogative which, at one time, brought the sovereigns of Europe bare foot and naked to his stirrup. The voice which pronounced any king or queen to be a rebel against him, could fill the realm with preachers of sedition, armed with the privilege of assuming every variety of masquerade which best could baffle detection. It could set in motion a secret and omnipresent agency, to haunt every corner of society, and to spread distrust and terror throughout the land. It could confer the dignity of martyrdom on perfidy and assassination. It could confound the eternal distinctions of righteousness and iniquity; and if it could not interrupt the open exercise of religious worship, or of civil rights, it could lay its *interdict* on the jurisdiction of conscience, and suspend the supremacy of all moral principle. In short, if the Papal power could no longer go abroad like a noon-day plague or dæmon, it could creep about the world like the pestilence which walketh in darkness. And, if this were so, it would, we apprehend, be difficult to show that any *Board of Health* could be armed with powers much too sweeping for the purpose of arresting its ravages.

That the vigilance of Cecil and his colleagues, against this extinguishable mischief, was by no means misplaced, is evident from the whole history of this reign. Among the practices against Elizabeth, a resolution was taken at Rome by Pius IV., on a representation from his cardinals, to proclaim a pardon to any cook, brewer, vintner, physician, or chirurgeon, or of any

other calling whatsoever, who should make away with the Queen; and an absolute remission of sins to the family of the assassin.\* In 1564,† a paper arrived from Venice, conveying the Pope's determination to bestow England on any one who would invade and master it. In 1567, Cecil received notice of a secret league between the Pope and the Emperor,—Spain and Portugal,—Bavaria and Savoy,—for the extirpation of Protestantism from the Earth.‡ The contemporary Papal biographers of Pius V. ascribe to him, without reserve or disguise, a settled design for the destruction of Elizabeth.§ The alacrity with which the Papal scheme of hostility was acted upon, is manifested by the fact, that Philip II. (that "child and champion" of Popery) proclaimed a reward of 25,000 crowns for the murder of the Prince of Orange, and 50,000 crowns for that of Coligni.|| And in 1584, it was ascertained that practices were actually on foot for the assassination of Elizabeth by Spanish emissaries.¶ Lastly, every one must recollect the *idem trecenti* sort of letter addressed by Campion the Jesuit to the Privy Council in 1581, in which he says, "as touching our society, be it known to you, that we have made a league, all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross which you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your poisons. Expenses are reckoned; the enterprize is begun; it is of God; it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted; so it must be restored." This unquestionably sounds noble and intrepid. But there can be little doubt that it was dictated by the spirit of *Mutius Scaevola*, in more respects than one. Campion, it must not be forgotten, was a Jesuit; the Jesuits were the spiritual Janisaries of the Pope; the Pope was avowedly bent on the extirpation of *heresy*; and the whole history of the time proclaims that, in his judgment, the extirpation of *heresy* could be accomplished only by the extermination of *heretics*. Whether Campion, or others of his tribe, were guilty of any overt acts, which could legally warrant their conviction, is a question which we leave untouched. We appeal to the case, simply for the purpose of showing the length and breadth and depth of the design, which had been formed for what *he* calls *the recovery of this kingdom*. And when this is connected with the sense in which the *recovery of the kingdom* was notoriously understood by his Masters, it may be produced as irresistible proof

\* Nares, vol. ii. p. 301.

† Ibid. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. p. 439.

§ Ibid. p. 617, 618; note.

|| Ibid. vol. iii. p. 185, note.

¶ Turner, *Eliz.* p. 473, note 7.

of the reality of that danger, which provoked the English government to measures of extreme severity.

For these measures of severity, however, Cecil is no more responsible than his colleagues; indeed scarcely so much so. Subsequently to the detection of Norfolk's conspiracy, Leicester and Walsingham were understood to be the chief authors of all sanguinary counsels against the Papists; Walsingham, probably, because his whole life and fortunes had been dedicated to the purposes of unearthing the projects of the Papacy against the liberties of his country, and the life of his Sovereign; Leicester, because he was a fervent admirer of the broad lands of the Church, and found that the surest way of reaching the spoil, was to place himself at the head of the Puritans, who clamoured most vehemently for the persecution of the Catholics, and looked with an evil eye upon every remaining fragment of Ecclesiastical opulence and power. Cecil himself is known to have been the friend of moderate proceedings, whenever moderate proceedings were, in his opinion, attended with any prospect of safety. He once actually addressed a memorial to the Queen, representing the impolicy of driving the Catholics to desperation by a vigorous enforcement of the oath of Supremacy. But it is well worthy of remark that the death of Leicester and Walsingham was followed by no relaxation of the penal measures; from which it may be reasonably concluded that Cecil was at last persuaded that such relaxation was neither expedient nor practicable.

By those, who condemn the savage policy of the Queen's government towards her Catholic subjects, we are often reminded of the exemplary faithfulness of the Catholic laity, in the moment of their country's extremest peril. And, beyond dispute, it would be most ungracious and most unjust to deny that their conduct, in that perilous emergency, was above all praise. In that dreadful crisis, it must be allowed, their attachment to their Sovereign, and their devotion to their country, absorbed every other feeling. Nevertheless, in the very same breath in which we make this confession, we cannot forbear to ask ourselves, what *might* probably have been the demeanour of these patriotic men, if Mary of Scotland had been living at that moment, and if the Invincible Armada had been sent forth by Philip, not for the purpose of winning the realm of England for himself, but of seating upon its throne the *good sister* of Elizabeth. In that case they would have had before them the hope of being ruled by a Princess, whose blood was British, and whose faith was orthodox. There would, then, have been no fears of confiscation or servitude to darken their prospect. They would have been able to retain their fidelity to the Pope, without being downright traitors to their country, and

without consigning themselves and their families to indigence and contempt. They might, therefore, have listened, without any upbraidings of conscience, or any remonstrances of self-interest, to the counsels of their confessors and spiritual advisers. They might have placed the Crown upon the head of a Catholic, without incurring the infamy of betraying the independence of England, and, with it, their own fortunes, to a remorseless and sanguinary foreigner. As it was, however, they had nothing to look forward to, but the disaster and ignominy of a Second *Conquest*. They beheld, in Philip of Spain, only another *Avatâr* of the same Spirit, which, five centuries before, had alighted on the soil of Britain, in the person of William of Normandy. They perceived that, what the Anglo-Saxon Earls and Thanes had been to the Victor of Hastings, the native nobility of England would have been to the relentless and haughty Spaniard. They felt that a Catholic Despot would have been upon them, whose little finger must be weightier than the loins even of Elizabeth's Protestant administration—that their goodly acres would have become the inheritance of the stranger,—and that they and their children might have been sent forth as outcasts and wanderers on the face of the earth, in spite of their devotion to the Pastoral and Paternal Sauctity of the Successor of St. Peter! Besides, even if these men had never heard or read the tale of England's subjugation by William the Norman, they might have found a tolerably intelligible intimation of the fate which the success of Philip would have brought upon them, in the treatment experienced by their Catholic countrymen who had joined the forces of the Prince of Parma; and whose "impiety to their country" was rewarded with nothing but the scorn and detestation of their allies. It would show the stupidest ignorance of human nature, to suppose that considerations so natural had never crossed the reveries of those gallant men, who crowded to the banners of the Protestant Queen, even while the emissaries of Rome were offering crowns of glory to her murderers, and proclaiming that heaven and earth were up in arms against the progeny of incest, and the imp of heresy and schism. The purest motives which ever animated any human heart, were never yet exempt from all earthly admixture. We therefore trust that an allusion to such topics will not be thought to wear an invidious aspect towards those brave spirits, who, in the agony of their country's fate, were deaf to the whisperings or the clamours of that lying dæmon, which then was busy in familiarising the heart of Europe with perfidy and bloodshed. But what application have such considerations as these to the *Clerical* agents of the Papacy? What was the ruin and the slavery of England to the Janisaries of Rome?



What could it matter to Jesuits, and missionaries, and seminary Priests, whether a native or a foreigner were seated on the throne? The object for which they lived was the *recovery* of the realm from the hateful domination of schismatics. To this end all their faculties and all their resources were dedicated. They knew no difference between native or foreigner—Briton or Spaniard. The only distinction known to them was the distinction of orthodox and heretic. A faithful emissary of the Pontiff was a man of no country. Rome was the centre of his allegiance. He was bound to society by no domestic ties: so that the ministers of Rome's communion were his only brotherhood. The multitude and the strength of that fraternity we learn from the frank and voluntary confession of Campion. Their activity and their influence are known from the whole history of England during the life of Mary,—more especially since the first introduction of the Jesuits in 1580, up to the period of Mary's death. These, therefore, were the persons to be dreaded: and the Catholic laity might have remained in comparative peace and freedom, but for the incessant agitation of these, their spiritual counsellors and rulers.

Another very important department of Cecil's administration relates, more particularly, to the Calvinistic portion of Elizabeth's Protestant subjects, of whom the Earl of Leicester was the holy and honourable patron! They gave the minister, at times, almost as much trouble as the Scottish Queen, the Pope, and the Jesuits, put together. It is with extreme reluctance that we advert to their history. We have, of late, repeatedly endeavoured to recall the public mind to the true state of the question between these turbulent Sectarians and the Church of England: and we are so weary of the subject, that nothing would drag us back to it, but the pertinacity with which certain calumniators of the Church are incessantly labouring to connect her name with images and recollections of intolerance, and bigotry, and inveterate malice against the expanding liberties of mankind. To this hour the public ear is abused with statements, the tendency of which is to represent our Protestant hierarchy as engaged, from the first, in an execrable league for perpetuating the moral and political servitude of their country,—and the Puritans as a sacred brotherhood to whom alone we are indebted for our deliverance. Can any thing, it is asked, be more intolerable, than that they who had endured persecution for the sacrament, should themselves become persecutors for the surplice? and could it be expected that the *great revolutionary movement*, which had overthrown the dominion of the Papacy, should stop precisely at the instant when the Queen and her Bishops should pronounce the words—"thus

far shalt thou go, and no further?" And then follows an abundance of declamation, from which an ignorant person would naturally collect, that the Puritans were a band of simple-hearted and peaceable men, desirous of nothing, but the unmolested liberty of worshipping God in their own slovenly and disorderly way. Now, while the sentences are dropping from their pen, the retailers of all this perversion must surely know that their representations are, not merely incorrect, but at mortal variance with the fact. Of all the religionists that emerged from the Reformation, there were none who had imbibed so little of the spirit of toleration as these injured and unoffending Nonconformists! They were many of them as tyrannical as Papists, and as factious as Republicans. The truth, as they boasted, had made them free; and they were resolved, if possible, to diffuse the blessing with all the headlong vehemence of propagandism. Their system, like that of revolutionary France at the end of the last century, was prepared to take the form of an *armed doctrine*.\* The *Constitutional Historian* himself distinctly admits that Cartwright and his adherents assumed the tone, not of supplicants for freedom of conscience, but of desperate rebels against established authority. As for toleration, it was the object of their scorn and abhorrence. And if they had succeeded in their struggles for power, the country would soon have groaned under a despotism as searching and universal as that of the Papacy itself. They were for setting up their holy Discipline, not as something rendered venerable by Ecclesiastical tradition, and immemorial usage, but as an Institution as sacred, as if it had been written by the finger of the Almighty on tables of stone; and all who should presume to resist it were denounced by them as enemies and traitors to God himself. They railed at the carnal pride which, as they complained, was still allowed to disfigure the established religion; and, with still more insufferable pride, they trampled upon it. And these were the pacific and mild petitioners who were to be gratified with a sweeping sacrifice of the decencies and proprieties of divine worship; and, in whose behalf, we are, at this day, stunned with an outcry against the abomination of *persecuting for the surplice!*

Instead of all this vague and empty rhetoric, we should be glad of an answer to one simple question—what course would these modern Censors have prescribed to Elizabeth's government, had they lived in those days, and the office of *Ephori* had been entrusted to themselves? Would it have been their pleasure that *the children of disobedience* should be indulged to the full extent of their fanatical caprices? The inevitable consequence of this

\* Madox, p. 265.



wise liberality would have been, first to exhibit the Church of England, habited in such a motley collection of shreds and patches, as to invite the contempt of the whole world, , and thus to prepare it for destruction;—and, eventually, to set up the Holy Discipline of Geneva in its place. It cannot be too frequently repeated, that Non-conformity, at that period, always meant nothing less than rebellion against Episcopal power—and nearly against all established rule whatever. What would Sampson, or Cartwright have said, if they had been told that they were at liberty to follow their own practices? Most unquestionably, they would have replied that this was doing the work of the Lord deceitfully, and by halves. Dispensations, and Licences, and *black Indulgences*, would never have satisfied them. All these were no better than artifices, to protect and fortify the miserable remnants of the Babylonian Superstition.\* The wrath of Heaven was to be averted from the kingdom by nothing short of the establishment of the Godly Institution, on the ruins of every other system. The *pattern in the Mount* must be copied with scrupulous fidelity by the whole congregation of God's people. Neither Kings nor Potentates must dare to lift up their "rotten privilege and custom" against the Sceptre of Christ's kingdom. In short, the pretensions of *Divine Right* were advanced by the pioneers of *British liberty*, with an effrontery that never was exceeded—if ever it was equalled—by the insolence of Rome herself. We, therefore, ask—(and we must continue to ask, so often as these absurdities are repeated)—what was to be done, under such circumstances? Was the *great Revolutionary movement*, throughout all its stages, so clearly marked, by the approbation of Heaven, that it was little less than sacrilegious for statesmen to meddle with it? Was the Ark of Non-conformity of such transcendent holiness, that mountains were to be levelled and vallies exalted, in order that an highway might be formed for its progress? Were Sovereigns and Council-boards and Prelates, to look passively on, while it was hastening to its final triumph,—the overthrow of the Monarchy and the Church?

With respect to the question of Clerical attire, it is cordially to be wished that the English *Precisians* had condescended to learn moderation of the Helvetic divines whom they professed to revere and imitate. When Bullinger was consulted on this matter of "woollen and linen," his disapprobation of the habits did not withhold him from a decided recommendation to conformity. Deeply as he respected the rights of conscience, his urgent admonition was, that no man should frame a conscience to himself in a spirit of contentiousness—(ἐν φιλονεικίᾳ). He reminded his

\* Madox, p. 287.

brethren that the sacerdotal habits were not originally introduced by the Pope, (so that they could not reasonably be called rags of Popery); that if Protestants were to have nothing in common with Romanists, they must be compelled to abandon their churches, to receive no stipends, to abstain from the practice of baptism, and recitation of creeds, and even to reject the Lord's Prayer itself; and lastly, that the use of appropriate habiliments for the clergy was never abolished by the Reformation; and that, at the present time, it was not retained in conformity with the Papal law, but by virtue of the royal edict, as a matter in itself indifferent, but nevertheless proper and expedient. Here we have the dictates of that wisdom which is not only *pure, but peaceable; without partiality and without hypocrisy*. The saying, however, simple as it was, appears to have been too hard for the digestion of these fastidious persons. Their language to the government was—"because this seems so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; because it does seem so to us, we are not to be vexed by you:" a maxim, as Dr. Nares most judiciously observes, which might, with undoubted propriety, be introduced into the preamble to an act of toleration; but destructive of all uniformity and regularity, where an absolute separation of churches is not contemplated.\* Toleration, however, we must again observe, was never in the thoughts of the Non-conformists. When they had a point to carry they could, indeed, assume the *language* of toleration. But, the thing itself they utterly despised; and the bitter words in which they denounced it to their own people, are on record *unto this day*.† Which party then, we once more demand, is more righteously loaded with the imputation of bigotry;—they who doggedly resisted the government (to use their own phraseology), *propter lanam et linum*; or they, who felt that, in sacrificing the *lana et linum*, they should virtually be surrendering the integrity and the order of the whole church establishment?

As to the treatment which the Non-conformists experienced from Cecil, it was prompted throughout by an exemplary spirit of moderation and kindness. Whenever they were peaceable and discreet, they were sure of the most indulgent and considerate attention to their scruples: but when they *made them ready for battle*, it was the duty of any statesman to repress their insolence and contumacy. Every reader of the history of those times will recollect the opposition offered by him to the inflexible spirit with which Archbishop Whitgift maintained the Ecclesiastical Constitution; and (what is still more remarkable,) the disposition manifested by him to take the part of Travers against the immortal Hooker. He was, nevertheless, distinctly aware

\* Nares, vol. ii. p. 355, 356, *note*.

† Madox, p. 286—288.

that the elements of discord were secretly raging in the vitals of Non-conformity, whatever might be the steadiness of its resistance to the *Parliamentary* Religion; and, with incomparable prudence and sagacity, he used the Babel dissonance of their own proposals, as a means of defeating their projects, and reducing them to silence. When they approached him with their complaints against the Liturgy of the Church, he requested them to draw up another, and to frame the various offices in such a manner as might give general satisfaction to their brethren. With this suggestion they very readily complied; and a scheme of worship was produced, bearing a strong resemblance to the great original of Geneva. Their draught was then submitted to the consideration of another *classis* of Dissenting Commissioners, who made no less than *six hundred* exceptions to it! A third deputation quarrelled with the corrections of the second, and protested that it would be absolutely necessary to prepare a model entirely new: and a fourth class took similar liberties with the labours of the third. By this time it was tolerably evident that, when pressed home, they could agree in no one thing but their hostility to the established formularies. These *dissensions* among the *Dissenters*, however, furnished Cecil with an answer to their demands. He desired them to apprise him, as soon as they had arrived at any unanimous resolution upon the matter in question, and then they might be fully assured of his best services.\*

We are extremely desirous of having it clearly understood that in speaking thus of these very intractable parties, we are not prompted by any wish to load their memory with reproach, but simply by a sense of the bitter injustice which their advocates are perpetually heaping upon the Church of England. We speak of them, indeed, by the name of *Puritans*; but, like Dr. Nares, we use that name *historically*, and simply for the purpose of avoiding the tediousness of a more courteous circumlocution. We are, moreover, abundantly willing to concede that many of these distinguished men were eminently learned, and animated by a spirit of the most fervid piety. We are, in short, ready to allow them almost every perfection under heaven—always excepting the perfection of a truly meek and charitable temper. However transcendent may have been their merits, as individual members of society, their conduct as a party was captious and turbulent beyond all endurance; and it must have required more than saint-like patience and long suffering, on the part of the government, both ecclesiastical and civil, to look with composure on their manifold artifices of sedition. They were

\* Nares, vol. iii. p. 210, 211. Coll. vol. ii. p. 586. Madox, p. 282. Full. Lib. ix. p. 178.

possessed, in short, by the fiercest spirit of Calvinism. During their paroxysms they raved, *in the same breath*, about the sacred rights of conscience, and the unlimited and despotic supremacy of the spiritual power. The principle which animated their proceeding was essentially democratic; and the genius of democracy, it is well known, is of all others that can be named or imagined, the most tyrannical and persecuting. That they loved their country we are unwilling to dispute; but that they loved their holy discipline far better than their country, it seems impossible to question. For, in the awful hour of their country's peril,—when the Armada was ready to pour desolation over the land of their nativity—when the intelligent and patriotic Catholics forgot all religious discord, and were rallying beneath the standard of the Royal Lioness—when the fleets of England were entrusted to the command of a Catholic nobleman—at that dreadful moment, what was the occupation of the Puritans? Verily, the agony of England's calamity afforded, in their judgment, a precious opportunity for throwing in *a word in season* for the sacred cause; and at no period were their pamphlets in behalf of the godly institution more actively or more audaciously dispersed,\* than when the British Empire was on the point of contending for its life; and when the heart of Britain should have risen as the heart of one man, against the foul disgrace “that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of the realm.” That these men were, most of them, devoted and conscientious, we have no disposition to controvert. But it is quite evident that (as Bullinger suggests) their consciences were trained and matured in the school of faction and contentiousness—(φιλονεικία). If, as some will have it, the love of the surplice converted the Churchmen into persecutors, it may, with at least equal truth, be contended, that the hatred of the surplice went very far towards converting the Puritans into traitors.

Our quarrel, therefore, with certain commentators on this portion of our history is, not that it speaks of the Church of England as then ignorant of the principles of toleration: we are no more interested in repelling this assertion, than we are interested in denying that the Copernican system was, at that period, disregarded by nearly all the astronomers of Europe. Our *gravamen* is, that the expositors in question are incessantly labouring to leave their readers under the impression that all the intolerance was with the Church, and all the suffering and wrong was with the Puritans;—that on one side there was nothing but inhuman bigotry; on the other nothing but a virtuous resistance to oppression. We must therefore reiterate, even to weariness, that this

\* Nares, vol. iii. p. 351. Madox, p. 204—206.

was not so. In that age, the rights of conscience were universally disregarded. Toleration was an experiment far too formidable for the nerves of Churchmen or Statesmen, Catholics or Protestants, Episcopalians or Non-conformists. It was thought to involve the dangers of anarchy, and the guilt of indifference to the Faith. A philosopher sufficiently enlightened to perceive the safety and the wisdom of tolerant principles, would have been, in the sixteenth century, as great a curiosity, as any one of the rarities discovered by Pantagruel in the famous island of *Medamothi*. Sir Thomas More himself, showed by his practice, that he considered perfect freedom of conscience as a system fit for his Utopian community,—and fit for no other: and it is most certain that, if the Puritans could have found their way into that blessed society, there would soon have been an end of its glorious harmony and concord! When terms were offered them, they instantly assumed the language of Moses, and protested that *there should not a hoof be left behind*. With them the struggle was, throughout, not for freedom, but for absolute supremacy. Whether the resistance offered by the Church to their designs was, or was not, conducted with becoming moderation, is a question, at all times, fairly open to temperate discussion. But of one thing we are as firmly convinced as of our own existence—namely, that the severities inflicted by the Establishment were the tenderest of mercies, compared with what was to be expected from the Puritans, if the day of their power had then arrived.

But—to return to Cecil—taking the whole of his life together, and making all reasonable deductions from his merits, it must remain for ever indisputable, that his vigilance and penetration were, under Providence, the most effective instruments for the preservation of the reformed and establigion Religion, and the independence of the British Empire. From the first moment of his accession to office, under Elizabeth, his eye was steadily directed to the quarter from which danger was to be apprehended. Almost the first notice recorded by his eternal pen, after he became her secretary, related to the assumption of the title of Queen of England by the Scottish Princess. And from that hour to the end of his life, he never suffered his watchfulness to slumber, nor his gaze to be diverted from the varying aspect of the political firmament. It was a vain endeavour to lull him into forgetfulness, by insidious representations of the calmness of the ocean, and the serenity of the sky. It was in vain to say him,—

“ *Jaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa æquora classem ;*  
 “ *Æquatæ spirant auræ ; datur hora quieti ;*  
 “ *Pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori.*”

His reply would be ready :

“ Mene salis placidi vultus, fluctusque quietos,  
 “ Ignorare jubes ? mene huic confidere monstro ?  
 “ Ænean credam quid enim fallacibus Austris,  
 “ Et cœli toties deceptus fraude sereni ? ”  
 Talia dicta dabat ; clavumque, adfixus et hærens,  
 Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.

Powers indeed there were, perpetually at work to sprinkle his temples with the dews of Lethe. But he resisted the Stygian drowsiness ; and thus he was enabled to navigate the vessel in safety through an archipelago of intrigues, and plots, and confederacies, which would probably have defied the skill and patience of any other navigator.

It is deserving of remark, that for a considerable time the services of Cecil were not so worthily appreciated as they came to be at a later period, when the designs of the Romish Potentates began to spread out into such formidable developement. His own views relative to “ the perils and remedies ” of the country were consistent and unvarying throughout. But in the early part of Elizabeth’s reign, his influence seems to have been insufficient to awaken the queen or her advisers to any adequate perception of the dangers that were collecting. In a letter to Sir N. Throgmorton, in December, 1561, he laments that his credit was “ none at all,” whatever external appearances might seem to indicate. He ever talks of retiring from office ; and declares that he was withheld from so doing by his apprehension lest his own good purposes should be defeated by those who would probably succeed him. And he adds :—

“ I have carried in my head, with care, means how her majesty should, from time to time, conduct her affairs. I see so little proof of my travails, by reason her majesty alloweth not of them, that I have left all to the wide world. I do only keep an account for a show, but inwardly I meddle not, leaving things to work in a course, as the clock is left when the barrel is wound up. It is time to end these complaints to you, who cannot remedy them. But yet, because you wrote to me, divers times, of matters worthy your consideration, (thinking you have bestowed them well on me, *in hopes that I will fashion and put them forth, when you see that I have no comfort so to do,*) I thought it not inconvenient to note thus much to you of my imperfection.”\*

At a considerably later period than this, it is evident that there was an influence in constant activity, at the English Court, to deprive the Protestant cause in France of all hope of succour from this country ; and this, too, at a period when timely encou-

\* Turn. Eliz. c. 27, note (141) ; from Hardw. St. Pap. vol. i. p. 178.



agement and aid might very probably have preserved it from ruin, and given a different issue to the fatal battle of Moncontour in 1569, which threw the Pope, Pius V., into such extacies of joy.\* Fortunately, however, the value of Cecil's faithfulness and sagacity were discovered in time for the deliverance of the queen and her dominions, and for the preservation of the Protestant succession in England and in Scotland. Had he been at the head of her counsels from the first, the Reformation, though it might not absolutely have triumphed in France, might have been placed in a position of much greater security and honour.

There are few things in biography more astounding than the capacity which this man possessed for enduring the everlasting worry of applications from every quarter of society, high and low. He seems to have been regarded as a kind of huge pincushion, into which all sorts and conditions of men, women and children, might stick their grievances. As Mr. Ellis has observed—"From the question of peace or war, down to the regulation for the lining of slop-hose; from quarrels at Court to the hickering between a schoolmaster and his scholar; from the arrest of a peer to the punishment of a cut-purse; all was reported to him, and by all parties, in turn, was his favour craved." Some faint notion of the whirlpools and eddies in which the public and private business of the kingdom was incessantly gathering round him, may be formed merely by an inspection of the table of contents to Mr. Ellis's second series of Original Letters in the reign of Elizabeth. For instance, the Lady Mary Gray, youngest daughter of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, was the smallest gentlewoman in her Majesty's Court; and Henry Keys, the serjeant-porter to the Queen, was the most "colossal specimen of the masculine gender" in the same. Nevertheless, in spite of the disproportion both of their stature and their rank, *Maximus* and *Minima* resolved to intermarry; and marry they did, without applying for the Queen's consent, which they probably thought it might be impossible to obtain. The affair, as Cecil tells us, was thought positively monstrous! It excited the fiery displeasure of her Majesty, who committed the delinquent parties to separate prisons, there to ruminate on the folly of ill-assorted wedlock. Of the impatience of *Maximus* under his confinement, we hear nothing; but the diminutive bride was most importunate for the termination of her disgrace; and Cecil was, of course, the mediator, to whose good offices she resorted for restoration to the Queen's good will—"the loss of which," she said, "was such a grief to any true subject's heart,

\* See Turn. Eliz. c. 27; who quotes certain letters from Charles IX. to his Ambassador, de la Mothe Fenelon, from the MS. in the hands of Mr. Murray, who purchased them of a French gentleman.

as no torment could be greater; as she, most woeful wretch, had too well tried; desiring rather death than to be any longer without so great a jewel as her Majesty's favour!"\* Again—the Lady Stanhope had a worthless son-in-law, John Hotham, who grievously ill-used his wife; and Cecil was the counsellor to whom she applied for advice and aid, under this domestic affliction. Her application, as it would seem, moved the heart of the secretary; for next comes a letter from the good-for-nothing husband, (in answer to a summons from Cecil,) begging, with all imaginable respect, to decline his Honour's interference, and declaring himself "fully resolved never to order that abuse, but as the law will thereon determine." And this produces a second letter from her ladyship, again imploring his Honour to bring the business between Hotham and her daughter to a good end!†—In the same volume we find a letter from Christopher Johnson, Master of Winchester School, to the Right Hon. William Cecil, Knight, complaining of the perverseness of Richard Lyllington, one of his scholars; a ferocious little ruffian, who had drawn his knife upon the pedagogue, and so "stood at ward against him and the sub-warden,"‡ But, perhaps, the most curious application for the good offices of the Minister was from Richard Onslow, the Recorder of Loudon, in 1565. It appears that a royal proclamation had recently been issued, which filled the hosiers of the metropolis with dismay, and overwhelmed that worshipful functionary with a multitude of inquiries relative to the construction of this awful edict. In this calamitous emergency he addressed the following epistle to "the Principal Secretary of the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."

"May it please your honour to be advertised, that, in the execution of the queen's majesty's late proclamation against the hosiers, I have been often demanded by divers of them, whether they might, lawfully, without offending of the proclamation, or danger of forfeiture of their lands, *line a slop-hose, not cut in panes, with a lining of cotton, not stitched to the slop, over and besides the linen lining, and the other lining strait to the leg.* Whereunto, upon consideration of the words of the proclamation, I answered them all, that I thought surely they could not; and that *any loose lining, not strait to the leg, was not permitted, but for the lining of panes only; and that the whole upper stock, being in our slop uncut, could not be said to be in panes;* wherewith they departed satisfied. Since which time divers of them have been with me, and declared, that forasmuch as they have refused to *line the slop*, so their customers have gone from them to other hosiers without Temple Bar, who not only have so *lined the slop*, but also have declared that your Honour hath declared that they might lawfully do so, and that some of your servants do

\* Ellis's Orig. Lett. No. 179, 180.

† Ib. No. 184, 185, 186.

‡ Ib. No. 181.



wear such; whereof I thought it my duty to advertise your Honour; and further do desire your advise therein, to the end that if it were so meant in the proclamation, (which I could not gather from the words thereof,) or that it may be permitted and tolerated in that point, that I may give understanding thereof to our poor citizens; who, otherwise, may be sore hindered and impoverished by loss of their customers, and lack of work, and other foreigners be thereby enriched. And thus I leave further to trouble your Honour, wishing to you the same continuance of good health. From my poor house in the late Black Frere's in London, this last of February, 1565. Your honour's most humble, at commandment,  
R. ONSLOW.\*

What was the award of the principal secretary respecting this momentous question between her Majesty, and the hosiers, and the Corinthians of the day, we are not informed. But the occasion will serve to show the truth with which it was said of Cecil, that he was not merely the queen's minister, but secretary and privy counsellor *omnium homuncionum*. And yet, in spite of all this accumulation—in spite of the burden of every diocese in both provinces, which virtually devolved upon him in addition to the toils of state—in spite of the offices of grand pacificator in family quarrels, and even of *arbiter elegantiarum* in the matter of slops and linings—he did contrive to find time for *recreation*; for it was his custom to refresh his exhausted powers with the light and fascinating occupation of investigating the pedigrees of the kings of Judah, Israel, Macedonia and Egypt; of the kings of Assyria, Chaldea, the Medes and the Persians; of the Maccabees and Herodian families! and large collections of this agreeable and interesting matter are to this day in the State Paper Office, in the Lord Treasurer's own hand-writing. It is evident, in short, that he was one of the most methodical, industrious, and unimaginative of human beings. He seems to have had but little taste for any thing but *facts*—visible, tangible, substantial *facts*. These were the elements in which he lived, and moved, and had his being. Every thing less solid was to him no better than so much windy cogitation, upon which his understanding would be in danger of starving. Nevertheless, incredible as it may appear, this sober-sided prosaic thinker was unable entirely to divest his mind of the infatuation of judicial astrology. Of all the intellects that ever were, Cecil's undoubtedly is the very last in which one would expect to find this prodigy of nonsense lingering, previously to its final disappearance from the civilized world. And yet it was even so. When the queen's projected marriage with the Duke of Anjou was in agitation, the public anxiety set the astrologers to work; and her majesty's nativity was accordingly calculated, in

\* Ellis, Or. Let. No. 178.

order to ascertain what progeny was to be expected from the union. And whom, of all men in the kingdom, do we find encouraging this stupid quackery, but the greatest and wisest of statesmen? There is actually extant an horoscope of the queen, written by the hand of the secretary himself, beginning "*De significatione septimæ domûs, et de conjugio.*" From this document it appears that as Venus was in her proper house, there was great hope of a son, who should be robust, renowned, and fortunate, in his mature age. A further encouraging prognostic was, the presence of the moon in the constellation Taurus,\* which manifestly portended the birth of a fair daughter. Elizabeth had less faith, or more philosophy and common sense, than the Lord Treasurer and his astrologers. The planet Venus and the constellation Taurus, she appears to have held in unspeakable contempt; and neither divines, or sorcerers, or politicians, could tempt her to withdraw herself from the influence and protection of the constellation *Virgo*. Dr. Lingard, indeed, in common with various other writers, has laboured to prove that the Earl of Leicester was, in more senses than one, the true lord of her ascendant. We cannot enter into this unseemly discussion; and shall, therefore, content ourselves with saying, that the thundering letter dispatched by her to that arrogant and worthless minion, when he assumed the airs of sovereignty in the Netherlands, is itself nearly sufficient to demolish all such imputations. It is quite incredible that any woman, who affected a regard for her reputation, should have written in that exterminating style to a man in whose power she had placed her character. Catherine of Muscovy, indeed, might have written in that manner to an Orloff or a Potemkin. But Catherine was the absolute sovereign of a vast horde of abject and stupid barbarians; and, besides, she was no better than a notorious and shameless strumpet. She never was at any pains to conceal her profligacy; and, consequently, she might very safely defy or trample upon her favourites. But who can believe that a woman, who pretended to glory in the title of the Virgin-Queen, would ever have dared at once to humiliate and to provoke a powerful and opulent paramour—by far the most distinguished subject in her dominions?

It was, perhaps, a very fortunate thing for Cecil, that, under all his perturbations, he could get ease by writing. All his inquietudes seem to have oozed out from the tip of his pen. It was the peculiarity of Walter Shandy Esq., that "a blessing which tied up his tongue, and a misfortune which let it loose with a good grace, were pretty equal." Something of a similar process of compensation must have been continually going on in the mind

\* Nares, vol. ii. p. 534. Strype's Ann. vol. ii. App. No. 4.

of Cecil. At his writing-desk he managed to get rid of his sorrows and his cares, and to lay up a stock of comfort nearly sufficient to keep the account balanced. The intrigues of Europe formed a perpetual problem, which he was incessantly engaged in *working out* upon paper. For more than half a century this mighty analysis was carried on by him with as much industry, and almost as much precision, as La Place employed in investigating the system of the universe. He never thought that his advice could be safe, until he had the elements of the case before him in black and white; and the application of this political arithmetic must doubtless have saved him a vast deal of the harassing fluctuation, experienced by those, who are eternally hurrying backwards and forwards between the *pros* and *cons* of a difficult emergency, with such unsteadiness of flight as deprives them of the capacity of attaining a clear view of either. Cecil always took care to have the *pros* in one column and the *cons* in another, all drawn out and marshalled with his own hand. And it is not very easy to imagine any other course of proceeding which could have so effectually preserved his composure, or delivered him from the distraction incident to less concentrated understandings. It is, however, curious enough to observe this very valuable habit in its application to his domestic afflictions, as well as to his public solitudes. In the year 1589 he had the misfortune to lose his wife, Lady Mildred, Baroness Burghley; and the visitation was so severely felt by him, that it was observed, in a considerable degree, to shake his constitutional equanimity, and to render him thoughtful, melancholy, and occasionally irritable. The deceased appears to have been, on every account, worthy of his most poignant regrets. She was a person of rare virtue and accomplishment; and his bereavement must have called for all his resources of consolation. Among these the *pen* was not forgotten; and he set about honouring her memory, just as he would fall to work on the composition of a State Paper. He has accordingly left us a most ample *minute* of her excellences, comprised under four regular heads or divisions, and consisting chiefly of an enumeration of her various and secret charities, most of which were unknown, even to her husband, till after her decease.

But we commenced our paper with a promise to eschew all needless prolixity—an engagement which, we fear, our preceding pages will be thought to have grievously violated! Although, therefore, we must discard some nine-tenths of the matters we had noted for remark, we will here cut short our career of transgression; to which we have been mainly tempted by the reflection, that the days that are gone by are tongueless monitors, whose lessons will partially disappear from the firmest memory, unless

they are frequently renewed. Our office, when occasions like the present offer themselves, somewhat resembleth that of Old Mortality. We humbly ply our little hammer and chisel, for the purpose of removing the moss and lichen which is constantly stealing over the characters; and thus we endeavour, from time to time, to restore them to their original freshness and sharpness. Persons who might shrink from the labour of turning again to the voluminous annals of our country, in order to a renovation of their acquaintance with the mighty dead, will, perhaps, be induced to accept the occasional assistance of a fugitive essay; and many valuable recollections may thus be vividly preserved, which otherwise might be in danger of becoming feeble and indistinct. With regard to Dr. Nares, who has afforded us an opportunity of labouring in this department of our vocation, we have only to repeat, that we estimate, with unfeigned respect, the unwearied diligence, and honourable impartiality, with which he has executed his task; though we conceive that his work is, in more senses than one, too ponderous to be encountered by the generality of readers. His volumes will find a very proper place on the shelves of public libraries, and among the collections of the wealthy and the learned. They contain a vast mass of useful and valuable materials; and we once more beg to impress upon him the expediency of facilitating access to the stores he has brought together, by providing his work with the needful apparatus of a full and accurate index.

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ART. II.—*The British Liturgy. An Attempt towards an Analysis, Arrangement and Compression of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.* By the Rev. John Riland, M. A. Curate of Yoxall, Staffordshire. London, 1832.

WE have sometimes met with people, who deny that political economy has made even its first step as a science. Geology too, with its magnificent theories, which are hatched and extinguished in a day, is said by some ill-natured sceptics to be still in its swaddling clothes, if not even in the embryo state. The same might almost be said of Church Reform. We do not mean that this question has not exercised the lungs and the pens of a sufficient number of his majesty's subjects. We have heard of it being debated in parliament; we have read of it in newspapers; we have seen it in large letters upon the walls in addresses to electors; and we have witnessed more than one candidate endeavouring to float himself into the house upon the popular current of Church Reform. Reviews (and our own among the

number) have sought to enlighten the world by proposing schemes, or dispelling delusions, in connection with this important subject: but notwithstanding all this volunteer display of politics, oratory and theory, we venture to assert that the great mass of his majesty's subjects is profoundly ignorant upon the question of Church Reform!

We are not now going to discuss this topic according to the general notion of its meaning. We have nothing to say at present concerning tithes, advowsons, pluralities, translations, and all such evils. A real Reform of the Church must require a settlement of such questions, but they will be found to relate to laymen, almost as much as to ecclesiastics; and though we most anxiously wish to see the Church itself originating some scheme for her own reform, the legislature must still take a part in settling points of this mixed nature; and the temporalities of the Church are perhaps as fit to be discussed by the laity as the clergy. There is however another branch of Church Reform, which ought to be kept totally distinct from that which has now been mentioned. We allude to alterations in the Articles and Liturgy. We have observed, that some change in this respect has been called for by pious and excellent ministers of our Church: and we have also heard allusions to it from quarters, where we should not suspect a great knowledge of the subject. We do not mean to say, that laymen may not be as good judges as clergymen of what is sound in doctrine and of what is decent and solemn in a form of prayer; but we do most earnestly deprecate discussions of this nature in any mixed and popular assemblies. There are doubtless many persons in both houses of Parliament, whose opinions might be taken with advantage upon any questions of practical or devotional piety: but these persons would be the first to deplore that topics of such a nature should be discussed in the same arena, which is marked by malicious invective and political violence. A question of doctrine is seldom introduced into a debate, but it gives rise to remarks which are flippant and offensive, if not blasphemous and profane. We well remember the time when a learned personage, who has now risen to merited pre-eminence in his profession, thought fit to amuse himself and his audience by a sarcastic description of the Athanasian creed. Unfortunately the number of persons who had studied the question theologically was extremely small, and consequently the indecency of the jest was mistaken for wit; but the mere fact of such an exhibition being tolerated is a proof that politics and polemics are not fit to be mixed up together.

Though we have said this, we are very far from maintaining that the time is not come, when the Liturgy of the Church of England may be altered. We merely wish to put it to the good

sense and feeling of the public, whether this is not a branch of Church Reform, which ought to be left exclusively to the clergy. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* And so we say, when a candidate on the hustings, an editor of a newspaper, or a member in the House, begins to treat of Church Reform as a question of doctrine and religion, we have not only a right, but it is our duty, to inquire into the faith and practice of the person who thus puts himself forward. There are many subjects debated, in which it would be considered personal and unfair for one of the parties to comment on the private character or domestic habits of the other. But the case is altered, when religion is itself the subject of discussion. If a man gives an opinion upon a question of war or commerce, we naturally ask whether he has studied those branches of national policy, and we estimate the value of his opinion accordingly. So it is, when we are considering whether any and what changes are to be made in the Liturgy of our Church. A mere theorist may be right in a question of politics, when the man of experience is wrong; and there are certain topics which admit of being embraced by sound common sense, without any previous study; but it is not so in matters connected with revealed religion. We speak advisedly, when we say *revealed* religion. If there had been no such thing as a revelation, and if all religion was an invention of statesmen or philosophers, then indeed there would be no reason why one man should not think himself as fit to alter, as another had been to invent. Human reason would be the highest tribunal to which we could appeal: and reason is a commodity, in which no persons have a monopoly, though certain gentlemen, calling themselves Free-thinkers, seem almost to lay a claim to it. The case however is totally different, when we are discussing whether the forms and words of a Liturgy are in accordance with an express revelation from heaven. An answer to this question cannot be given by intuition. It can only be given by those, who have studied the revelation; and for a man to criticise the prayer-book, when he does not show practically that he feels the efficacy of prayer, is vastly more absurd than for a man to talk about ships, though he has never been in a dock-yard or on board of a man-of-war. Common sense, as we said before, may lead him to a right conclusion in this case; but it will not keep him from error, when he is weighing with his own finite powers the counsels of Infinity.

Upon every ground, therefore, we should wish to leave the alteration of the Liturgy and doctrines of our Church to the clergy. They must be the fittest persons, by their education and habits of life, to distinguish what is sound and evangelical,



from what is of human invention and corrupt. If learned and religious laymen have thrown light upon any subject of theology, advantage will naturally be taken of their labours; but the persons, to whom the task of alteration should be confided, are the clergy. It would perhaps not be difficult to lay down certain principles which should guide them in this holy labour. In the first place, the same fact which would incline us to consent to an alteration, will also point out an object which ought to be kept steadily in view. This fact is the general demand from so many quarters for a revision of the Liturgy. If there had merely been an outcry raised by the ignorant and disaffected; if no persons complained of the length and repetitions of our offices, but those who have no taste for prayer, and who wish to get home to their dinners; if the objected passages were those only, which assert the Divinity and Atonement of our Saviour; we should not attempt, nor indeed should we think it our duty to attempt, to satisfy the irreligious, the worldly-minded or the Socinian. But we are convinced that some change in the Liturgy of the Church of England is anxiously wished for by men, whose humility is equal to their piety; who love the Church of England, because they know it to be an integral part of the Church of Christ; and who are anxious to remove even the slightest blemishes from so fair a fabric. Our first endeavour, therefore, would be to gather the opinions of such persons as these. We would pay regard to their tenderest scruples; and when we found men of different sentiments upon doctrinal points agreeing in their objections to certain passages in the Prayer book, we should rejoice to conciliate them, and so far to strengthen the bonds of Christian unity, by enabling them to join more heartily and sincerely in the same offices of devotion.

Thus we hear it said on all sides, that our Liturgy is somewhat tedious. The blending of three services into one has led to some needless repetitions; and that of the Lord's prayer, (which is repeated five times every Sunday morning, and occasionally much oftener,) is particularly prominent. The office for baptism is too long. That for marriage contains expressions, which are quaint and unintelligible to the lower orders, and which convey hardly any meaning according to modern ideas and habits. The burial service is known to give offence to many pious Christians. The services for the state holidays, as they are called, may be said in some measure to keep up party feelings, and as compositions, are very inferior to the beautiful simplicity of the general Liturgy. The epithets applied to the king are thought too courtly and complimentary for prayers which are addressed to the King of Kings. The Athanasian creed is read with reluctance by

many clergymen, who would lay down their lives in defence of the doctrines contained in that creed. These are some of the points, which are most commonly dwelt upon by persons, who really wish to make the Prayer-book a model of devotion; and though it is hopeless to attempt to please every body, it is surely worth our while, or rather it is our bounden duty, to pay attention to remarks which are made so universally and in such a Christian spirit.

But if a revision of the Liturgy should be undertaken, we would make it the subject of our anxious and fervent prayers, that the task may be confided to able hands. We want a set of men, who are deeply imbued with the spirit of holiness; who can not only compose a prayer which pleases the ear, but who can lead the trembling sinner to the throne of grace, and teach him how to find comfort to his soul. They must belong to no party. They must not think of High Church or Low Church, but of the Church of Christ. They must not call themselves evangelical; but they must show their lives to be a pattern of evangelical purity and evangelical charity. Their views must not be exclusive, but conciliating; they must not retrench a word or syllable, which sets forth the merit of Christ crucified; but upon points of minor importance they must sometimes give way; they must be willing to give the right hand of fellowship to all who would join them in praying for the assistance of the same Spirit, through faith in the same Redeemer.

Nor is this all. These qualifications ought to be found in all those persons who shall be appointed to revise our Liturgy. But some among them ought also to bring to the task the stores of professional learning. They should be acquainted with the Missals and Breviaries of the Romish Church, as well as with the more ancient Liturgies upon which the Romish ritual is founded. They should have a knowledge of ecclesiastical history and of primitive ecclesiastical language; an ignorance of which has led persons in modern times to object to terms and phrases which are at variance with their own notions and feelings, but which have been sanctioned by the use of the Catholic Church for eighteen centuries. The writings of the Reformers, and the confessions of the different Protestant Churches, are indispensable to every one who would criticise our Liturgy. The alterations which were made in it during the reigns of Edward IV. and Elizabeth, and at the time of the Hampton Court and Savoy conferences, must be accurately compared; and we have no hesitation in saying, that whoever attempts the task of revision without some portion of the two last qualifications, is guilty of the pre-



sumption of Uzza, when he put forth his unhallowed hand to hold the ark.

It will be said, perhaps, that in naming all these requisites, we are making it extremely difficult, if not hopeless, to accomplish that which we have ourselves pronounced to be so desirable. But we have a better opinion of the defenders of our Zion. *God gave the word: great was the company of preachers.* So said the Psalmist; and so, we are convinced, will the Church of England say with joy and gratitude, if she will proceed in humble reliance upon God to call upon her sons to revise her offices of devotion. We cannot, however, think that much good is done, or that a single step is gained, by an unauthorised individual, like the curate of Yoxall, (whose work is mentioned at the head of this article,) putting forward, not merely his own suggestions and recommendations, but an actual abridgment of the Prayer-book, a plan ready cut and dried, which he seems to think is in a state to be used immediately by every clergyman in the kingdom. We are perfectly willing to admit that a village curate, or the humblest labourer in Christ's vineyard, may possess all the qualifications mentioned above, particularly those most essential ones of evangelical purity and holiness; but such a person is always guided by the spirit of humility: and the compiler of "*The British Liturgy*" does not appear to be altogether a pattern for this Christian virtue. He should also give some proofs of being warmed by the spirit of charity; and here also we could wish that Mr. Riland would copy those great and good men who drew up our Liturgy, but whose labours are treated by him with such cold-hearted and unchristian severity.

That we may not be accused of the same want of charity in making these remarks, which we have condemned in Mr. Riland, we will give an extract from the beginning of his Introduction. The work is dedicated "*To the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and to the Right Reverend the Bishops, of the United Church of England and Ireland.*" This appears to be very proper and respectful; and though the Dedication, which occupies nine pages, contains some startling propositions as to doctrine, we were not aware, till we proceeded to the Introduction, that this apparent deference to ecclesiastical authority is intended for the most bitter sarcasm. Mr. Riland expresses

"The deepest regret is felt by all serious and thinking minds, that in our ecclesiastical affairs things not only remain as they were, but—with the exception of the acts for building churches, increasing small benefices, and a few other measures of minor importance—the only considerable procedure, bearing a spiritual aspect, has been an actual sanction of previous abuses. The Plurality Bill shall not now be farther charac-

terized than as having increased two of the most pernicious evils which can afflict a Christian Church,—irresponsibility of individual power, and sacerdotal ambition. From legislators, whether lay or clerical, capable of originating and carrying such a measure, it was scarcely to be expected that future acts of government should bear even the faint impress of a wish to create a *religious* good. On the contrary, and arguing from the acknowledged principle, that in proportion as men are pure in intention, will they generally be correct and spiritual in doctrine,—for truth and integrity are correlative—the inference is, that the revision of confessions and liturgies cannot be confided, without suspicion and distrust, to hands contracted by recent graspings after fresh power and affluence.”

We never remember to have transcribed a passage which has given us greater pain. The Plurality Bill (which by-the-bye has not yet passed into a law,) may perhaps give rise to different opinions; but there can be only one opinion as to this indecent and unchristian attack upon the Archbishops and Bishops, and that too in a work which is actually dedicated to these same personages. It is a matter of public notoriety that the Plurality Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supported by all, or nearly all, the Bishops; and the Curate of Yoxall thinks fit to say of the conduct of these spiritual Lords, that it does not “bear even the faint impress of a wish to create a *religious* good.” This sentence certainly does not bear even a faint impress of a wish to conciliate, or of that spirit of humility and charity which ought to guide us in all our differences of opinion with others, and particularly when we happen to differ from our superiors. It would be trifling to suppose that Mr. Riland did not know that the Bill was prepared under the directions of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and to say that the hands of the Archbishop are “contracted by graspings after fresh power and affluence,” is, to say the least of it, very ungentlemanly; and we are apt to think that gentlemanly and Christian feelings are more really allied than some persons imagine. We have watched the progress of the Plurality Bill with some attention through the House of Lords during the two last sessions, and we were strongly confirmed in the suspicions which we before entertained, that the lay patrons of livings will throw every obstacle in their power in the way of the abolition of pluralities. We are much mistaken if the Bill was not drawn up with an anticipation of this opposition; and though we should perhaps agree with those persons who wish the Bill to have gone greater lengths, we are perfectly willing to admit that the Bishops, who had to fight the battle in the House of Lords, may have had a knowledge of circumstances

which we are not aware of, and that in fact they extorted as many concessions as they could from their opponents.

The Plurality Bill, after all, would have effected more good than its enemies are willing to perceive. No person could have held preferment in two cathedrals. Many of the ancient titles to a dispensation would have been done away. The fiction of the king's books, as a means of ascertaining the value of benefices, would have been abolished; and though a provision was made for allowing one person to hold two livings, it was necessary that the distance between them should not exceed thirty miles. We have observed that many persons object to so much discretionary power concerning dispensations being put in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and this is perhaps Mr. Riland's meaning, when he alludes to "an irresponsibility of individual power and sacerdotal ambition;" and when he uses the metaphor of "hands contracted by recent graspings after fresh power and affluence." It is perhaps not very decorous in a country curate to tell the whole bench of bishops in such unqualified terms that they are grasping after power; but to say that "affluence" was one of the motives which passed across their minds when they supported this bill, is one of the most gratuitous pieces of malevolence which can well be conceived. The reader will judge whether the spirit which could dictate such a sentence as this, is in unison with the spirit of prayer, and whether the author of it is likely to infuse much charity and meekness into the formularies intended for devotion.

The manner in which Mr. Riland criticises the Prayer-book, may be judged of by the following passage:

"The Anglican ritual is spotted and wrinkled with such sarcasm, resentment, abuse and assumption of its own excellence, as grieves and irritates its best friends; while it furnishes gratuitous matter of contempt and recrimination to those whom—and here duty and self-interest are closely combined—it ought to have pitied and disarmed."—p. xvii.

We are not acquainted with the style of language which is current in the parish of Yoxall, but we beg to tell the curate of that village, that this specimen is more suited for the traffickers at Billingsgate than for a synod of divines, whether bishops or curates, who are met to decide upon the best forms for addressing the Almighty. In the names of those blessed martyrs and confessors who drew up our liturgy, we deny the foul-mouthed charge which is here brought against them. They were as much strangers to the spirit of "sarcasm, resentment, and abuse," as they were to the spirit which now animates their intemperate reviler. They had indeed nothing in common with the author of the "*British Liturgy*:" and when he says that these defects of the Anglican

Ritual irritate its best friends, we beg that in future he will answer only for himself. Irritation is a feeling, which he has no right to attribute to other persons: and we do not believe, that any one of the best friends of that ritual ever felt irritated at the parts which he did not approve of. He may have been sorry to see them there, and may have wished for their removal; but he would have used the pruning hook like the good husbandman, who purgeth the branch, that it may bring forth more fruit, and not with the ferocity of an American Indian or Mr. Riland, who use only the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

Another specimen may be found in the following passage:

“The apocryphal defilement of our Prayer-book, with its confused and fictitious version of the Psalms, is too notorious to be further particularised.”

This is the style in which Mr. Riland loves to express himself. He cannot discuss any subject in the spirit of Christian meekness. The compilers of our Liturgy were of opinion that the Apocrypha might be read with advantage on the weekdays, and on holy-days. Good and pious men in more modern times have thought otherwise, and the question is open to fair and temperate discussion. Upon the whole, it might perhaps be best to exclude the Apocrypha from being read in our churches, since the lessons taken from it seem objectionable to some persons: whereas there are none who object to the reading of canonical scripture: but while the subject is under discussion, there is no need to speak of “the Apocryphal defilement of our Prayer-book” nor, as a matter of fact, can the lessons taken from the Apocrypha be said to defile the mouth of him who reads them, nor the ears of him who hears them. The words of Jerom are well quoted in our sixth article, “And the other books (i. e. the Apocrypha,) the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.” This is judicious as well as true: and if we were to put any one of these Apocryphal books, together with Mr. Riland’s introduction, into the hands of a Mahomedan or Hindoo, and were to ask which of the two compositions was most marked with the spirit of humility and devotion, we are afraid that the apocryphal defilement would be most admired. We would recommend Mr. Riland to reform his own style, and perhaps his own heart, before he attempts to reform the Liturgy: and if he can bear to consult a concordance to the Apocrypha, he will find the place from which the following words are taken: “The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life.”

It may be supposed, that the words quoted above from our sixth

article, do not hold a place in the twenty articles which are substituted by Mr. Riland for this formulary of our faith. His first article is "of the Holy Scripture," which appears to be entirely an original composition, with scarcely any resemblance in ideas or expressions to the sixth and seventh of our thirty-nine articles. The definition here given of Holy Scripture," is somewhat remarkable: "Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, we understand all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, in the authorized Version." This mention of "the authorized Version," reminds us very closely of that decree of the Council of Trent, which pronounced the Latin version of the Scriptures, called the Vulgate, to be of equal authority with the Scriptures in their original languages. There would be nothing unreasonable in requiring every clergyman at his ordination to pledge himself to use the authorized version, and no other in the church: but to make the authorized version, excellent as it is, to form a part of the definition of canonical Scripture, is what we should not have expected from a person who blames the Anglican ritual for an "assumption of its own excellence." Our authorized version is unquestionably wrong in some places, as all versions must inevitably be; and it is positively untrue to say that Holy Scripture means "the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, in the authorized version." Wherever this version differs from the original, it does not properly represent "the holy scripture:" and we therefore greatly prefer the definition given in our Articles, which Mr. Riland has so wantonly altered, "In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."

It appears that Mr. Riland has still more serious objections to our Liturgy on the score of doctrine; and his sentiments seem so peculiar upon certain high points of theology, that we cannot do justice to them without stating them in his own words. He first observes that "a Liturgy should be based on doctrines generally acknowledged in the Church of Christ, to the exclusion of all dubious and sectarian opinions. This rule is violated to a very considerable extent in our established ritual." It would have been more candid, as well as more intelligible, if Mr. Riland had specified these dubious and sectarian opinions, upon which our established ritual is based. It would be difficult perhaps to sum up, in a few words, the points upon which any liturgy is *based*; but the sinfulness of our nature, and the promise of pardon through Christ, seem to form the foundation of almost every formulary in the English Prayer Book. We do not quite understand what Mr. Ryland means by "sectarian opinions;" unless

it is to be explained by what he says in the dedication, "that we too are dissenters in the northern division of the empire, as well as schismatics of the darkest hue throughout the far greater portion of Christendom." Every sentiment, therefore, which is anti-popish and anti-presbyterian, may, perhaps, be called "sectarian," *i. e.* there are sects or divisions of Christians who do not agree with us upon these points. But this is absolutely unavoidable in a national liturgy; and we are much mistaken if the English Liturgy can justly be said to be "based" upon any such points as these. So also there are doctrines assumed to be true in our prayer book, which may be called "dubious," *i. e.* not only is it possible for persons to doubt them, but many have actually doubted them and even denied them. The divinity of Christ, and the Atonement are "dubious" doctrines if we consult the Socinian concerning them. The denial of human merit is a "dubious" doctrine if we consult the Romanist; and so we may say of all the great verities of our faith, upon which Mr. Riland himself would wish our liturgy to be based. His own twenty articles are full of "dubious opinions," as, for instance, that the souls of the righteous, immediately after death, "being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day." (Art. 19.) This minute description of the intermediate state may possibly be true, and there may be nothing in it which is positively contradicted by Scripture; but it is certainly not revealed there as an article of faith, and a person who held a different opinion might feel that the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace were not severed by his retaining his own belief upon the subject. We cannot, therefore, help thinking that our Church has acted more wisely than Mr. Riland in not giving a decision upon this mysterious point; and we assert, in opposition to his vague and indefinite aspersion, that our established ritual is based upon doctrines generally acknowledged in the Church of Christ. We are sorry that we cannot say the same for "the British Liturgy."

His objections will perhaps be better understood, if we extract the following passages concerning the Athanasian Creed and those passages in the Prayer Book which allude to the Doctrine of the Trinity.

"A Liturgy should unequivocally recognize the spiritual equality of mankind; and, as such, be addressed alike to the learned and the uneducated. Whatever may be the comparative difference of talent and acquirement among us, the Gospel is in itself equally intelligible to



all; so that, in discovering the way to eternal life, erudition has no advantage over the simplest forms of knowledge. In the established Prayer Book there is occasionally a parade of the language of uninspired theology, as in the Athanasian Creed and elsewhere, totally at variance with the simplicity of Scriptural truth. This tends to develope and inflame the inherent vice of all ecclesiastical power, the division of the Church into esoteric and exoteric classes. It is a fraud by which is retained for the sacerdotal order the possession of certain secrets; a contrivance borrowed from the ancient mysteries, and correspondent to all other exclusive systems, either of Heathen or Anti-Christian invention."—p. xvi.

"After all what is our faith? We believe as far as we act; and how far beyond this let the Athanasian answer with his cold and unspiritual hypothesis of the Trinity; where there is a definition of a Father without love, of a Son with none of the attributes of a Redeemer, and of a Spirit without energy and consolation. It is painful to extend this remark to any of those treatises on points of orthodox faith, which are looked upon as standards. What have Jones of Nayland, and Archbishop Magee actually achieved for the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Atonement? What have they done beyond proving the existence of these tenets in the Scripture—their bare, abstract being? It might be difficult to adjust the proportion of evil between such an intellectual perception of religious truth as men generally call faith—and particularly when applied to what they emphatically call the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity—and a rejection of the theory between the verbal Trinitarian and the professed Socinian. In common life we dread a false, formal, or inefficient friend, more than a declared enemy; and the feeling is perfectly applicable to religion. Theoretic Trinitarianism, or the scheme of Athanasius, is upheld by the Antinomian and the self-righteous, by the defenders of image-worship, purgatory, human merit, positive absolution, and various collateral heresies; all of which are crushed and scattered when the doctrine of the Trinity is once realized, applied, and made the nourishment of the spiritual life."—p. xxii.

We are here obliged to repeat our regret that Mr. Riland cannot discuss any subject temperately and quietly. We should, perhaps, ourselves be disposed to listen to the proposal for removing the Athanasian Creed from our Liturgy; and we say this because the objections come from so many quarters, and from persons of such genuine piety. The spirit of peace and conciliation would incline us to forego our own opinions; but if we were called upon to debate the question, we should feel bound to say that very few persons seem to understand why the Athanasian Creed was first introduced into any Liturgy, and why our reformers gave it a place in their Prayer Book. The common remark is, that the Athanasian Creed, as being a mere human composition, ought not to be retained. Mr. Riland speaks of it as "a parade of the language of uninspired theology, totally at vari-

ance with the simplicity of Scriptural truth;" in which sentence there is a marvellous confusion of ideas, or at least a begging of the question. Mr. Riland probably means that the language of the Creed is at variance with the simplicity of the language of Scripture; but "the simplicity of Scriptural truth" is a very equivocal expression. A simple doctrine may be true, and a complex doctrine may be true: but the simple doctrine may be explained in simple language, whereas the terms of the complex doctrine will probably be complex. To say, therefore, that the language of the Athanasian creed is at variance with the simplicity of Scriptural truth, proves nothing at all. The question is, whether the doctrine of the creed is at variance with Scriptural truth, and this is to be decided by a careful investigation, not by a flippant, dogmatical assertion. The compiler of the Athanasian creed had no intentions of making "a parade," when he used the language which was in common use in his own day; and as to the theology of the creed being "uninspired," this is the very point at issue: the Church has believed for twelve centuries, that the doctrine of the creed is a necessary consequence from positions contained in the inspired writings: Mr. Riland appears to think the contrary; and yet after all, the Church may possibly be right and Mr. Riland wrong.

With respect to the Athanasian creed being a mere human composition, it is perfectly true as a literary fact. The paper or parchment, the pen, and the ink, which were employed by the first composer of it, were all manufactured by human hands; but what has this to do with the doctrines of the creed being fairly deducible from the Scriptures or no? Is Coke upon Lyttleton a book of no authority, because it is not an act of parliament? The same argument would oblige us to reject all confessions of faith; and even the British Liturgy must be classed with "uninspired theology." The question for consideration is, whether the assertor or the denier of the doctrines contained in the Athanasian creed is supported by Scripture. It is of no use to say, that the mysterious points discussed in this creed had better have been left unnoticed. Mr. Riland is perhaps not aware, but the reader of ecclesiastical history well knows, that every clause in the Athanasian creed was directed against some particular heresy. When the Arians had once raised the dispute, whether Christ was a created Being or no, the Church could not be silent. It is utterly untrue, that she drew up her creeds "to develope and inflame the inherent vice of all ecclesiastical power—the division of the Church into esoteric and exoteric classes." Nothing could be less esoteric, than the numerous creeds and confessions of the fourth and fifth centuries. They were drawn up in



crowded councils, were promulgated with the most studied publicity, and steps were taken for the frequent recitation of them. The Athanasian creed, as is well known, was the work of a private individual; but it was adopted by the Church at large, because it embodied the decisions of all the most famous councils, and it appeared to preclude the equivocations and evasions which had been practised by many persons pretending to believe the Trinity. The damnatory clauses, as they are commonly called, may justly give offence to the pious and charitable Christian; and most heartily do we wish that they could be quietly expunged from the creed, but we suspect, that Mr. Riland is utterly ignorant of the connection between the belief in a Trinity and the scheme of Christian redemption.

If Jesus Christ was a created Being, and not of the same substance and nature with God, we have no assurance that his death was an atonement for the sins of the world. Let us believe with the modern Unitarian, that he was a mere man, and it is impossible to believe that he expiated the sins of the whole human race. The history of Socinianism bears us out in this assertion. The founders of that heresy denied the death of Christ to have been an expiatory sacrifice; and the notion of an atonement, in the received sense of that expression, is treated by the school of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham with the utmost ridicule and contempt. We wish that this fact was more generally remembered. It is not strange that sceptics or semi-christians should represent the Socinian controversy as one of logical or metaphysical subtlety: many of them perhaps know no better: but when writers like Mr. Riland, who are sincere believers in the atonement, and who renounce all notion of human merit, can speak of "the proportion of evil" being equal "between the verbal Trinitarian and the professed Socinian," it is necessary to remind them, that the professed Socinian rejects the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, whereas the verbal Trinitarian is fully prepared to admit it. The Socinian not only denies that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, but that he died upon the cross for the sins of mankind: and if the doctrine of Christ's divinity and of his atonement must thus stand and fall together, is it not true to say of one or the other: "This is the Catholic faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved?" Except a man believe faithfully that Jesus Christ died to save us from our sins, he has no promise of salvation: and except he believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, he will not believe that he died for our sins: so that even the damnatory clauses, (though we still repeat our wish for their exclusion) have much more to be said in their defence than Mr. Riland is aware of. If they

merely referred to a speculative hypothesis concerning the nature of Christ, it might be presumptuous to use them; but when we consider that a denial of Christ's divinity implies necessarily a denial of his atonement, we can hardly help feeling that the words are true, though we may regret that they are used in a public formulary of the Church.

We were at first inclined to think, that Mr. Riland's zeal against the Athanasian creed was so excessive, and that it was so long since he had suffered himself to read it, that he had quite forgotten it. He speaks of the Athanasian having a "cold and unspiritual hypothesis of the Trinity, where there is a definition of a Father without love, of a Son with none of the attributes of a Redeemer, and of a Spirit without energy and consolation." This would apply still more strongly to the Apostles' creed: but what can be more uncharitable, as well as more absurd, than to say that a man is not thinking of the mercies of redemption, because he happens at the moment to be defining the nature of the Redeemer? If the Church of England put nothing else into our mouths but a dry recitation of the attributes of the Godhead, there might be some ground for this indecent sarcasm; but when almost every prayer expresses the doctrines of Redemption and Sanctification, it is most unfair to abuse the creed, because being exclusively directed to one point it does not embrace many others. The creed, however, does not mention the Son "with none of the attributes of the Redeemer." We must remember, that it is intended to be recited by Christians, by men who are sincere believers in the doctrine of Redemption; and when such persons are told in the creed that they must "believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ," when they acknowledge that he "suffered for our salvation—rose again the third day from the dead—ascended into heaven—and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead"—the whole scheme of redemption is in fact professed and acknowledged. With respect to the other charge against the creed, that "there is a definition of a Spirit without energy and consolation," Mr. Riland would do well to remember, that unless the Athanasian doctrine concerning the third person in the Trinity be admitted, all notion of energy or consolation as connected with the Holy Ghost is utterly destroyed. If Mr. Riland knows any thing of the Sabellian or Unitarian theories concerning the Holy Ghost, he must know that the agency of this mysterious Being is reduced by either of them to a mere name. If a man rejects the Athanasian creed, it is most probable that his practical notions of the Holy Spirit and of Sanctification are unsound: but if he fully believe, that the Holy Spirit

is a divine person, it is almost impossible for him to detach the notion from that of energy and consolation.

We are willing to believe that Mr. Riland has already repented of his unprovoked attack upon Jones of Nayland and Archbishop Magee: unless indeed, which we strongly suspect, he has not read the works of either of them, and only mentions them for the purpose of sneering at human learning. He asks, "what have Jones of Nayland and Archbishop Magee actually achieved for the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Atonement? What have they done beyond proving the existence of these tenets in the Scripture—their bare, abstract being." The answer is plain to any person who feels in his own heart the corruption of our nature, and who has read the triumphant dissertations of Archbishop Magee. We shall at present confine our remarks to the latter writer, because he is the most recent, and because his mortal remains were scarcely cold, when they were insulted by this presumptuous and unfeeling critic. Death has cut short his literary labours; but we feel a sure and certain hope that he is gone to reap the fruit of that Atonement on which he so firmly relied, *and though dead he yet speaketh*. Yet Mr. Riland asks, "what has he done?" Let him read the pages, in which the assertions of Priestley are confuted, who maintained, that man is able by his own moral perfections to merit the favour of heaven. Let him listen to the Archbishop, while with an union of the profoundest learning and the most humble piety, he crushes and annihilates this fatal arrogance of the self-righteous Unitarian. He will find the doctrine of the Atonement placed upon a foundation, which is wholly independent of scholastic definitions or theological subtlety. It is demonstrated by an appeal to our own hearts. The sinner is asked whether his own merits could give him boldness at the day of judgment; and when trembling he answers in the negative, he finds his consolation in hearing from the Scripture, that God has accepted an atonement. When the arguments of Archbishop Magee are refuted, it will be time enough to answer the question, "What has he done?" and if the Archbishop had been reminded that "the scheme of Athanasius is upheld by the Antinomian and the self-righteous, by the defenders of image-worship, purgatory, &c." he would piously have exclaimed, God be praised! Instead of using this as an argument against what is so foolishly called "theoretic Trinitarianism," he would have rejoiced to think, that men, who are so grievously in error upon some points, are yet sound upon others of fundamental importance. We scarcely remember to have met with a more wretched argument, than that the scheme of Athanasius must be wrong, because it is held by the Roman Catho-

lics. Unless Mr. Riland means this, the sentences quoted above is worse than unmeaning. At all events, it is most uncharitable to the Roman Catholics, of whom a pious Protestant ought to be glad to think, that they agree with ourselves upon some points which are essential to salvation. Mr. Riland seems to assume that they must be in error upon every point: and we have only to hope, that he will not be selected as the champion of Protestantism whenever the Popish controversy shall be revived.

We have said, that Mr. Riland is fond of sneering at human learning; and it is only on this principle, that we can account for his going out of his way to expose his own extraordinary ignorance about the Gnostics. The passage, (if we have succeeded in unravelling its high-flown phraseology) appears to speak of the study of ecclesiastical history, as not merely superfluous and mischievous, but as being actually promoted by the influence of evil spirits. His words are as follow:—

“ In the intermediate season, we are called upon, as believers in Jesus Christ, to wrestle against the *rulers of the darkness of this world*, whatever shape of heaven they may assume. Great will be our privilege, if we can detect these princes and potentates when linked to some radiant angel (or to the appearance of one,) who would lead us from discovering real evils, to pursue some small heresy which will soon be forgotten. Thinking minds must have often wondered how men of intellect and erndition could have condescended to waste their time upon such unmeaning and perishable nonsense as, for example, the opinions of the Gnostics—*dignus non vindice nodus*—till they considered, that these trifles equally serve, like the pleasures of the race-course and card-table, to draw off the soul from eternal realities.”

It is plain, from this passage, that Mr. Riland supposes the opinions of the Gnostics to have been a “small heresy.” He is utterly ignorant, that through the whole of the second century the Gnostics were the most formidable enemy which the Church had to encounter. If “men of intellect and erudition,” such as Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, &c. &c., had not “condescended to waste their time upon such unmeaning and perishable nonsense;” or, to speak more correctly, if it had not pleased God to raise up these champions of our faith, Christianity had been well-nigh overthrown. The earliest literature of the Christians arose out of controversies with the Gnostics: and the ecclesiastical historian is compelled to attend to this extravagant philosophy during great part of the three first centuries. The interest excited by the Gnostics is greatly increased, if we could feel certain that their appearance had been predicted by St. Paul, and the success of their doctrines had been lamented by St. John. There are several expressions in the New Testament, which

become much more intelligible, if we suppose them to be directed against the Gnostics: and though this interpretation is not universally adopted, the expositor of Scripture can hardly avoid examining it: and Mr. Riland perhaps stands alone in thinking that the illustration of the New Testament, and the study of ecclesiastical antiquity, are promoted by *the rulers of the darkness of this world*, "who would lead us from discovering real evils." It is quite true, though Mr. Riland has probably used the words at random, that Gnosticism is "perishable nonsense." The wonder is, that such monstrous absurdities should have gained such a hold upon the human mind; but this is not the fault of the ecclesiastical historian; it is his misfortune to be compelled to disfigure his page with the ravings of the Gnostics; and if he should want an argument in defending himself against Mr. Riland for studying this subject, he may find it in the following passage of Mr. Riland's own work.

"The idle opinions of the early centuries speedily vanished; and such as have succeeded to them, in the present times, would more rapidly disappear, if they were left to themselves. The *transient* heresies of the Church should always be accurately distinguished from those which are *permanent*. The former come like shadows, and so depart, and, like the eclipses of the heavenly bodies, have their regular recurrences. The latter are *perpetually* at war with the influences and progress of Christianity. The Antinomian and the self-justifier are the real and standing enemies of the Established Communion."

Mr. Riland was little aware, that in writing this sentence he not only furnished a justification of the study of Gnosticism, but proves it to be an absolute duty. He says expressly, that the Antinomian heresy is *permanent*, and, therefore, it ought to be attacked; but he is evidently ignorant, that the earliest Antinomians on record were Gnostics. One division of these irrational philosophers maintained upon principle that morality was a thing perfectly indifferent: and it was to guard their flocks from this pestilential error, that the Christian bishops and pastors composed so many volumes in refutation of the Gnostics. If Mr. Riland should undertake a history of Antinomianism, (which would be a very useful and interesting work,) he would find himself obliged to wade through a wearisome mass of evidence connected with the Gnostics. He would then find how greatly mistaken he was when he said that "the idle opinions of the early centuries speedily vanished." Perhaps also he would repent of having made the uncharitable insinuation, that these studies equally serve, "like the pleasures of the race-course and card-table, to draw off the soul from eternal realities." We are no advocates of the race-course or the card-table! we can see

the evils which both of them cause to the bodies and souls of men: but when a minister of the gospel can deliberately compare an important branch of ecclesiastical history with these fashionable vices, we can only lament that so much ignorance and such want of charity should be united in a reformer of the Liturgy.

We may now proceed to what appears to have been uppermost in Mr. Riland's mind, when he gave vent to those virulent attacks upon the Book of Common Prayer, which we have quoted from his Introduction. Mr. Riland belongs to a school of theology, which thinks proper to attach new ideas to certain terms, and then is very angry with those persons who use these same terms in the ancient sense, which has been affixed to them for centuries by the Catholic Church. There is no harm in a writer employing any term in a peculiar signification, if he takes care to give his own definition: but such a plan is rather at variance with the precision of language and of ideas; and experience has shown, that there would have been less division in the Church, if words had continued to be used in their ancient, ecclesiastical, sense. We might illustrate this remark by the terms, *Faith, Regeneration, a Christian*, and some others. Mr. Riland finds fault with the English Liturgy, because it assumes that all the persons who use it, are Christians. But in doing this, he attaches a peculiar meaning to the term *Christian*. He confounds *a Christian* with a good Christian; *a member of Christ* with a sound and healthy member; *a child of God* with an obedient child; *an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven*, with an actual possessor of the glories of that kingdom. He does not see, that a Christian means merely a person who has been engrafted into the body of Christ's Church, who has had the happiness of heaven placed within his reach in consequence of his believing in the death of Christ. Mr. Riland assumes that a man cannot be a Christian, unless he lives in obedience to the Gospel; nor is there any harm in his using this language, if he takes care to explain, that he uses it figuratively. As a mere matter of fact, or rather, as a mere question of language, a man does not cease to be Christian, when he commits an act of sin. His actions had nothing to do with making him a Christian, unless we call his faith an action; (which would be another instance of a confusion of terms:) and so his actions cannot make him cease to be a Christian, as long as he has faith. Mr. Riland has an answer to this, by saying, that such a person has not faith, and therefore he is not a Christian. He says, "after all, what is our faith? We believe as far as we act:" and hence he concludes, that if a man does not act as the Gospel tells him, he does not believe the Gospel. But this conclusion is positively false. Neither Mr.



Riland, nor any other person, whether theologian or lexicographer, has a right to alter the meaning of words. He has no right to say, that Faith means the life and conduct of the man who professes this faith. The answer is, that Faith has not this meaning, either in the English language, or in the Bible. It is perfectly true, that a man who professes to have faith, ought to show it in his actions; and it is perfectly true, that we speak of a living and a dead faith; but no artifice of logic or divinity can make a dead faith to be no faith at all. A dead body is still a body: or if we take the analogy pointed out by our Saviour, a dead tree, though it bears no fruit, is still a tree; nor does an oak, when dead, become a fir or a horse-chesnut. The existence or non-existence of faith is as much a question for the metaphysician as the theologian: and if a notorious sinner says from his heart, that he believes Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and that he died for our sins, Mr. Riland may be as uncharitable as he pleases in denying such a man to have faith, but he cannot change the meaning of words, nor make faith to be the same with the actions which flow from faith.

We have said that his dogmatical assertion, "We believe as far as we act," is positively false. It is false, as a metaphysical fact: and whoever says, that belief always influences action, can hardly understand what the two terms, belief and action, signify. We will take a common instance. A man believes—nay, he is firmly convinced, that a bottle of wine will make him drunk: but in spite of his belief and his conviction he finishes his bottle and falls under the table. Now it does not need the sagacity of Mr. Riland to see that such a man has acted foolishly as well as wickedly: wickedly, inasmuch as he has disobeyed the Gospel; and foolishly, because he fully believed that drunkenness would ensue. But, says, Mr. Riland, "we believe as far as we act:" and the man clearly acted like one who did not believe that wine would make him drunk: *ergo*, he did not believe it. But what wretched drivelling is this in the shape of argument! Belief is belief, and action is action. The two ideas are essentially distinct, and the words which represent the ideas cannot be confounded. We will take another case, which is more suited to the present subject. St. Peter professed his belief that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. He undoubtedly believed this before his denial; and it is as certain that he believed it after. Will Mr. Riland then say, that at the moment of his denial he ceased to believe it? He certainly acted as if he did not believe it: and according to the principle that "we believe as far as we act," he was at that moment without faith. Had St. Peter said this in his own defence, the equivocation would have been



palpable: and if we could dive into his heart at the time when he was weeping bitterly, we should see that the guilt of acting contrary to his faith was pressing heavily upon his soul.

We were led into these remarks concerning the nature of belief, because we ventured to say, in opposition to Mr. Riland, that a man may be a Christian, though he does not live as a Christian. The English Liturgy assumes that every person who uses it is a Christian; and this excites the bile of Mr. Riland. He complains of "the indiscriminate and gregarious manner in which the members of a *national* Church—gathering, as a matter of course, within its fold, the very dregs and refuse of mankind, both socially and spiritually—are addressed in our services;" and he tells us, that "forms of devotion should be constructed on the fact that the visible Church is a mixed communion, and, therefore, assuming neither the sincerity nor hypocrisy of any of its members." If Mr. Riland understood the meaning of terms, he would know that this is exactly the principle upon which the English ritual is constructed. He has himself defined the visible Church to consist "of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion:" (ART. XV.) and accordingly the Church of England has put words into the mouth of all those persons who profess the true religion in this country: but whether they profess it with sincerity or hypocrisy, or rather, whether they act up to their professions, (for this is the real question at issue,) she does not pretend to assume. Mr. Riland charges our Liturgy with making this assumption, and writes as follows: "A contrary supposition, and in direct opposition to the twenty-sixth Article of the Anglican Church—and this, too, at perfect variance with its own positions in the nineteenth—does yet characterise our public formularies; rendering them obviously and injuriously inconsistent with themselves."

Never was there a more unfortunate selection of instances to support an attack. In the first place our public formularies are not "in direct opposition to the twenty-sixth Article." That Article begins with saying, "although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, &c.;" and these doubtless are the words which Mr. Riland had in view. But every prayer, and every thanksgiving in our Liturgy, are constructed upon the notion, that the evil are mingled with the good. In every page of the Prayer Book we are taught to acknowledge ourselves to be sinners: and this acknowledgement is not in the least at variance with the words of the nineteenth Article, as Mr. Riland has asserted it to be. The nineteenth Article defines the visible Church to be "a congregation of *faithful* men, &c.;" and it is plain that Mr. Riland has conjured up this contradiction, because

he is determined to affix his own sense to the term *faithful*. He conceives the Church of England to say in her nineteenth Article, that all the members of the visible Church live in faithful obedience to the Gospel; in which case it would not be true to say, that “in the visible Church the evil are mingled with the good.” But this is a meaning of the word *faithful*, which the compilers of our Liturgy never intended it to bear. A congregation of faithful men,—or *cætus fidelium*, as it is in the Latin—means merely a body of men who believe in Christ. Whether they act up to their belief, is a totally different question, and has nothing to do with their being members of the visible Church. If they believe in Christ, that is, if they hope to be saved through the merits of Christ’s death, they are, in the language of the Church and of the New Testament, believers: and the definition in the nineteenth Article is precisely the same, only in other words, with that which is given by Mr. Riland himself, that “the visible Church consists of all those throughout the world that *profess* the true religion.” The Greek term *πιστὸς*, (which is translated *faithful* in our nineteenth Article,) is always used by St. Paul in this sense. Believers and unbelievers are the two divisions, which comprehended all mankind. If a man believed in Christ, and had been admitted by baptism into the Church, he was called *πιστὸς*, *fidelis*, i. e. faithful, or a believer; but St. Paul never meant to say, that a man ceased to be a believer, when he ceased to live in obedience to the Gospel; he told him plainly, that if he continued in this course he would not inherit the Kingdom of God, and so says the Church of England in her Articles and Liturgy; but still she says (if we couple the nineteenth and twenty-sixth Articles together,) that “the visible Church is a congregation of faithful men, in which the evil are ever mingled with the good;” nor will Mr. Riland ever be able to prove, that the two clauses of this sentence contradict each other, or that either of them is at variance with the Liturgy or the Scriptures.

The preceding remarks will enable us to expose the extraordinary fallacy, which pervades another sentence in Mr. Riland’s Introduction. He says:

“It has been urged, that to cause an irreligious man to perform *any* religious act is to make him a hypocrite; as, for example, to persuade him to repeat the Confession, when he bewails no sin, and asks for no forgiveness, but, in fact, insults the Almighty by a practical falsehood. It is, notwithstanding, the duty of such a character to confess his sins, but it is *not* his duty to say that he is a Christian.”

In answer to this, we assert that it is his most imperative duty to confess himself a Christian. He is not to ask forgiveness of

Christ, as of one to whom he was hitherto a stranger; he is not to represent himself as an unbeliever, as one who had hitherto received no benefits from Christ; it is his ingratitude to *his own Redeemer* which ought to weigh him down with a sense of his guilt. He is to say—Lord, thou hast called me to be a Christian, but I have disobeyed thy Gospel; thou hast redeemed me with thy precious blood, but I have contracted a fresh load of guilt. A confession like this, though coming from a grievous sinner, can only come from a Christian. Mr. Riland will allow, that to confess our sins, and to pray for forgiveness, are not the acts of our own unregenerate nature, but can only proceed from the Holy Spirit of God; and we have yet to learn that God gives the assistance of His Holy Spirit to persons who are not Christians.

The next sentence to the one last quoted contains a similar attack upon the Catechism.

“It is the duty of a baptized, but profane and pilfering child, to own his profaneness and fraud; but suppose the same child tells us that the Holy Ghost sanctifies *him*, and all the elect people of God!”

The fallacy here consists in the supposition that the child is taught to say that the Holy Ghost was sanctifying him at the time of his committing the act of profaneness or fraud; but if he does not say this, (which he plainly does not,) it is perfectly just and scriptural for him to say, “I believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.” If a person does not believe that there is any Holy Ghost, it would of course be most profane and wicked in him to make this profession: but this is not the case which Mr. Riland intends to put; he is speaking of a child who has committed acts of sin, and he objects to the child being taught to say that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth *him*. But the child does not exactly say this. He says, “*I believe in the Holy Ghost, which sanctifieth me;*” that is, I believe that there is a Holy Ghost, whose office is to strengthen and assist all those persons who, like myself, have been engrafted into the body of Christ’s Church: I believe that if I ever have had holy thoughts, they were put into my heart by the Holy Ghost. This is the plain meaning of the words. They are a declaration of the child’s belief as to the office of the third person in the Trinity, and there is no reason, moral or theological, why this belief should be affected by a consciousness of this spiritual influence having been disregarded.

Mr. Riland’s notions upon this subject are abundantly refuted by the language adopted by St. Paul in all his Epistles. It will be conceded that the term *brother*, as used by this Apostle, is equivalent to *Christian*, as when he says, “*But brother goeth to*

*law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.*”—1 Cor. vi. 6. St. Paul never uses the term Christian, but it is plain that he would not have considered a person to have forfeited his right to that title by living in sin: thus he says, “*But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner,*” (verse 11.): so that St. Paul conceived it possible for *a brother*, i. e. a Christian, to have committed any of these acts of sin, and still to be called *a brother*. According to Mr. Riland, it was the duty of such persons to confess their sins, but not to call themselves Christians. St. Paul thought differently. His language to his converts was, “*Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus,*” (Gal. iii. 26.); and if Mr. Riland would restrict the word *all* by applying it only to those who obeyed the Gospel, the next verse precludes this interpretation, where it is said, “*For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.*” Here the fact of *having put on Christ*, i. e. of having become a Christian, is made to be coextensive with baptism; and when Mr. Riland complains of “the indiscriminate and gregarious manner in which the members of a national church are addressed in our services,” he should remember that this last passage, quoted from St. Paul, is equally indiscriminate. Nothing, indeed, can be more general than his appeal to the Corinthians.—“*Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I, then, take the members of Christ and make them the members of an harlot?*”—1 Cor. vi. 15. It was possible, therefore, in the opinion of St. Paul, for a person who had become a member of Christ, to commit a grievous act of sin; and yet, even after the sin was committed, St. Paul addresses such persons as members of Christ, and says to them, “*What, know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?*”—(verse 19.) The appeal is entirely lost if we suppose it to be made to good and religious people only; and when the Church of England addresses all her members as Christians and as sanctified, she is using precisely the same language which was used by St. Paul. If the Church of England is to be censured for so doing, St. Paul must be censured also; and whatever explanation is given to the words of the Apostle, ought also to be extended to the formularies of the Church of England.

But the most amusing part in Mr. Riland’s argument is yet to come. He has recourse to what he seems to consider an analogy, and says—

“Let us try the principle by the rules of common life. A man has cheated me in the sale of an estate. He allows this, and then adds that his character is upright. Shall I treat him accordingly, and forthwith

purchase of him another estate? Shall I deal with the confessor, or with the swindler? In things civil or religious, if we *must* put all men upon one moral level, the inference is obvious—it is matter of irresistible necessity. But, in point of fact, we do this *only* in religion: common sense and human interest forbid it elsewhere."

Here then is Mr. Riland's analogy. He compares a man who has violated his duty to God, with one who has violated his duty to his neighbour: and he supposes the latter to say of himself—"that his character is upright." But where is the analogy for this in the Prayer-book? An upright character in transactions between man and man, would be analogous to what is called a good or religious character in things spiritual: but where has Mr. Riland found in the Prayer-book, that all persons are taught to profess themselves good and religious? The service opens with a general confession, in which all persons are to declare themselves miserable offenders. In the Litany we pray to God, to have mercy upon us miserable sinners: all which appears extremely unlike the case of the swindler, who says that his character is upright. We know very well what Mr. Riland means. The Liturgy assumes, that every person who uses it is a Christian. It supposes, with St. Paul, that as many as have been baptized unto Christ have put on Christ: and because the Liturgy is constructed upon this scriptural principle, Mr. Riland chuses to say, that "it puts all men upon one moral level." In one sense, indeed, it does put all men upon one moral level. It requires that all men should confess themselves to be sinners. But this is the very opposite of what is intended by Mr. Riland: he means, that the Liturgy puts all men upon one moral level, because it tells all men to say, that their characters are upright: and when we think of the extraordinary departure from truth which this statement contains, we feel glad that Mr. Riland's book allows us to attribute this to his head instead of his heart.

We have no wish to enter at much length into the question of baptismal regeneration: but Mr. Riland seems so entirely ignorant of the meaning which was attached to the word *regeneration* by the compilers of our liturgy, that we are compelled to notice his observations upon this subject. In the dedication he complains of the Church of England as assuming that "all the baptized are regenerate:" and we are aware that there are many pious and excellent persons in the present day, who join him in making this complaint. The objection, however, if advanced thus nakedly and simply, contains either an equivocation or a positive misstatement. When it is said that the Church of England considers all baptized persons as regenerate, it seems to be insinuated, that she looks to the mere outward washing with water, and to the reading of the prescribed form. But this is not true. She says, in her twenty-

seventh article, that baptism is “a sign of regeneration, whereby they that receive baptism *rightly* are grafted into the church:” and this word *rightly*, though it seems to be overlooked by Mr. Riland and his party, is of the greatest importance in the present discussion. We find from the Catechism, that repentance and faith are required of persons to be baptized: so that if these are not present, the baptism is not received *rightly*, and the Church of England does not pronounce such persons to be regenerate. The church holds the same doctrine with respect to both sacraments: and as she says that “the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ,” so she as plainly leaves us to infer, that they who do not repent and are void of a lively faith, though they be carnally and visibly washed with water, yet are not, by virtue of such baptism, grafted into the church. The rubric prefixed to the ministration of baptism to such as are of riper years leaves no doubt upon the subject: and we mention this as shewing, that Mr. Riland ought to qualify or explain his words, when he objects to the Church of England as holding that “all the baptized are regenerate,” she holds that all persons baptized *rightly* are regenerate, i. e. all persons who repent of their sins and believe in Christ: and we have a right to suppose that Mr. Riland also believes this, since his own seventeenth article says of baptism, that it is, “to such as have baptism *rightly*, a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of their engrafting into Christ, of regeneration, &c. &c.” Thus far, then, it is difficult to see much difference between the language of the Church of England and of Mr. Riland on the subject of baptismal regeneration.

The question, however, becomes more complicated, when the baptism of infants forms, as it must necessarily do, part of the discussion. If we understand the reasoning of Mr. Riland and his party, we suspect that they would not object to the doctrine of the church concerning baptismal regeneration, if all persons were baptized at an adult age. They would allow, that if persons come to the font, repenting of their sins, and believing in the atonement of Christ, they are admitted into the body of Christ’s Church; and if they come without repentance and faith, the Church of England does not pronounce them to be regenerated by baptism. But Mr. Riland cannot understand how an infant can have been regenerated, if he turns out ill in after life, and dies a notorious sinner. It is evident that a case like this presents great difficulty to Mr. Riland’s mind: and it is as clear that he saw great force in the following remark:



“ I hear that a notorious drunkard, although in the prime of his days, died suddenly, last night, at a public house. I bury this very individual to-morrow, and thank God for his death; and I remember that ten years ago he described himself, before his confirmation, as one of the elect; and that, in his infancy, I thanked God for his adoption into his family!”

It is only the last sentence of this passage with which we are at present concerned, and we are not going to explain to Mr. Riland how an infant is presumed to have faith: we only wish to expose the prevalent error of modern times, of making a man's present state of life the test of his past regeneration. The error has arisen from an entire misconception, or at least a forgetfulness, of the meaning of the term *regeneration*. Regeneration, which is a single act, is confounded with the life of a regenerated Christian: and if a man is not living, as a regenerated Christian ought to live, he is said at once not to have been regenerated. But neither propriety of language, nor the Scriptures, allow us to form such a judgment as this. *Regenerate* or *regenerated* (for they are the same words) is a passive participle, answering to the Greek *ἀναγεννηθείς*: and an equivalent expression would be *begotten* or *born anew*. It is needless to observe, that the idea conveyed by the term is metaphorical. The gross conception of Nicodemus does not now require to be refuted. Every child of Adam is supposed to have died in the person of Christ, and to be born or begotten anew, when God adopts him as His son, and takes him into covenant. He does not really die, and he is not really born again: both processes take place figuratively or spiritually; but without this second birth the person is not taken into covenant with Christ, and has no promise of eternal life. Regeneration and adoption are convertible terms, though the metaphor implied by each is different: but no person can be regenerated without being adopted by God; and no person is adopted by God without being regenerated. Adoption is perhaps the most natural metaphor of the two: for human ideas present no analogy of a second birth; but they do present the analogy of a man adopting another person's son as his own. Let us then follow up these analogies, and see whether we can draw any conclusion as to the regeneration of a Christian, from the fact of his not leading a Christian life.

We will first take the case of a father and his own begotten son. We will suppose the conduct of the son to be most ungrateful and unnatural: we will suppose him to injure his father, or even to raise his hand against his father's life. No language would be too strong in reprobation of such conduct, but still the murderer



is his father's own begotten son: the past fact of his generation or birth cannot be affected by his subsequent actions; and there is no profaneness in saying, that God himself cannot make a begotten son cease to be a begotten son. The case is the same in adoption. The father may cancel every promise which he made to his adopted son: he may wholly cast him off, and the relation in which they stood to each other may henceforward be at an end; but still the past fact of the adoption cannot be set aside; and it would be most absurd to argue, that the adoption had never taken place, because it afterwards terminated, and because the adopted son shewed himself unworthy of the adoption. It would be equally absurd, as far as the analogy of language is concerned, to say that a man was not re-begotten by God, or was not adopted into his family, because he subsequently deserved to be cast off. God has condescended to speak of the spiritual relation in which he stands to us, according to the analogy of human ideas: and when we are inquiring into the mere fact, whether a man has been adopted by God or no, we must not mix up with it the totally different question, whether he has been grateful for his adoption, and whether he has profited by the advantages which his second or spiritual birth conveyed to him. There is, therefore, nothing extraordinary in the case which appears to have so perplexed Mr. Riland, that of a notorious drunkard dying in a fit of intoxication, who yet was considered to have been adopted by God in his infancy. The whole of this perplexity arises, as we have already observed, from a totally new idea having been attached to the term *regeneration* in modern times. There are persons who refuse to call a man regenerate, unless he gives signs of his regeneration by his subsequent life; as if regeneration was not the beginning, but the continuance of his spiritual course. Regeneration is not man's act, but God's. It is the act by which God adopts a man for his son, upon his professing his belief in Christ: the man is then buried with Christ, and rises again a new creature: he is taken into covenant with God, and has the happiness of heaven placed within his reach. But to argue, that this process has not taken place, because a man does not walk after the spirit but after the flesh, would be as irrational as to say, that a man was never born because he is now dead, or that he had never been adopted, because he is acting ungratefully to the person who called him his son.

If Mr. Riland, instead of making religion a question of feeling, would study the writings of the Reformers, he would see that regeneration was never confounded with the life of a regenerated Christian, but was always taken for the first admission of a man into the Christian covenant. It was always used in this sense by

the compilers of our Liturgy, and those holy men were closely following St. Paul, when they assumed that baptism is the act by which we are engrafted into the Church. We have already referred to the Apostle's words in his Epistle to the Galatians. "*For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus: for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*"—Gal. iii. 26, 27. If words have any meaning, the Apostle plainly argues, that as many as have been baptized are made the children of God; *i. e.* His adopted children; *i. e.* they are begotten again spiritually; *i. e.* they are regenerated: and the Church of England says no more than this in her Catechism, her Baptismal Service, or any other part of her Liturgy. Mr. Riland would make us believe that baptism merely gives an admission into the *visible* Church; but this distinction of the visible and invisible Church is not warranted by Scripture, and although we may make it for convenience, the question of baptismal regeneration is not at all affected by it. The visible Church comprehends the believers in Christ while they are alive and visible in this world, and is merely opposed to the invisible Church, or the body of believers who hold communion with Christ in another state of being. It is impossible to conceive of the invisible Church that it is anything but *holy and without blemish*; whereas many persons are members of the visible Church here on earth, who will not be members of the invisible Church hereafter. It is, however, a mere quibble to say that a man is not regenerated at baptism, because he is only admitted into the visible Church. It is the only church into which he can be admitted on earth; but if his admission into the visible Church conveys to him that spiritual assistance by which he is finally admitted into the Church triumphant in heaven, his new birth unquestionably began when he was first admitted into the visible Church. It is rather amusing to see the pains which Mr. Riland has taken to disfigure the Scriptural simplicity of our Liturgy, by introducing the word *visible* into the three last formularies of his own baptismal service. These are all taken, after some wanton and needless alterations, from the Book of Common Prayer; and the following sentences occur in them:—

"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is grafted into the body of Christ's *visible* Church," &c.—"We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to incorporate this child into thy *visible* Church."—"Forasmuch as you brought this child to be baptized, and were witnesses of his admission within the *visible* Church of Christ," &c.

The word *regenerate* or *regeneration* is left out with the same scrupulous uniformity which led to the insertion of the word *visi-*

*ble.* Neither of these words is allowed to remain in Mr. Riland's baptismal service, and we have no hesitation in saying, that "the British Liturgy" is the first, since the days of the Apostles, in which an office for baptism was drawn up without any use of the word *regeneration*. All the confessions of the reformed churches assert unequivocally, that persons are regenerated at baptism. The Church of Rome has held the doctrine from the beginning of her existence to the present day. There was no dispute about it at the time of the Reformation. It was undoubtedly held by the compilers of our Liturgy, and it is rather hard that we should now be required to expel the word *regeneration* from our baptismal service, because persons of a certain party choose to attach to it a new meaning, which it was not intended originally to bear.

The systematic omission of this obnoxious word may be seen still more strongly in Mr. Riland's Collect for Christmas Day, which no longer leaves any doubt as to Mr. Riland not understanding what is meant by regeneration. The petition in this Collect stands thus in our Prayer Book:—"Grant that we, being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit;" but Mr. Riland has altered it to, "Grant that we, being made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit." We trust that there are no persons of Mr. Riland's party disingenuous enough to maintain, as it has been maintained, that the Church of England intended this Collect to be a prayer for regeneration; that we pray that *as soon as we shall become* regenerate, and are made the children of God by adoption and grace, we may then be daily renewed by His Holy Spirit. This is manifestly a subterfuge, founded upon a wilful perversion of words. If the Collect were written in Greek, *being regenerate* would be expressed by *ἐναργηθέντες*, as denoting an action which was past; and the meaning is, "Grant that we, having been regenerated at baptism, and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily," &c. We infer that this is admitted by Mr. Riland, or he would not so carefully have left out the word *regenerate*. If he means the Collect as a prayer that we may *hereafter* be made the children of God, he might as well have prayed, even upon his own principles, that we may *hereafter* be regenerated; but the fact is, that he meant to admit that we have been made the children of God by adoption, but he did not like to admit that we have also been regenerated. We have already exposed this miserable fallacy. Regeneration and adoption, as we have observed above, are convertible terms; and if Mr. Riland allows that we have been made the children of God by adoption, it follows necessarily that we have also been regenerated. The adoption of a Chris-

tian by God is a "spiritual regeneration," as it is termed in our baptismal service; and if the doctrine of the Church of England upon this point could be doubted, we may refer to those words in the first formulary prescribed for private baptism—"who being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God:" which passage had a still closer resemblance to the Collect for Christmas Day in the first Book of King Edward VI., where we find—"is now, by the laver of regeneration in baptisme, made the childe of God." This first Book of King Edward contained also a prayer for the consecration of the water, in which we read, "Sanctifie this fountain of baptisme, that by the power of thy worde, all those that shall be baptized therein, may be spiritually regenerated, and made the children of everlasting adoption." These expressions leave no room for doubt that the Church of England understood regeneration and adoption to be different terms for the same act: nor should we have thought it possible for any person to have a doubt upon the subject, if we had not met with the "British Liturgy."

We feel confident that our readers will not misinterpret our meaning. We believe, as fully as Mr. Riland, that many persons are engrafted into the visible Church by baptism, who will not finally be saved. We doubt whether any clergyman of the Church of England ever preached the monstrous doctrine, that all baptized persons will go to heaven. This, at least, is not the language of the Prayer Book; and even if some few persons have been found to say so, we must not, for the fear of this contingent evil, give a new meaning to words, nor discard a doctrine which is supported by Scripture, and which has been held by every church for eighteen centuries. The Church of England maintains that many persons have been baptized who will not finally be saved; but she speaks of all these persons as regenerated Christians: and if Mr. Riland really means to say, as we rather infer from his words, that no regenerated Christian will be found among the number of those who at the last day will be placed on God's left hand, he preaches the most dangerous and shocking doctrine which ever entered into the heart of man. He says plainly of those who are adopted by God, that they are "never cast off;" and that we may not be charged with misrepresenting him, we will transcribe his tenth article, which is entitled "Of Adoption."

"All those that are justified, God vouchsafeth, in and for his only son Jesus Christ, to make partakers of the grace of adoption: by which they are taken into the number, and enjoy the liberties and privileges, of the children of God: have his name put upon them; receive the spirit of adoption; have access to the throne of grace with boldness; are enabled

to cry, Abba, Father; are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by Him as by a father; yet never cast off, but sealed to the day of redemption, and inherit the promises, as heirs of everlasting salvation."

Our readers will recognise in this article the sentiments of those persons who are known by the name of Calvinists, of whom, whatever may be our own opinion, we wish to say nothing harsh or uncharitable. We are willing to believe that Calvinists and Arminians will meet in heaven; and if they have put their sole trust in the merits of their Redeemer, they will then cease to recollect that they differed upon minor points. The Articles of the Church of England are so constructed that they are conscientiously signed by persons of both these religious parties; and the mind of that man must be cast in a singular mould who would wish to draw a broader line of separation, and so to frame the formularies of our national Church, that they must necessarily engender dissension and party feeling. We are sorry to observe that Mr. Riland's articles are written in this uncharitable and unchristian spirit. Whether the adopted children of God are never cast off, is one of those questions which we would willingly leave to the unsearchable counsels of God; but there can be little doubt, as a mere matter of fact, that the majority of the clergy would not assent to the proposition: and when we remember the principle quoted above, from Mr. Riland's own Introduction, that "a Liturgy should be based on doctrines generally acknowledged in the Church of Christ, to the exclusion of all dubious and sectarian opinions," we have only to regret that he should have violated this principle so sadly in his own articles; and we cannot help contrasting them in this respect with the comprehensive and conciliatory spirit of that scriptural Liturgy which he has thought fit to censure and condemn in such unmeasured terms.

We have now nearly done with Mr. Riland and his presumptuous attempt to remodel our Prayer Book. If we were to adopt the language of his own school of theology, we should say that he gives more lamentable proofs of an unregenerate mind than any writer whose works we have lately met with. We would most earnestly entreat him, before he proceeds a step farther in his work of Reformation, to pray fervently to God that his own heart may be reformed. Let him pray for a spirit of humility, piety and charity. He may then ask the aids of human learning, which he now rejects with such contempt. If he looks to the writings of the Fathers, he will see that his own views upon many controverted points are at variance with the whole current of ecclesiastical antiquity. If he consults the Reformers, either of our own country or of Germany, he will find them supporting the opinions which he wishes to efface from our Liturgy. He will

then discover, (and we trust that he will rejoice in the discovery,) that he really agrees with many persons whom before he had denounced as unscriptural, and had almost excluded from heaven. He agrees with them in thinking that faith in Christ is the preliminary condition, without which a man continues under the original curse, and is not taken into covenant by God. He agrees in thinking that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, and that this holiness must proceed from the influence of the Spirit. These are the doctrines of the Church of England as expressed in her Articles and Liturgy. We are also willing to believe that they are the doctrines of Mr. Riland, and if this be so, we have only to hope that he will also borrow from the Church of England her tone of charity and conciliation, and that he will no longer think it the duty of a Christian minister to indulge in language of vituperation and abuse.

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ART. III.—*Excursions in India, including a Walk over the Himalaya Mountains to the Sources of the Jumna and the Ganges.* By Capt. Thomas Skinner, of the 31st Regiment. 2 vols. Colburn and Bentley. 1832.

THOUGH we have long ceased to hope that we may penetrate that mysterious veil of antiquity and mythos which hangs over the origin and civilization of Hindustan, and shrouds from us the real source of the connection which subsisted between its language and those of the countries in the west, still any work which brings before us its living scenery and unchanging peculiarities deserves a careful perusal.

These "excursions," from which we had anticipated such a result, commence with the description of a voyage from Calcutta through the Sunderbunds to Dinapore; from which we collect little beyond a delineation of the usual confusion of a native fleet and an Indian storm,—of Mohammedan fatalism, Hindu superstition, and the gaieties of the Huli; each amply described by preceding writers.

Nevertheless, though we must modify our censures of the author for not having been more diffuse respecting the places on the river, on account of the confessedly detached object of his work, we cannot but regret that when he visited Rajmahal, (Raja-mahal,) and its ruined palace, curiosity or the love of antiquity failed to excite him to enter more fully into detail.

If he considered the former importance and magnificence of the place, and its singular destruction by fire in the reign of Shâh Jehân, (A. D. 1639,) in which act of desolation the inundation of the river combined, carrying away, according to



Ferishta, the very ground on which the city stood, (the ruins of which are still said to be visible at low water,) he would, it might have been thought, have transcribed or translated the Arabic inscriptions on the walls, in the hope of discovering some latent history, and have arrested his too hasty steps, to have scrutinized all that remained of its ancient grandeur. He seems, however, merely to have viewed the place, and heedlessly past onwards.

On his arrival at Delhi, the ancient capital of Hindustan, celebrated for the dominion of the Hindu, Patan, and Moghul dynasties, and the unbounded rapacity of Nadir within its walls, he became more minute and elaborate in his description of its existing state. Its former power has long declined, and the shadow of it daily grows fainter: the authority of the Great Moghul is now confined to the walls of his palace, where alone he affects the regal honours of the long line of conquerors from whom he has descended, and the tombs of the Musulmen remain almost the solitary evidences of the wealth and splendour of the former inhabitants, if we except, indeed, the gorgeous mosques and minarets, covered with gilded metal, and falling to decay.

"The palace walls are very high and built of granite, the red colour of which gives a singular appearance to them. They are surrounded by a deep ditch, and have two very magnificent gates. The interior possesses many vestiges of its early splendor, but mingled with so much shabbiness and dirt that they afford more melancholy than agreeable reflections. The space within is very great, and has all the bustle of a little town."

In eastern towns the streets are generally very narrow, but the principal street of Delhi, the Chandery Choke, is a striking exception, being very broad, in length exceeding a mile, and being divided by an aqueduct, which runs through its centre. "The population is nearly 200,000 souls, in an area of seven miles in circumference, which is the extent of the wall of modern Delhi." The effect of so crowded a population may be easily conceived; and the din and annoyances are scarcely supportable, each occupation being transacted in an open space in front of the shops, which, added to the noise of camels, elephants, and occasionally leopards led in the streets, the sound of the tom-tom, and voices of the passengers, create such a combination of discord as must be endured to be imagined. To this catalogue of grievances may still be adjoined the insufferable dust of horsemen exhibiting their feats of dexterity, the processions of great men accompanied by their stentorian escorts, the never-resting insects and fetid effluvia from the shops, which, independently of the personal risk which some of them occasion, abate by their unremitting molestations the traveller's preconceived desire of inspecting the anti-



quities of the place. Between this city and Cashmère a constant intercourse is maintained, and the goldsmiths and embroiderers have not allowed their credit to be impaired.

Among the most romantic objects the tombs of the moslems may be reckoned. Sometimes they overlook a well-built tank; sometimes they are completely covered by trees. No sect perhaps, the Hindu himself not excepted, is more sedulous in bestowing honours to the deceased: where want of means prevents the erection of a mausoleum, the simple white gravestone surmounted by a turban exhibits its mark of respect, and future visitants are invited by the wells often sunk in the neighbourhood to repair them when they fall to decay. Hence, among the Persians, "to demolish a father's tomb" has become a phrase significant of every possible depravity. Captain Skinner observes, that he

"Heard of a very simple epitaph on a tomb to Gonah Begum, a princess celebrated for her talents, which stands in the midst of a garden laid out by the Emperor Aurungzebe, at a village in the province of Agra. It is equal to Sterne's 'Alas! poor Yorick!' and much before it; it may dispute precedence, too, with the 'Alas! poor Yorick!' of Hamlet; it is simply—'Alas! alas! Gonah Begum!'"

On leaving Delhi he observed a raft to which flowers were attached, the well-known pledges of affection in the east, which was probably allowed to drift down the stream as a divinatory process to ascertain an absent lover's fate. A similar instance he witnessed near Moorshedabad, where innumerable floats, about a foot square, decorated with flowers, covered the surface of the water, which were succeeded by a large raft, nearly occupying the breadth of the stream, composed of plantain trees tied together, and forming a square surrounded by a wall, in the centre of each face of which was a magnificent and highly illuminated gate of variously coloured talc. At every angle were large towers, also illuminated; on the top of the wall were pale blue lights; about it hung lamps of all colours in festoons, and from the centre arose a splendid structure, like a Chinese pagoda, most brilliantly lighted. From this rockets were thrown, and an interchange of fireworks was maintained between it and the shore. The origin of this ceremony is involved in obscurity, but the most probable account is, that as some Hindu girls were formerly practising this mode of fortune-telling, the King of Bengal, in crossing the river, was upset in his boat, but although an expert swimmer could not be found by his attendants, on account of the darkness of the night. Just, however, as his strength began to fail him he was discovered by means of these

illuminated floats, and being rescued, established in gratitude this custom, commonly known as the ceremony of the B'hearer.

From the nature of these excursions we must expect but little connection or continuity in the narrative, and, therefore, shall be obliged to select those parts which, either from their novelty or interest, are more deserving of notice. Robbery (he remarks) is not unfrequent in India, but as the immense extent of the country affords ample means of concealment it is seldom attended with murder. Swords, bludgeons, and spears are the common arms of the depredators. The bludgeon itself is a most formidable instrument, being a thick piece of bamboo about four feet long, loaded at the end with metal, and confined every four or six inches by strong iron rings. If the person in whose room the robbery is about to be committed be asleep, a sentinel stands commonly over him with this weapon, ready to discharge it on his head should he awake, but if he continue to sleep he is left uninjured. This, however, is rarely or ever known within the British jurisdiction. Another mode adopted by thieves to prevent detection as they creep through an apartment, is to fasten a bare knife with the edge uppermost to the arm, and as they crouch beside the bed, should its occupant hear a noise, and stretch forth his hand, they take care that he shall seize the blade, and thus secure their escape.

At length he reached Hurdwar in time to be present at its fair. The pure Sanskrit name of this place is Haridwara, so called, as the gate of Vishnu, from an idea that it is on the road to his heaven Vaikunt'ha. To use the author's words :—

“There are horses from all parts of the globe, elephants, camels, and buffaloes, cows and sheep of every denomination, thickly crowded together ; dogs, cats, and monkeys, leopards, bears, and cheators, sometimes the cubs of a tigress, and always from the elk to the mousedeer, every species of that animal. Shawls from Cashmere, and woollen cloths from England, are displayed on the same stall ; coral from the Red Sea, agate from Guzerat, precious stones from Ceylon, gums and spices from Arabia, assafoetida and rose-water from Persia, brought by the natives of each country to the mart, lie by the side of watches from France, pickles from China, sauces from England, and perfume from Bond-street and the Rue St. Honoré. . . . The dealers invariably ask ten times as much as they mean to take. . . . It is not uncommon for a horse-dealer to fall in the course of a few moments from ten to one thousand rupees. When the bargain is about to be concluded, the buyer and the seller throw a cloth over their hands, and naming a price ascertain by the pressure of certain joints how nearly they are making towards its termination ; by this means, in the midst of a crowd, they deal in secret.”

Yet, during all this traffic, the religious object of the fair is

not disregarded; for crowds succeeding crowds move on to the Ghaut, and bathe and perform their ablutions with the most evident sincerity in the sacred stream. There Brahmins wait to collect their tribute, whilst idle Europeans, lounging on their elephants, sit witnesses of the ceremony, and missionaries are observed distributing tracts to the pilgrims in their various languages. Hurdwar, or Haridwara, is a school of manners and customs; there may be seen inhabitants of the remotest East, Sikhs, Bengális, Ghorkas, the men of Cabul, and of Thibet, the Arab and the Persian, as contrasted from each other as they are from the European among them, and from the sacred shell of the Brahmin to the roaring of wild beasts, there is an equal difference in the surrounding scene. Here the captain was doomed to experience the slight of hand of the Hindu thief, and to be robbed of every thing but some of his clothes, which were found on the branches of the neighbouring trees.

The tiger hunt, to which he proceeds, is described in a very animated style, and the doleful mistakes about Puneela, Punealee, Punealo, and Puneali, with the wanderings occasioned by his defective pronunciation, or the want of discernment in those to whom he addressed himself, are ludicrously depicted. At the end of this journey he visited Hurdwar a second time, and joined the pilgrims to a neighbouring temple of "Mahadeva." Here, however, he is evidently incorrect, since, from his description, the temple *must* have belonged to Durga, called also Mahádévi, the wife of Mahadeva or Siva; indeed, we have noticed in his book frequent inaccuracies in Oriental words. Incense was offered to the goddess before her image in a small earthen pot, a short prayer was repeated, and the usual triple circumambulation of Hindu worship was performed. A woman who had lost her son came with offerings to his manes, and the names of the party were finally written on the back of the altar, from whence the goddess was believed to copy them into her book. From this curious custom being likewise noticed in the sacred page, we are almost inclined to suspect that the Canaanites may have adopted one somewhat similar, more especially as we discover among all the Orientals some very close analogies to it.

On his return to the fair, he witnessed a great concourse of bathers at the ghaut erected by the company. Every twelfth year it is deemed meritorious to bathe in this holy place, but it is an act attended with danger.

"At a precise moment calculated by the astronomers the sacred shell sounds, and all rush to the river, carrying every body they meet in their course with them. At the last grand festival several hundreds were

crushed to death, and the soldiers, who were placed at the ghaut to prevent confusion, were swept into the river and drowned."

The ablution being completed, they ascend the stairs to the temple, touching each with the back of the right hand, and then placing it on the forehead, a large bell within the temple being rung during the whole ceremony. On the rocky summit of the hill the captain noticed a small door, about twenty feet above the lake, to which several ascended by ladders; round it garlands of flowers were suspended, and the aromatic smell issuing from it announced the performance of some mystery. It was the sanctuary of the goddess of fruitfulness, in which many wives were imploring the blessing of a progeny.

In the course of his journey on the hills he witnessed an eclipse of the sun, about which the inhabitants appeared not to be solicitous; although on the plains near the Ganges, when such an occurrence takes place, they hasten to the stream, and standing in it till the eclipse is at its height, then plunge their heads in the water and throw some towards the sun, as if to purify him from the evil spirit. The mythological legend of Rāhu at various times endeavouring to devour the sun and moon, which the Hindus repute the cause of eclipses, and which was the origin of this superstition, he has omitted, but has noticed a similar panic which he witnessed among the Arabs at Thebes in Upper Egypt, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon, when by tumultuous cries they endeavoured to dispossess Satan of his prey.

At Luckwarie, on the Himalaya mountains, the partition of one wife among a family of brothers was found to be a custom; on the coast of Malabar, and in some parts of Ceylon, it is also prevalent. In this region the Brahmins externally differ from other people merely by the sacred thread; they seem to know no difference of caste, and are not particular about the ceremonial parts of their religion. The singular institution of marriage practised here is for the purpose of confining property to one family, of which the eldest brother is deemed the father, and if he dies the next in succession, so that orphans can rarely be found; the natural effect of this is a strong family-likeness throughout the place. Another consequence is the superfluity of women, who are offered for sale on any urgency of their parents. At Rana also no villager goes without his distaff and wicker-basket, and as he walks spins his thread; a curious instance of a cloth manufacturing village on the Himalaya mountains, and a living commentary on the fable of Hercules and Omphale.

After a continued description of wanderings, interspersed with

anecdotes, flippantly, if not somewhat egotistically, narrated, the author reached the source of the Jumna, or more properly the Yamuna, amidst snows, where the first object of curiosity is a hot spring, which rushes through an aperture in the rock, from which a constant smoke arises. "So wonderful a phenomenon," he remarks, "as boiling water on the edge of perpetual snow was very likely to attract the devotion of the Hindus." Close to the bed of the Jumna is another hot stream, in which, after its junction with the river, the devout indulge as in a tepid bath. It is indeed singular, that these phenomena are hottest in the coldest and most elevated situations. From hence he commenced a new tour in quest of the source of the Ganges. The scenery which met his view during his progress is graphically depicted, but he appears to have been singularly inattentive to the manners and distinctive superstitions of the villagers among whom he made his temporary abode: he dwells perpetually on their filth, and scarcely seems to have directed his penetration to any thing else. Over such a novel tract of country, but obscurely known to the ancients, there must be many objects so peculiar that we can hardly suppose a traveller not to have scrutinized them; many variations in the popular practice so striking as to have forced themselves upon him, not to mention that ambition which prompts the explorer of a terra incognita to sound the unfathomed, and bring to light that which has long been concealed. But for these we almost universally look in vain, and have in their place the mere accounts of the personal comforts or discomforts of the author, often bombastically delineated, and savoured with a poetic quotation.

We have but few particulars, among which the most interesting are those which relate to the veneration paid by the mountaineers to old age, till the author reaches the banks of the Ganges. The precincts of Gangoutri abounded in difficulties; a path of loose stones, with the points turned upwards, continuing for more than a mile, overhanging cliffs to be ascended by their inequalities, one succeeding to the other, and where the projecting parts were too distant, ladders to be mounted, affording scarcely a rest for the feet, and often fastened together by ropes of twisted grass yet green, two or three of them rising to the height of thirty feet, whilst the water foamed below, were among the obstacles which the traveller was required to overcome. The "Cow's Mouth" he describes as a rock only remarkable for the cavity apparently worn in it by the water, which once joined another opposite to it, forming an arch very little below the surface of the stream, which was supposed to resemble the mouth of a cow, from which the river was imagined to issue.

The commemorative stones which pilgrims are apt to erect in these parts, however anonymous these chronicles may be, must have been derived from the remotest antiquity, as the practice existed in the days of Jacob. To a distance of twenty miles below Gangoutri, immense cataracts, scarcely inferior to that at Niagara, are poured down from the mountains; everywhere is a whirl of resounding water hastening to the mighty river. At Gangoutri pilgrims swarm, and sheds are erected to shelter them. A small temple marks the source of the river, opposite to which is the spot consecrated to filling phials with the holy water, which, then being sealed by a Brahmin, are carried to the remotest parts of India. Kedar-Natha, lying hence at the distance of four days, and covered with perpetual snow, is another place to which many pilgrims proceed to devote themselves to death. Arrived there, they precipitate themselves from a high peak, called Brigu, overhanging an unfathomable abyss, across which a sharp stone, projecting from the mountains, passes. Should they so fall on it as to be equally divided, their sins are accounted forgiven. None, however, return to tell the tale; for those, who having commenced the journey hesitate to complete it, generally perish from the cold, or are stoned by the nearest villagers on their retreat. Above Gangoutri the river rather widens, and it is impossible to conjecture how much farther its real source may lie; Captain Skinner thinks that no traveller could penetrate much farther than a mile. A peak of the mountain Rudra Himmalaya is believed to contain its fountain; the Hindus, indeed, suppose that from each peak of this mountain a river flows.

The country about Mookba bears traces of having been formerly well cultivated and inhabited, of which the sculptured stones and divisions of terraces afford an evident proof. Near it were discovered the remains of a temple, about which no clear tradition appears to survive: it had been very large and was situated on the brow of a hill overlooking the Ganges; and, from the skilful manner in which it was built, showed the labour of more excellent artists than those existing among the present mountaineers. A Brahmin attributed it to the Chinese, by whom Skinner thinks those people on the other side of the snowy boundary to have been intended, and that, as inscriptions in the Thibetian character may be seen on the hills, its erection may be referred to that nation. But we cannot agree with this writer, that although much amusement is derived from "the study of uncouth figures and incomprehensible letters, *no light may be thrown upon them*," nor regret with him, that as we gain our knowledge, we lose our enthusiasm; he may, indeed, identify himself with "the traveller who, 'leaving' it to his imagination



to read hieroglyphics and form hypotheses, passes his time fully as agreeably, if not more so, than the critic who, satisfied he knows such things were for such purposes, has no occasion for the aid of conjecture, or the charms of fancy ;” yet we suspect, that the world at large will scarcely be contented with the superficial observations which such a traveller must necessarily make.

At Tearoo, on their return from this expedition, the captain and his party found the apricot trees in fruit, from the kernels of which the natives extract an oil, which is light coloured and thin, and consequently does not very rapidly congeal. A very simple press is placed for the purpose without the village, to which the ripe fruit is carried, where the stones are separated from it. In these parts, opium is likewise distilled from poppies, which grow in great numbers ; but the mountaineers are restricted from sending this article to the plains. The paved areas, on which the corn is trodden out, are cleaned with the most scrupulous care ; if the wind blows any impurity on them, it is instantly swept off, even if no corn be there. The harvest is a scene of felicity, during which singing and music resound in the vallies, and the labour of bringing home the sheaves is one of delight and festivity. Yet superstition is admingled even with this ;—ere the cattle can be ushered into the areas to tread out the grain, an evil spirit must be propitiated, and the edges of the floors and the central post, to which the animals are fastened, must be sprinkled with turmeric. The greatest enemies to the harvest are the innumerable monnies, whose unremitting depredations often diminish the hopes of a season ; nor is it always safe to dislodge them when congregated in such mighty troops. At the period when the rice crops are transplanted, the ground is turned up in a most singular manner, by driving a number of loose cattle into the field, which trample over it in every direction, as the voice of the farmer guides them, and often sink so deeply into the mud that it is most difficult to recover them. The many rills which descend from the heights enable the inhabitants of these regions easily to irrigate their rice fields. Their drains are deep, and cut with care and precision ; each terrace, from the upper to the lowest, taking its proper turn of water. The same practice prevails in Ceylon.

According to mythology, in various ages of the world, different sources were assigned to the Ganges ; the river, of course, retreating according to the sins of the age : in the second age, the village of Barahat was that from which it was reputed to flow. It is beautifully situated in an extensive valley, bounded by high mountains,—the Ganges rushing at the base of the southern



range. In the higher regions, where much wood is used in building, one instrument is frequently employed for the entire erection of a house, which is a hatchet with the head flattened to serve also the purposes of a hammer; pegs of wood being substituted for nails, and the planks being laid into each other by grooves. The cedar, which grows to an enormous size, is chiefly used for building, and the shadow of these trees is commonly chosen for the site of a temple. The Hindus, like other ancient people, have their sacred trees and plants, and with those, in these spots, the cedar has obtained a veneration perhaps superior to that which it possessed at Libanon. In the irregular avenues of these peaked hills sound passes onwards with a surprising velocity, and the voice bounds from the one to the other, increasing, as it were, in its progress.

"The men have an intonation that none but mountaineers can catch, and dwelling on the last accent in a wild and not unfrequently sweet manner, prolong the sound till they are nearly exhausted, and then abandon it to the echo, which never fails to second them most admirably."

These people appeared to have however no idea of the reverberation of sound, and one of them, when pressed for an opinion,

"declared it must be a wild beast in the mountain, that was startled by 'the' voices, and bellowed in return. *Acha* (good), with a murmur of approval ran through the party:—this was a personification of the echo that might match the celebrated conversational one of Killarney."

Among frequent opportunities of witnessing the fortitude of the Hindus which the author had, he mentions a quarrel between two women about an alleged theft, which resulted in a challenge to the ordeal. This having been accepted, they held their hands together in a vessel of boiling ghee; from which the first who shrank was to be accounted the calumniator. Neither of them, however, would submit herself to this imputation, for both unshrinkingly bore the torture, unwilling to allow the truth to be elicited by the ordeal. It has been observed, that on the hills one woman has a plurality of husbands, but among some of the tribes which live there, the women have the power of divorcing them when they please. This custom seems indeed to be a relic of that which formerly peopled particular cities with women, who at times admitted the congress of men; for, unless we assign to this fact historical verity, we must disbelieve the gravest chronicles of the East, which mention some on the coast of Malabar, and others in different situations. Hence arose the account of the Amazons, which has been too hastily regarded as a positive fable, although later writers have ably

justified it. Its fabulous part probably owed its rise to that etymology which the Greeks attributed to the name, which was clearly nothing more than the Persian\* هم زنان or زن هم *all women*.

No village, however small, is without its smith, barber, carpenter, leather-dresser, &c. The smith's shop, as in our own villages, is the general rendezvous for loungers and gossips; his apparatus is very simple—instead of a bellows he uses a small fan to kindle the flame, and is able easily to transport his smithy from house to house, should he feel so inclined. In shoeing a horse an awkward blunt instrument is employed, and the shoe is put on cold; under this a round piece of wood is placed, on which the animal is forced to rest his foot till it is rasped to the size of the wooden model, which serves for all that are brought, the farrier in the meantime sitting under his body with his foot between his legs. At Muzuffernugger, he remarked in the female porters who carried his luggage, a strong resemblance to the gipsies, who are doubtless of the same extraction, as Adelung and others have demonstrated from an analysis of their language. Passing on to different places, he reached Allahábad, at the time when the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges there was celebrated by the annual fair, and noticed several platforms with long legs placed in the water, having canopies above them, as resting places for those who had waded through the river to reach them. In this operation many women of shorter size were up to their shoulders in water, but all were so eager to reach the line of junction, which is clearly defined by the bright blue of the Jumna and sandy colour of the Ganges, that this inconvenience was disregarded. The holiness of Allahábad is increased by the notion, that a subterranean river also unites with the other two in this spot: this mythological river is the Saraswatī, called in some dialects Sarsooti, which rises in the mountains bounding the north eastern part of the province of Delhi, whence, running in a south westerly direction, it is lost in the sands of the Great Desert in the country of the B'hatti; but according to Hindu fiction it only disappears there, and joins in a subterranean course the Ganges and Jumna at Allahábad. Captain Skinner descended indeed a sort of cave within the fort of the city, in which he found the trunk of a tree yet alive, although perfectly excluded from the air, and subject to the moisture of the rock, which terminates the cave, which phenomenon the natives attribute to the agency of this mysterious Saraswatī.

\* *Hamzan or Hamzanan.*

As he approached Benares, denominated in Sanscrit Varanasi and Varānasi (a name probably derived from Varana, commonly called *Berna* and *Asi*, two rivulets flowing not far from the city), he saw concourses consisting of whole families bearing their domestic implements, hastening to its sacred precincts. Beggars, also, incessantly vociferating, joined the motley throng, in which were grave Brahmins, snake charmers, pilgrims from Gungoutri, and one ascetic "with his arm fixed above his head and his fist clenched, the nails of his fingers grown through and hanging in strips down the back of his hand." This spectacle, so far from being singular, is an occurrence of every day and is continued at Benares itself: soon after daylight, the ceremony of bathing in the sacred stream commences, and until the sun becomes warm, crowds flock after crowds to the river. The women are as numerous as the men and have not a separate ghaut, but merely go lower: "both sexes stand up to their waists in water, and occasionally dip their heads beneath it." None, however, were observed to swim out, and those who did not dip their heads carried a brass vessel, which they constantly filled and poured over them. As the women emerge from the stream with their

"drapery floating about them, they comb their long locks; 'and' when their hair is nearly dry they hold their clean robes like a screen round their figures, and shaking the wet ones off them, draw the others close and are dressed in a moment. . . . The sun was not so high but that the domes and minarets of the Holy City were reflected in the stream below; and it appeared that the town, as well as all its sons and daughters, had fled to the bosom of the sacred river."

Thus, notwithstanding the egotism which unfortunately pervades these excursions, they here and there contain minute portraiture of national customs, which afford a better view of Indian life than more elaborate and valuable volumes. They frequently admit us into family scenery (if we may so express ourselves) and bring the brighter as well as darker points of the Hindu character to light. Among some of the curious customs noticed, we may instance the mode of embarking horses on the Ganges.

"The saees sat in the boat and pulled with all his strength at the halter; the unwilling animal naturally backed, and a second groom clasped the first about the waist to prevent his being pulled over, and according to the power required, other men clapped themselves on. Two stood behind the poor horse, holding a long pole at his hams to prevent his retreating too far, and frequently co-operated with the pulling party in front by pushing in concert. Thus goaded, the animal was soon driven to make a leap into the boat. The moment this was done, the horses already in possession began to kick at the new arrival—the

6 *Skinner's Excursions in India.*

On his return to Rajmahal we are again disappointed by the paucity of his remarks; he mentions the outer wall of the palace to be built on a rock, and sultan Sujah, brother to Aurungzebe, as its builder in 1630; stating, moreover, one apartment with two smaller ones leading from it to be in a perfect state of preservation. Fearful of being "lost in the labyrinth of little apartments and broken terraces" (especially "as the rooms would afford admirable shelter to robbers, so might the courts to tigers and snakes"), he left this interesting spot once more without research. When indeed we recollect the excursions which he purposely made in quest of tigers, we are surprised, that having the assistance of a crew, he should have been deterred by them on this occasion from examining a place so renowned in Indian history.

From a careful examination of this work, from which we have given particulars of the best parts, we are satisfied that it will never bear a comparison with Frazer's Tour to the Himalaya either in utility or interest. It is written in that style which has long corrupted and disgraced the literature, every page is fraught with levity and not a few, would better suit places and customs. Othello and

From a careful examination of this work, we are satisfied that it will never bear a comparison with Frazer's Tour to the Mountains, either in utility or interest. It is written in a twaddling style which has long corrupted and disgraced the literature of the age; almost every page is fraught with levity and flippancy, and some parts, and those not a few, would better suit a work on Indian cookery than one on Indian places and customs. We meet everywhere with Aladdin and his Lamp, Othello and Iago, devils, fairies and evil spirits, the happy valley of Rasselas, and the crew, or the monster Caliban. From the very first page we find ourselves suddenly transported to the author's

Mountains, a swaddling style which is the nature of the age; almost every thing is a display of the age; almost every thing is a work on Indian cookery than one on Indian philosophy. We meet everywhere with Aladdin and his Lamp, Desdemona, fairies and evil spirits, the happy valley of Rasselas, Rinaldo, poetry from Milton, Collins, and Pope, and occasionally Comus and his crew, or the monster Caliban. From the summit of the Himalaya mountains we find ourselves suddenly transported to Ceylon or Egypt or Arabia, and from the midst of a subject which might have been interesting we are continually and antiquities of the places which he visited. It was not well-informed, and we much doubt whether any other branches of Hindu literature.

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To an investigator of national habits and the  
separate tribes the work will, indeed, offer much  
which he may advantageously glean, but to the historian it will  
present very little. Even after the arduous labour which the  
author endured in tracing the Juma and the Ganges to their

sources, how little information, how few mythological legends, in a country abounding with them, do we find? There is not a single paper in the Asiatic Researches, in the remotest degree connected with the subject, which is not more fraught with materials than these twin volumes of an eye witness.

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ART. IV.—1. *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. By Mrs. Trollope. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1832.

2. *History and Character of American Revivals of Religion*. By the Rev. Calvin Colton, of America. London. 12mo. 1832.

THE Americans form, at this moment, one of the most wonderful and interesting varieties of the human race. Taken in their collective capacity, this extraordinary people seem to combine a multitude of properties and attributes, which are generally distributed by Nature among the different specimens of her creative power. For instance, they appear to be gifted with all the qualities which are desirable in a race of undaunted colonists, and which may, aptly enough, be represented by the strength and armour of the rhinoceros, and the activity and untameable hardihood of the wild ass. And with these they unite the enduring perseverance of the ox, together with much of the sagacity of the elephant; which they, moreover, resemble in the faculty of achieving wonders, not unlike to those which that creature performs by the agency of his trunk. They are able to tear down forests or to pick up sixpences: and, to judge by the prodigious result, with almost the same rapidity and ease. And yet, with all this combination of advantages, (which has enabled them to subdue the wilderness, and, almost, “to make a mock at chance and sufferance,”) they have some peculiarities, which one would hardly have expected to find in a race of pioneers, and conquerors of the forest and the flood. For, while they are provided with something analagous to the bristling apparatus of a certain animal, which has been described by the epithet of “fretful,” they, nevertheless, have about them some places so soft and tender, that “man but rush against them,” and the whole body is, instantly, thrown into convulsions. Every one, for example, has read or heard of the book of Captain Basil Hall, his “Travels in North America.” Mrs. Trollope was in the country when that work was imported; and, if her statement be at all correct, it might be supposed that some terrific magazine of electrical matter had been tossed into the midst of the land. She describes the effect of it as “a sort of moral earthquake.” It produced a vibration throughout the nervous system of the whole

republic, which had not subsided when she left the country, in July, 1831, full two years after the shock. When she applied to a bookseller for it, the patriot told her that he had, indeed, taken a few copies before he understood the nature of the work; but that, since he became acquainted with it, no earthly consideration should induce him to sell another. The rest of the fraternity, however, were rather less magnanimous. In spite of its abominable calumnies and falsehoods, "the book was read in city and town, village and hamlet, steam-boat and stage coach;" and a war-whoop was set up, which could hardly have been exceeded if the whole navy of Great Britain, in a period of profound peace, had made a piratical descent upon the coasts of the Union. The author was no less than a monster of ingratitude and treachery; there was not a single word of truth in his volumes, from the beginning to the end; it was gravely stated in some companies, with all the precision of an official report, that Captain Hall had been sent out by the British government, expressly for the purpose of checking the growing admiration of England for the government of the United States, and that it was purely in obedience to orders from the Treasury, that he had found any thing to condemn. As for the American Reviews, they were all seized with something like a fanatical frenzy. So furious was their excommunicating temper, that Mrs. Trollope wonders that they did not save themselves the trouble of searching for phrases of abhorrence, by translating at once the imprecations of Bishop Ernulphus, substituting only, between the brackets, the name of [he Basil] for that of [he Obadiah.]

Such, according to the description of this very lively and clever lady, was the paroxysm produced by this apparently mild and harmless preparation. Her account of the matter may, perhaps, be rather prodigally coloured. But after making all prudent allowance for the glaring ingredients of her rhetorical *pallet*, there can remain no doubt that the corrosion inflicted was extreme. We have, very lately, heard or read the assertion that Washington Irving himself has fairly given us up, and is about to turn his back upon us for ever. What may have been her share in driving him to this resolution we are unable to pronounce. Thus much, however, we cannot forbear to say,—if Captain Basil Hall hath been chastised with whips, where shall scorpions be found for the chastisement of Mrs. Trollope? Of course she never means to set her foot again, while she lives, within the territories of the United States. She must know very well that she would find the place a great deal too hot to hold her. And we must very frankly tell her that, laughable and entertaining as her volumes undoubtedly are, we could hardly wish her success in the *pancra-*

*tiastic* encounter, that might probably ensue, if she should ever again make her appearance among the indignant matrons and spinsters of America. This lady ought to have perceived that she was scattering fire-brands in her sport. Before she sent her manuscript to the printer, she should have recollected that, in the existing temper of our brethren there, descriptions of their manners and their institutions are, to say the least, quite as important as state papers and political manifestos. The mirth excited by this sprightly publication will be purchased at a most ruinous price, if it shall be found to have angered the sense of injury and contempt into a malignant and festering sore.

But while we administer this rebuke to Mrs. Trollope, we hope and trust that our Transatlantic brethren will forgive us if we venture honestly to avow that, to us, nothing is more utterly incomprehensible than their irritable nationality. We can very safely assure them that if they will but send us a couple of volumes on the oddities and absurdities of John Bull, as entertaining, and even as caustic, as the performance now before us, they will run to their third edition quite as rapidly as this has done. We moreover do think that we can promise them that there will be no boiling of blood, no incorrect secretion bile, no turning of the milk of kindness to gall. On the contrary, after the first smart has subsided, John will but shake his well-larded sides, as heartily as his Transatlantic caricaturists, or their admirers, could do for their lives. Every body knows that at the French theatres his own cachinnations were infinitely more sonorous than those of the rest of the audience, whenever the good people of Paris were amused by representations of his bad dancing, (in truth no Parisian performer could dance quite badly enough to do him justice!) or of his ungainly and reserved demeanour, or of his droll propensity for hanging or drowning himself. But mercy upon Jonathan! what would become of him if he were to witness such an exhibition of his smokings, and his drammings, and his spittings, and his lollings? Surely he would burst in sunder. He would go to pieces on the very spot. We can further declare, that John is exceedingly patient under far heavier provocation than this. We recollect, many years, ago, hearing a remarkably sedate and well-behaved young American declare, very seriously, that he came over to England, partly from curiosity, partly from a desire to ascertain whether it might not be possible to *starve* Great Britain into better manners, if ever there should be war between her and America. He confessed, however, that he was reluctantly induced to give up all hopes of that kind, when he found that there had been such a thing known among us as a fortune made by dealing in cat's meat and dog's



meat. The intentions of the youthful republican towards us were singularly benevolent and complimentary; and we almost tremble to think of what might have been the consequence if a similar notion had been uttered by an Englishman at New York. And yet we do solemnly aver that it was heard here without raising a single spark of indignant or vindictive emotion. Nothing was thought of but the whimsical extravagance of the proposal; and the only greeting it met with was a hearty and good-humoured laugh. Now what a pity it is that Jonathan cannot enter a little more kindly into the spirit of *give and take*. Why should he, possessed as he is of all the most substantial elements of national prosperity and grandeur, why should he begin "strutting and fretting, full of sound and fury," the instant that man, woman or child presumes to hint that some improvement in his manners, his customs, his principles, and his institutions is not absolutely beyond the range of possibility?

What there is in Basil Hall's book to drive him to madness we are unable to recollect. There is in it, no doubt, a great deal more of the old story of Church and King than can be at all pleasing to him; for these are words which no American ear can endure to hear. The Mahometans have a prophecy floating about among them, that the day will come when the dogs of Muscovy shall burst into Stambol. One would really suspect that every American was secretly haunted by some vaticination quite as hateful to his feelings as the above prediction is to the Faithful,—that he was conscious or apprehensive that the *ineluctabile tempus* must at last arrive, when the unworthy and degenerate Republicans would ask for themselves a king,—and, together with a king, that bitterest of all mischiefs, an Established Church; and that, for this reason, he hated the very sound of those words, as if they spoke to him of torment before the time. But, beyond the odious trumpeting of Church and King, we really do not recollect a syllable in Basil Hall's publication that ought seriously to discompose any community of human beings, unless they happened to be labouring under an universal *Monomania*, and to hallucinate that wisdom and patriotism were unknown on earth before the foundations of their own polity were laid. But though we can honestly say this of the publication of Basil Hall, we can by no means say quite so much for Mrs. Trollope's exhibition. There is, we must allow, a good deal in it, here and there, provoking enough, on a *first perusal*, even to national feelings of a moderate temperature; and absolutely intolerable to very high-wrought patriotic sensibilities. When the patient was already sore, he might be expected to wince and twist under the operation of certain acrid ingredients of her compound. No St. John Long

can ever hope to effect a cure, unless the patient is willing and full of faith, and moreover gifted with a tolerably sound integument to work upon. Where these are wanting, nothing but deadly inflammation can be expected from his applications. But after all, to us the wonder is, that mixtures like those of Dr. Basil Hall, or even those of the *wise old woman* Mrs. Trollope, or of any practitioners who have gone before them, should ever be able to raise so angry and painful a blister on the American epidermis! It is absolutely astonishing that a great, a mighty, and an understanding people should be so irritably constituted as to experience a moment's serious annoyance from their treatment. Here is a nation, consisting of twelve or thirteen millions of sturdy Republicans, and yet just as impatient of a little saucy exaggeration, or unceremonious truth, as the most effeminate, arrogant, and self-sufficient autocrat that ever divorced men's heads from their shoulders with a nod. It is perfectly wonderful that they do not perceive how unspeakably ridiculous this is. It is clear, that with all their unquestionable greatness, they have, as yet, attained to no true conceptions of their own dignity. They are advancing to power and to wealth with a pace unprecedented hitherto in the history of man; but all this profiteth them nothing, so long as their brethren, who sit in the *King's Gate*, bow not nor do them reverence. What is the King's gate, or they who sit therein, to them? The British nation, they are perpetually telling us, are slaves. All their ancient institutions are nothing better than badges of servitude. Their very historical recollections are the spells which keep them in infamous but contented bondage. What then, it may be asked, can the suffrages or the acclamations of a horde of serfs and villeins add unto them? Why should they be ambitious of such beggarly applause? And what can it signify to a free-born people, if they, who know not what freedom is, should now and then make themselves a little merry, in the midst of their heaviness, with the gambols and caprices of democratic licence?

After all, however, we urgently repeat that, so long as this unnatural sensitiveness shall exist, there can be neither wisdom nor charity in making sport with it. It is but a sorry and barbarous pastime to play the *Banderillero*, and to goad a noble and powerful creature to madness, by puncturing his hide with puny missiles. It is not worth while to go on treasuring up wrath by these paltry accumulations, collected as they are, sometimes by splenetic ill-nature, and at others by the mercenary and selfish spirit of mere book-making. We must, it is true, be slaves indeed, if we are to admit a Transatlantic Censorship of our Press, and to breathe no syllable of doubt respecting the institutions of our descendants, when we honestly think the imitation of them

would be destructive to our people. But if we find that all such doubts are distasteful and offensive to them, we, at least, may abstain from adding to their bitterness by the slightest infusion of unkindness or contempt. If our brethren should be finally alienated from us, if a spirit of incurable aversion should be engendered, and should eventually blaze up into fierce hostility between us, it would be but poor consolation to reflect that the quarrel had grown up out of the merest trifles,—the “dissensions of a doit”—and that our adversary had shown but little magnanimity in his quick and sudden sense of injury. And for this reason it is, that, although we have derived no inconsiderable amusement, we hope and trust *innocent* amusement, from Mrs. Trollope’s performance, we shall most vehemently deplore its appearance, if (as we fear,) it should have the effect of exasperating the propensity to strife and evil will.

For ourselves, we have noticed these volumes with no design whatever of intermeddling with these family discords. We hold it to be a very matter of conscience to abstain from every word or syllable tending to accelerate a collision, which, if ever it should occur, must bear, more or less, the aspect of civil war; and in which victory would only be something rather less disastrous than defeat. Our vocation is peace, and amity, and concord, and good will towards men; and we moreover are desirous to keep constantly in mind the precept, *parents, provoke not your children to wrath*. And we are more especially impressed with the wisdom and the humanity of the maxim, now that our boy Jonathan hath set up for himself, and is grown into a robust and independent manhood, skilful alike to wield the hatchet of the back woodsman, or the rifle of the hunter, or the sword of the warrior, or the goose-quill of the merchant, or the portfolio of the statesman, or the thunders of the senator. Why should he be provoked to growl defiance at his progenitor, by gibes, and taunting speeches, and epigrams, on his lack of superfine accomplishment? And why should his progenitor look peevishly or austere upon the occasional eruptions of his hardihood and self-will. Let him proceed peaceably in his own way. Let his talk, if it so please him, be of dollars. Let him enjoy his pipe, with his heels higher than his head. Let him go on, without molestation or derision, “guessing,” and “calculating,” and “reckoning,” and “expecting,” to the end of time. Let him snigger, to his heart’s content, at the low and vulgar jargon of our cockney English. Yea—let him be welcome, we say, to laugh his fill at what he will call our tawdry and expensive wax-work of kings, and peers,—of chancellors, and judges, and speakers, and other wigged men,—of lord mayors, and state coaches, and life guards, and cream-coloured

horses; and let him vow that the very thought of all this mummary and fustian doth well nigh make him sick. All these things move us not to any feelings of an angry type. Let each of us indulge his own humour. Let us continue to chant our *God save the King* and our *Rule Britannia*; and let Jonathan elevate his noble courage by whistling *Yankee Doodle*. But why should it be in the heart of either party to hurl the accents of scorn or defiance against the other?

Such are the views with which we have examined the sarcastic volumes of Mrs. Trollope. And, to prove our sincerity, we shall abstain from extracting a single sentence from them, which may merely serve as a recommendation of them to those of our readers whose lungs are ready "to crow like chanticler" at every exhibition of the ludicrous peculiarities of their fellow creatures. We are, indeed, far from believing that a disposition to view things in the point of humour, must necessarily indicate malignity of heart. A confirmed and thorough-going disciple of Democritus is, undoubtedly, a heartless being; but we, nevertheless, do verily believe that there are multitudes of humane, charitable, and religious characters, who have some slight dash of his philosophy in their composition; and who yet are total strangers to the sardonic bitterness which distorts the countenance of the scorner, whenever the frailties or absurdities of human nature are shown up to public derision. Still it should never be forgotten that there is *a time for all things*; and that merriment is woefully out of season when it appears to insult the prejudices and feelings of a whole community, and arms against us the resentments of a high-spirited and estimable nation, allied to us by the ties of blood, by community of language, and by an identity of interests. In such a case, we may well say, *of laughter, that it is mad, and of mirth, what doeth it?* We propose to make a much better use than this of the opportunity afforded us by these lively volumes. It will be found by those who consult them, that the state of religion forms one very prominent department of Mrs. T.'s exhibition of American manners; and an opening is thus provided us for some observations on a most momentous topic, and one which falls more especially within the province of a Theological Journal. Our own establishments and usages of every description, and more especially those connected with religion, form, at this moment, a subject of much intemperate discussion among ourselves. It is, therefore, not very unnatural that we should be induced to examine attentively the condition of other countries in this respect; and this, with a view to ascertain whether the absence of all such institutions as our own, is quite so favourable to the best interests of Christianity, as certain of our revolutionary projectors

are apt to assume. We have, unfortunately, among us, a number of *good haters*, who scowl at bishops, and prebendaries, and parsons, and whose claws may be seen to dart from their sheaths, the instant that tithes and Church lands are mentioned. And the eyes of such reformers flash with exultation, whenever they anticipate that blissful period, in which the sons of England shall glorify, by their imitation, the wisdom and the virtues of their transatlantic brethren, and shall honour the Christian faith with that most inestimable of all privileges, the liberty of shifting for herself! So vehement is the hostility now raging against our whole ecclesiastical polity, that it has given birth to a coalition too monstrous for any one, who is interested for our common Christianity, to contemplate without dismay. We trust that we are animated by no unkindly feelings against those of our brethren who are separated from the communion of the National Church. But, whatever may be their construction of our words, we cannot forbear to express our utter astonishment at the position into which many among them have been seduced by their hatred of our religious institutions. Is it possible to imagine a spectacle more afflicting than the unhallowed league which now, to all appearance, is formed, at least by a certain portion of the Dissenters, with Radicals, Infidels, Atheists, and Romanists, for the destruction of the Established Church of England. How is it that any man, holding a belief essentially similar to our own, can endure the thought of confederating, for any purpose, with a crew whose secret hearts are filled with bitterness against almost every form of religion, unless it be some form which may make religion contemptible, and, consequently, powerless? And how is it that any one among the descendants of those sturdy puritans, who scorned to touch a remnant or a rag of the Babylonian scarlet, should now be found combating in the same ranks with Jesuits and with Popish Priests, and with unprincipled agitators who are leagued with Priests and Jesuits in the sacred duty of insurrection? This, however, is literally the composition of a considerable part of the levy *en masse* arrayed against the Church at the present moment. And America is the land to which all these parties are incessantly pointing, as the bright example which Christian communities are bound to imitate, if they would see the Gospel *laying aside every weight, and running with patience the race that is set before it*. Under these circumstances, we cannot but be strongly impelled to examine what encouragement there is to adopt the experiment which is now in a course of trial in the western world.

Our readers will possibly recollect that we have, of late, seized various opportunities of presenting to them some reflections on

these matters; and that we have fortified our own remarks by the testimony of certain *American divines*; and those, too, not of the episcopalian stamp, but men animated by something of the same spirit which sent the *pilgrim fathers* to bear the name of England with them across the ocean, and to plant it in the wilderness. Now from these American statements it appears, that a Church Establishment is regarded in America as a thing not to be named among freemen. It is scorned as an appendage of the old aboriginal slavery of the mother country; and the consequence is, that while the religious instinct—if we may so express it—runs to wild luxuriance in some parts of the land, there is a prospect of the most frightful spiritual barrenness in others; so that, in the course of a generation or two more, there will probably be millions upon millions of human beings as destitute of Christian knowledge or principle “*as the savages that howl on the banks of the Missouri.*” Our American brethren cannot complain that this representation is dictated by British prejudice, for it is the representation given, not only by zealous Christians, but by patriotic Americans. It is true, that in many of the most populous and civilized parts of the Union, it is thought a disreputable thing for any man to profess a total neutrality in religion. All creditable persons are expected to enrol themselves in one or other of the innumerable sects which swarm in that land of religious and civil freedom. It is likewise indisputable that the contributions raised for religious purposes are of an aggregate amount, which indicates a powerful working of religious emotion throughout this vast and increasing community. Nevertheless, the absence of any grand and solid system of national religious polity is manifested (if we may judge by the sorrowful confession of the *American* writers alluded to,) in a way which threatens a very large portion of society, at no very distant period, with an utter *famine of the word of God*. Civilization (in the mere human and conventional sense of the word) is advancing with gigantic strides; but Christianity is halting behind the march of civilization, with a weary, and, to all appearance, a despairing step. While the lump is increasing on all sides with a prodigious power of expansion, the supply of heaven is, comparatively, so penurious, that the extremities will never be reached by its healthful fermentation. The care of man’s eternal interests is placed beyond the pale of secular responsibility. If the whole country were sinking into the Serbonian bog of infidelity before his eyes, the magistrate, if he had the will, would be without the power to interfere for its deliverance. The preservation of the country from unbelief or atheism, must therefore be entrusted, humanly speaking, to impulses quite as uncertain and capricious, as its preservation from dram drinking.



The stability of religious sects is no better provided for than that of Temperance Societies. All is committed to the energies and feelings of exemplary individuals, or of small and unconnected communities. There is no one great city set upon a hill to which the eyes and the hearts of men may be incessantly directed; nothing which combines the sacredness of the temple with the strength of the citadel; no majestic Zion, begirt with her towers and her fortresses, and prepared to extend her posts in every direction throughout the expanding empire. An institution like this would be viewed with furious jealousy, as a castle which frowned upon the public liberties. Respecting the probable consequences of this state of things, it is needless for us to pronounce any judgment of our own. The judgment has already been pronounced, in a tone of bitter lamentation, by the tongues of religious and patriotic natives—by men, too, who would never endure to see that *abomination of desolation*, an *Episcopal* Establishment, erected within their borders. And upon testimony so far beyond all exception, we may surely venture to distrust that wisdom, which is now clamorously demanding the demolition of establishments framed for the preservation and diffusion of Christianity among our people.

Mrs. Trollope must forgive us for confessing that it is not without some hesitation that we produce her testimony, on this subject; notwithstanding the support which it offers to the statements of the zealous individuals above alluded to. Of course we feel it impossible to suspect that she has, deliberately, put forth assertions or representations which are destitute of all foundation in fact. Nevertheless, we must apprise our readers that, in the first place, her sphere of observation appears to have been comparatively limited; and, secondly,—at the hazard of being stigmatized for defective courtesy towards a female writer,—we must add, that she does, by no means, appear to us exactly the sort of person on whose judgment, in such grave and important matters, a very safe reliance can be placed. Even when she speaks the truth, she seems to have no notion of speaking it in love. She is without the tenderness or the solemnity of spirit, which are quite indispensable qualities in one who would form a righteous estimate of the religious condition of a great people. Her eye wanders, with sparkling vivacity, over the surface of things; and there it seizes on every appearance, and every object, and every group, which can impart a lively and striking effect to her pictures—we might, perhaps, say, with justice, to her *caricatures*. But it does not measure heights, or penetrate into depths, or even survey, with much approach to accuracy, the length and breadth of the vast region it is exploring. It is, in short, not al-



together a rolling eye, or a romping eye,—but it is a somewhat petulant and imperious eye—not full of benignity, and “gentle salutations and responses;” [neither is it an eye which indicates the habit of steady and patient thought. It roams abroad in search of materials which may tickle the spleen, and, sometimes, may even stir up the bile. We, therefore, can scarcely trust to it as a guide through the labyrinth of great and momentous inquiries. The intractability and impertinence of domestic *helps* (for there are no such things as domestic *servants* in America),—the inexpressibly ludicrous effect of American curiosity, and the “nice fence and active practice” with which it is parried by American caution and reserve—the breathless haste and blank silence with which Transatlantic meals are devoured—the perilous insertion of half the blade of the knife between the jaws of the impatient performer—the awful separation of the sexes from each other, on every occasion of public assemblage, whether grave or gay—the legs of the gentlemen elevated on the backs of chairs—the prudish horror with which the ladies shrink from the suspicion of being conscious that such an integument as *smock* or *shift* has any existence among sublunary things—the daily and hourly breach of the thousand conventional observances which have grown up amidst the fastidious civilization of the old world—all these, and a multitude of similar topics, are admirably fitted to call forth her peculiar powers. But, when we come to such profound concerns as national morality and religion, we feel that loftier properties are needed, than the keenest perception of what is vulgar or ridiculous, or the happiest talent for the exhibition of it. But, notwithstanding these misgivings as to the aptitude of our conductress for such high speculations, we shall, nevertheless, venture to request the attention of our readers to certain representations which she has given, relative to form and manner in which religious feeling manifests itself in the United States. In spite of the astonishment with which we have listened to her statements—an astonishment which advances, at times, very nearly to the verge of incredulity—we cannot but feel that she is, at least, entitled to a patient hearing. It has, indeed, been the fashion in certain circles to talk of her as if she were possessed by we know not how many evil spirits; as if she were almost a prodigy of evil-speaking, lying, and slandering. We profess not to take up the gauntlet in her behalf. Whether, or not, she has done injustice to democratic manners and institutions in general, we shall not stop to inquire. We shall confine ourselves to our own peculiar department, as humble auxiliaries to the Religious Principles and Establishments of our own country. In that character, the

the question we propose to the public is,—not merely whether she has her vivacity, at all times, under salutary control,—but, whether the things related by her are substantially true or not? If they are not, she has been guilty of something more atrocious than a mere *caricature*: she has been guilty of an intolerable calumny. We are therefore quite willing that our readers should bring to their contemplation of her picture the most vigilant and jealous caution,—that they should purge their vision with “euphrasy and rue,”—and should be prepared to detect every line of distortion, and every tint of exaggeration. And we have the less scruple in producing her testimony, because we shall have to compare it with that of the Rev. Calvin Colton of America, whose volume, together with those of Mrs. Trollope, stands at the head of our paper.

According to Mrs. Trollope’s account, then, the influences of religion develope themselves in America after a very strange fashion. They produce, not the warmth of a healthy temperament, but the symptoms of an intermittent fever. And, if we are to believe her, there is one remarkable peculiarity in the case. The church and the chapel are to these people what the theatre and the concert-room are to us old-world folks. Public amusements of every description, it seems, are in no very gracious odour in any part of the Union. The men are, in general, a vast deal too busy to waste their time or thoughts upon matters wherein dollars are to be spent, and no dollars to be got. Among the ladies, most of the public recreations are considered as of very doubtful repute; and theatrical exhibitions, more especially, if not absolutely proscribed, are regarded with jealousy and dislike, as scarcely consistent with the purity of the Christian profession. In this dreary absence of lawful recreation, the places of worship, Mrs. Trollope tells us, become the scenes of personal display. “Were it not for the churches,” she says, in her dashing manner, “I think there might be a general bonfire of best bonnets; for I could never discover any other use for them. But for private tea-drinkings, and the public exercises of religion, the ladies of Cincinnati would be in danger of becoming perfect recluses.” This species of *amusement* seems, accordingly, to be incessantly going on. No evening in the week but brings the young and the beautiful to the chapels and the meeting houses, all dressed with care, and sometimes with great pretension: and it is there that all display is made, and all fashionable distinction sought. The pomps and vanities of life, therefore, instead of evaporating and flying off in their appropriate region, are regularly carried into the sanctuary: and, if so, it may be questioned whether the Temple is not, thus, in as much danger of desecration, as ever it was from the tables of

the money-changers, or the traffickings of them that bought and sold.

This representation of the matter, it is true, relates more immediately to the people of Cincinnati. But if we understand Mrs. Trollope correctly, it is applicable, more or less, to the whole of the Union, nearly without exception. And there is one consequence of this state of things, which, if faithfully reported, is far too remarkable to be omitted. As religion is the great source of recreation, so the ministers of religion are found to occupy that post of influence with the gentler sex, which belongs, in other and older countries, to exquisites, and leaders of the fashion, and the whole tribe of fascinating and delightful men! But, upon this topic, we must solicit a hearing for the lady herself; premising that she must here be prepared for a most unsparing scrutiny into the correctness of her testimony. So strange is the tale she has to tell, that she seems to be, herself, apprehensive of some incredulity on the part of the public; though, at the same time, she declares herself distinctly mindful that the subject is of too much solemn importance to be lightly handled. We trust that our readers will not be deterred by the length of our extract, the whole of which will be found abundantly curious, and more especially that part of it which relates to a certain religious phenomenon, usually known by the name of a *Revival*.

“ The influence which the ministers of all the innumerable religious sects throughout America have on the females of their respective congregations, approaches very nearly to what we read of in Spain, or in other strictly Roman Catholic countries. There are many causes for this peculiar influence. Where equality of rank is affectedly acknowledged by the rich, and clamorously claimed by the poor, distinction and pre-eminence are allowed to the clergy only. This gives them high importance in the eyes of the ladies. I think, also, that it is from the clergy only that the women of America receive that sort of attention which is so dearly valued by every female heart throughout the world. With the priests of America the women hold that degree of influential importance which, in the countries of Europe, is allowed them throughout all orders and ranks of society, except, perhaps, the very lowest; and in return for this they seem to give their hearts and souls into their keeping. I never saw or read of any country where religion had so strong a hold upon the women, or a slighter hold upon the men.

“ I mean not to assert that I met with no men of sincerely religious feelings, or with no women of no religious feelings at all; but I feel perfectly secure of being correct as to the great majority in the statement I have made.

“ We had not been many months in Cincinnati when our curiosity was excited by hearing the ‘Revival’ talked of by every one we met throughout the town. ‘The Revival will be very full’—‘We shall be constantly engaged during the Revival’—were the phrases we constantly

heard repeated, and for a long time without in the least comprehending what was meant; but at length I learnt that the un-national Church of America required to be roused, at regular intervals, to greater energy and exertion. At these seasons the most enthusiastic of the clergy travel the country, and enter the cities and towns by scores, or by hundreds, as the accommodation of the place may admit; and for a week or fortnight, or, if the population be large, for a month, they preach and pray all day, and often for a considerable portion of the night, in the various churches and chapels of the place. This is called a Revival.

"I took considerable pains to obtain information on this subject; but in detailing what I learnt I fear that it is probable I shall be accused of exaggeration; all I can do is cautiously to avoid deserving it. The subject is highly interesting, and it would be a fault of no trifling nature to treat it with levity.

"These itinerant clergymen are of all persuasions, I believe, except the Episcopalian, Catholic, Unitarian, and Quaker. I heard of Presbyterians of all varieties; of Baptists of I know not how many divisions; and of Methodists of more denominations than I can remember; whose innumerable shades of varying belief it would require much time to explain and more to comprehend. They enter all the cities, towns, and villages of the Union in succession; I could not learn with sufficient certainty to repeat, what the interval generally is between their visits. These itinerants are, for the most part, lodged in the houses of their respective followers, and every evening that is not spent in the churches and meeting-houses, is devoted to what would be called parties by others, but which they designate as prayer-meetings. Here they eat, drink, pray, sing, hear confessions, and make converts. To these meetings I never got invited, and therefore I have nothing but hearsay evidence to offer, but my information comes from an eye witness, and one on whom I believe I may depend. If one half of what I heard may be believed, these social prayer-meetings are by no means the least curious, or the least important part of the business.

"It is impossible not to smile at the close resemblance to be traced between the feelings of a first-rate Presbyterian or Methodist lady, fortunate enough to have secured a favourite Itinerant for her meeting, and those of a first rate London Blue, equally blest in the presence of a fashionable poet. There is a strong family likeness among us all the world over.

"The best rooms, the best dresses, the choicest refreshments solemnize the meeting. While the party is assembling, the load-star of the hour is occupied in whispering conversations with the guests as they arrive. They are called brothers and sisters, and the greetings are very affectionate. When the room is full, the company, of whom a vast majority are always women, are invited, intreated, and coaxed to confess before their brothers and sisters, all their thoughts, faults, and follies.

"These confessions are strange scenes; the more they confess, the more invariably are they encouraged and caressed. When this is over, they all kneel, and the Itinerant prays extempore. They then eat and drink; and then they sing hymns, pray, exhort, sing, and pray again;

till the excitement reaches a very high pitch indeed. These scenes are going on at some house or other every evening during the revival, nay, at many at the same time, for the churches and meeting-houses cannot give occupation to half the Itinerants, though they are all open throughout the day, and till a late hour in the night, and the officiating ministers succeed each other in the occupation of them.

"It was at the principal of the Presbyterian churches that I was twice witness to scenes that made me shudder; in describing one, I describe both, and every one; the same thing is constantly repeated.

"It was in the middle of summer, but the service we were recommended to attend did not begin till it was dark. The church was well lighted, and crowded almost to suffocation. On entering, we found three priests standing side by side, in a sort of tribune, placed where the altar usually is, handsomely fitted up with crimson curtains, and elevated about as high as our pulpits. We took our places in a pew close to the rail which surrounded it.

"The priest who stood in the middle was praying; the prayer was extravagantly vehement, and offensively familiar in expression; when this ended, a hymn was sung, and then another priest took the centre place, and preached. The sermon had considerable eloquence, but of a frightful kind. The preacher described, with ghastly minuteness, the last feeble fainting moments of human life, and then the gradual progress of decay after death, which he followed through every process up to the last loathsome stage of decomposition. Suddenly changing his tone, which had been that of sober accurate description, into the shrill voice of horror, he bent forward his head, as if to gaze on some object beneath the pulpit. And as Rebecca made known to Ivanhoe what she saw through the window, so the preacher made known to us what he saw in the pit that seemed to open before him. The device was certainly a happy one for giving effect to his description of hell. No image that fire, flame, brimstone, molten lead, or red hot pincers could supply, with flesh, nerves, and sinews quivering under them, was omitted. The perspiration ran in streams from the face of the preacher; his eyes rolled, his lips were covered with foam, and every feature had the deep expression of horror it would have borne, had he, in truth, been gazing at the scene he described. The acting was excellent. At length he gave a languishing look to his supporters on each side, as if to express his feeble state, and then sat down, and wiped the drops of agony from his brow.

"The other two priests arose, and began to sing a hymn. It was some seconds before the congregation could join as usual, every upturned face looked pale and horror struck. When the singing ended, another took the centre place, and began in a sort of coaxing affectionate tone to ask the congregation if what their dear brother had spoken had reached their hearts? Whether they would avoid the hell he had made them see? "Come, then!" he continued, stretching out his arms towards them, "come to us and tell us so, and we will make you see Jesus, the dear gentle Jesus, who shall save you from it. But you must come to him! You must not be ashamed to come to him! This night

you shall tell him that you are not ashamed of him ; we will make way for you ; we will clear the bench for anxious sinners to sit upon. Come, then ! come to the anxious bench, and we will show you Jesus ! Come ! Come ! Come !

“ Again, a hymn was sung, and while it continued, one of the three was employed in clearing one or two long benches that went across the rail, sending the people back to the lower part of the church. The singing ceased, and again the people were invited and exhorted not to be ashamed of Jesus, but to put themselves upon ‘ the anxious benches,’ and lay their heads on his bosom. ‘ Once more we will sing,’ he concluded, ‘ that we may give you time.’ And again they sung a hymn.

“ And now in every part of the church a movement was perceptible, slight at first, but by degrees becoming more decided. Young girls arose and sat down, and rose again ; and then the pews opened, and several came tottering out, their hands clasped, their heads hanging on their bosoms, and every limb trembling, and still the hymn went on ; but as the poor creatures approached the rail their sobs and groans became audible. They seated themselves on the ‘ anxious benches ;’ the hymn ceased, and two of the three priests walked down from the tribune ; and going, one to the right, and the other to the left, began whispering to the poor tremblers seated there. These whispers were inaudible to us, but the sobs and groans increased to a frightful excess. Young creatures, with features pale and distorted, fell on their knees on the pavement and soon sunk forward on their faces ; the most violent cries and shrieks followed, while from time to time a voice was heard in convulsive accents, exclaiming ‘ Oh Lord !’ ‘ Oh Lord Jesus !’ ‘ Help me, Jesus !’ And the the like.

“ Meanwhile the two priests continued to walk among them ; they repeatedly mounted on the benches and, trumpet-mouthed, proclaimed to the whole congregation, ‘ the tidings of salvation ;’ and then from every corner of the building arose in reply, short, sharp, cries of ‘ Amen !’ ‘ Glory !’ ‘ Amen !’ While the prostrate penitents continued to receive whispered comfortings, and from time to time a mystic caress. More than once I saw a young neck encircled by a reverend arm. Violent hysterics and convulsions seized many of them, and when the tumult was at the highest, the priest who remained above again gave out a hymn as if to drown it.

“ It was a frightful sight to behold innocent young creatures, in the gay morning of existence thus seized upon, horror struck and rendered feeble and enervated for ever. One young girl, apparently not more than fourteen, was supported in the arms of another some years older ; her face was pale as death, her eyes wide open and perfectly devoid of meaning ; her chin and bosom wet with slaver ; she had every appearance of idiotism. I saw a priest approach her, he took her delicate hand, ‘ Jesus is with her ! Bless the Lord !’ he said, and passed on.

“ Did the men of America value their women as men ought to value their wives and daughters, would such scenes be permitted among them ?

“ It is hardly necessary to say that all who obeyed the call to place themselves on the ‘ anxious benches’ were women, and by far the



greater number very young women. The congregation was in general extremely well dressed and the smartest and the most fashionable ladies of the town were there; during the whole Revival, the churches and meeting-houses were every day crowded with well dressed people.

"It is thus the ladies of Cincinnati amuse themselves; to attend the theatre is forbidden; to play cards is unlawful; but they work hard in their families, and must have some relaxation. For myself I confess that I think the coarsest comedy ever written would be a less detestable exhibition for the eyes of youth and innocence than such a scene."—pp. 101—111.

The picture above exhibited is sufficiently revolting. If, however, the following narrative is to be fully credited, the operation of enthusiasm is, sometimes, manifested upon a still more tremendous scale. Our readers may possibly have heard of such things as *Religious Camp-meetings*; but, probably, they have never heard one described by an eye-witness. To those who may not have met with Mrs. Trollope's work, we now offer that opportunity, in the form of another copious extract. It would be impossible to do justice to the scene, or at least to Mrs. Trollope's impressions respecting it, without giving her reminiscences in her own words.

"I had heard it said, that being at a camp-meeting was like standing at the gate of heaven, and seeing it opened before you; I had heard it said, that being at a camp-meeting was like finding yourself within the gates of hell; in either case, there must be something to gratify curiosity, and compensate for the fatigues of a long rumbling ride and a sleepless night.

"We reached the ground about an hour before midnight, and the approach to it was highly picturesque. The spot chosen was the verge of an unbroken forest, where a space of about twenty acres appeared to have been partially cleared for the purpose. Tents of different sizes were pitched very near together in a circle round the cleared space, behind them were ranged an exterior circle of carriages of every description, and at the back of each were fastened the horses which had drawn them thither. Through this triple circle of defence we distinguished numerous fires burning brightly within it; and still more numerous lights flickering from the trees that were left in the enclosure. The moon was in meridian splendour above our heads.

We left the carriage to the care of a servant, who was to prepare a bed in it for Mrs. B. and me, and entered the inner circle. The first glance, reminded me of Vauxhall, from the effect of the lights among the trees and the moving crowd below them; but the second showed a scene totally unlike any thing I had ever witnessed. Four high frames, constructed in the form of altars, were placed at the four corners of the enclosure; on these were supported layers of earth and sod, on which burned immense fires of blazing pine-wood. On one side a rude platform



was erected to accommodate the preachers, fifteen of whom attended this meeting, and with very short intervals for necessary refreshment and private devotion, preached in rotation, day and night, from Tuesday to Saturday.

When we arrived, the preachers were silent ; but we heard issuing from nearly every tent mingled sounds of praying, preaching, singing, and lamentation. The curtains in front of each tent were dropped, and the faint light that gleamed through the white drapery, backed as it was by the dark forest, had a beautiful and mysterious effect, that set the imagination at work ; and had the sounds, which vibrated around us, been less discordant, harsh, and unnatural, I should have enjoyed it ; but listening at the corner of a tent, which poured forth more than its proportion of clamour, in a few moments chased every feeling derived from imagination, and furnished realities that could neither be mistaken nor forgotten.

“ Great numbers of persons were walking about the ground, who appeared, like ourselves, to be present only as spectators ; some of these very unceremoniously contrived to raise the drapery of this tent, at one corner, so as to afford us a perfect view of the interior.

“ The floor was covered with straw, which round the sides was heaped in masses, that might serve as seats, but which at that moment were used to support the heads and the arms of the close-packed circle of men and women who knelt on the floor.

“ Out of about thirty persons thus placed, perhaps half a dozen were men. One of these, a handsome looking youth of eighteen or twenty, knelt just below the opening through which I looked. His arm was encircling the neck of a young girl who knelt beside him, with her hair hanging disbevelled upon her shoulders, and her features working with the most violent agitation ; soon after they both fell forward on the straw, as if unable to endure in any other attitude the burning eloquence of a tall grim figure in black, who, standing erect in the centre, was uttering with incredible vehemence an oration that seemed to hover between praying and preaching ; his arms hung stiff and immovable by his side, and he looked like an ill-constructed machine, set in action by a movement so violent, as to threaten its own destruction, so jerkingly, painfully, yet rapidly, did his words tumble out ; the kneeling circle ceased not to call, in every variety of tone, on the name of Jesus ; accompanied with sobs, groans, and a sort of low howling, inexpressibly painful to listen to. But my attention was speedily withdrawn from the preacher, and the circle around him, by a figure which knelt alone at some distance ; it was a living image of Scott's Macbriar, as young, as wild, and as terrible. His thin arms tossed above his head, had forced themselves so far out of the sleeves, that they were bare to the elbow ; his large eyes glared frightfully, and he continued to scream, without an instant's intermission, the word “ Glory ! ” with a violence that seemed to swell every vein to bursting. It was too dreadful to look upon long, and we turned away shuddering.

“ We made the circuit of the tents, pausing where attention was particularly excited by sounds more vehement than ordinary. We contrived

to look into many ; all were strewed with straw, and the distorted figures that we saw kneeling, sitting, and lying amongst it, joined to the woeful and convulsive cries, gave to each the air of a cell in Bedlam.

"One tent was occupied exclusively by Negroes. They were all full-dressed, and looked exactly as if they were performing a scene on the stage. One woman wore a dress of pink gauze trimmed with silver lace ; another was dressed in pale yellow silk ; one or two had splendid turbans ; and all wore a profusion of ornaments. The men were in snow white pantaloons, with gay coloured linen jackets. One of these, a youth of coal-black comeliness, was preaching with the most violent gesticulations, frequently springing high from the ground, and clapping his hands over his head. Could our missionary societies have heard the trash he uttered, by way of an address to the Deity, they might perhaps have doubted whether his conversion had much enlightened his mind.

"At midnight, a horn sounded through the camp, which, we were told, was to call the people from private to public worship ; and we presently saw them flocking from all sides to the front of the preachers' stand. Mrs. B. and I contrived to place ourselves with our backs supported against the lower part of this structure, and we were thus enabled to witness the scene which followed, without personal danger. There were about two thousand persons assembled.

"One of the preachers began in a low nasal tone, and like all other methodist preachers, assured us of the enormous depravity of man, as he comes from the hands of his Maker, and of his perfect sanctification after he had wrestled sufficiently with the Lord to get hold of him, *et cætera*. The admiration of the crowd was evinced by almost constant cries of "Amen ! Amen !" "Jesus ! Jesus !" "Glory ! Glory !" and the like. But this comparative tranquillity did not last long : the preacher told them that "this night was the time fixed upon for anxious sinners to wrestle with the Lord ;" that he and his brethren were at hand to help them," and that such as needed their help were to come forward into "the pen." The phrase forcibly recalled Milton's lines—

' Blind mouths ! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
A sheep-hook, or have learned aught else, the least  
That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs !  
—But when they list their lean and flashy songs,  
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw ;—  
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed !  
But swollen with wind, and the rank mist they draw,  
Rot inwardly—and foul contagion spread.'

"The pen" was the space immediately below the preachers' stand ; we were, therefore, placed on the edge of it, and were enabled to see and hear all that took place in the very centre of this extraordinary exhibition.

"The crowd fell back at the mention of the *pen*, and for some minutes there was a vacant space before us. The preachers came down from their stand and placed themselves in the midst of it, beginning to sing a hymn, calling upon the penitents to come forth. As they sang, they kept turning themselves round to every part of the crowd, and, by degrees the

voices of the whole multitude joined in chorus. This was the only moment at which I perceived any thing like the solemn and beautiful effect which I had heard ascribed to this woodland worship. It is certain that the combined voices of such a multitude, heard at dead of night, from the depths of their eternal forests, the many fair young faces turned upward, and looking paler and lovelier as they met the moon-beams, the dark figures of the officials in the middle of the circle, the lurid glare thrown by the altar-fires on the woods beyond, did altogether produce a fine and solemn effect, that I shall not easily forget; but ere I had well enjoyed it, the scene changed, and sublimity gave place to horror and disgust.

"The exhortation nearly resembled that which I had heard at 'the Revival,' but the result was very different; for, instead of the few hysterical women who had distinguished themselves on that occasion, above a hundred persons, nearly all females, came forward, uttering howlings and groans, so terrible that I shall never cease to shudder when I recall them. They appeared to drag each other forward, and on the word being given, 'let us pray,' they all fell on their knees; but this posture was soon changed for others that permitted greater scope for the convulsive movements of their limbs; and they were soon all lying on the ground, in an indescribable confusion of heads and legs. They threw about their limbs with such incessant and violent motion, that I was every instant expecting some serious accident to occur.

"But how am I to describe the sounds that proceeded from this strange mass of human beings? I know no words which can convey an idea of it. Hysterical sobbings, convulsive groans, shrieks and screams the most appalling, burst forth on all sides. I felt sick with horror. As if their hoarse and overstrained voices failed to make noise enough, they soon began to clap their hands violently. The scene described by Dante was before me:—

' Quivi sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai  
Risonavan per l' aere——  
——— Orribili favelle  
Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira  
Voci alti e fioche, e suon di man con elle.'

"Many of these wretched creatures were beautiful young females. The preachers moved about among them, at once exciting and soothing their agonies. I heard the muttered 'Sister! dear sister!' I saw the insidious lips approach the cheeks of the unhappy girls; I heard the murmured confessions of the poor victims, and I watched their tormentors, breathing into their ears consolations that tinged the pale cheek with red. Had I been a man, I am sure I should have been guilty of some rash act of interference; nor do I believe that such a scene could have been acted in the presence of Englishmen without instant punishment being inflicted; not to mention the salutary discipline of the treadmill, which, beyond all question, would, in England, have been applied to check so turbulent and so vicious a scene.

"After the first wild burst that followed their prostration, the moanings,

in many instances, became loudly articulate: and I then experienced a strange vibration between tragic and comic feeling.

"A very pretty girl, who was kneeling in the attitude of Canova's Magdalene immediately before us, amongst an immense quantity of jargon, broke out thus: 'Woe, woe to the backsliders! hear it, hear it Jesus! when I was fifteen my mother died, and I backslided, oh, Jesus, I backslided! take me home to my mother, Jesus! take me home to her, for I am weary! Oh John Mitchel! John Mitchel!' and after sobbing piteously behind her raised hands, she lifted her sweet face again, which was as pale as death, and said, 'Shall I sit on the sunny bank of salvation with my mother? my own dear mother? oh Jesus take me home, take me home!'

"Who could refuse a tear to this earnest wish for death in one so young and so lovely? But I saw her, ere I left the ground, with her hand fast locked, and her head supported by a man who looked very much as Don Juan might, when sent back to earth as too bad for the regions below.

"One woman near us continued to 'call on the Lord,' as it is termed, in the loudest possible tone, and without a moment's interval, for the two hours that we kept our dreadful station. She became frightfully hoarse, and her face so red as to make me expect she would burst a blood-vessel. Among the rest of her rant, she said, 'I will hold fast to Jesus, I never will let him go; if they take me to hell, I will still hold him fast, fast, fast!'

"The stunning noise was sometimes varied by the preachers beginning to sing; but the convulsive movements of the poor maniacs only became more violent. At length the atrocious wickedness of this horrible scene increased to a degree of grossness that drove us from our station: we returned to the carriage at about three o'clock in the morning, and passed the remainder of the night in listening to the ever increasing tumult at the pen. To sleep was impossible. At day-break the horn again sounded, to send them to private devotion; and in about an hour afterwards, I saw the whole camp as joyously and eagerly employed in preparing and devouring their most substantial breakfasts, as if the night had been passed in dancing; and I marked many a fair but pale face, that I recognised as a demoniac of the night, simpering beside a swain, to whom she carefully administered hot coffee and eggs. The preaching saint and the howling sinner seemed alike to relish this mode of recruiting their strength.

"After enjoying abundance of strong tea, which proved a delightful restorative after a night so strangely spent, I wandered alone into the forest, and I never remember to have found perfect quiet more delightful.

"We soon after left the ground; but before our departure we learnt that a very *satisfactory* collection had been made by the preachers, for Bibles, Tracts, and *all other religious purposes.*"

That any national religious establishment can exert a pressure sufficiently powerful to keep down all eruptions of fanaticism,

it would be mere insanity to expect. But, at any rate, such an establishment may be said to hold in its hand a sort of *safety-lamp*, which might do much, if judiciously and carefully used, to prevent such frequent and dangerous explosions of the spiritual fire-damp as Mrs. Trollope has here described; and which, if her testimony is to be implicitly received, are constantly heard in the West, without creating astonishment or alarm. If her representation be accurate, it would, perhaps, be difficult to find, in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, many scenes more deplorable than the orgies which are here depicted. However, now that she has been heard at full length, candour and equity demand that we should listen patiently to another and a very different witness.

The Rev. Calvin Cotton, it seems, is an American divine, who, during his residence in this country—(where, for any thing we know to the contrary, he may be at this moment)—was requested to deliver a discourse on *American Revivals*. The result of this application was, that several discourses on the subject were delivered by him in some chapel or other of the metropolis; the substance of which discourses was afterwards repeated by him in other chapels, both in London and the country. The topic, however, was soon found to be of such a nature, that no justice could be done to it from the pulpit; and the author was, consequently, induced to embody his thoughts in a separate tract; and under these circumstances it is that the little volume now before us has been given to the world. It was not till after the composition of his work that the author was apprised of the doubts entertained in England respecting the character of American Revivals. It is, accordingly, to be presumed that it was written without the slightest reference to the work of Mrs. Trollope. He is, therefore, not to be regarded as an advocate, whose business it is to make out the best case that he is able, in answer to the statements of an antagonist. He is rather to be considered as a witness, though undoubtedly a zealous witness, in behalf of a cause which, in his judgment, is identified with the very life of Christianity. On this account his depositions, whatever may be their own intrinsic value, are entitled to a most respectful hearing from every candid person, not only in this country but in every part of European Christendom.—(Introduction, pp. vii—xii.) The temper in which his representations are to be received is very properly described by himself in the course of his Essay.

“ If there be any thing claiming respect in the whole history of mind, it is its attitude and sentiment when looking up to God, when looking into eternity, into heaven, and into hell, and endeavouring to settle the question of its destiny in those boundless regions. And he who can

sport himself with such a scene is by no means to be envied for such an exemption from sympathy; but greatly to be pitied for his profane levity in his treatment of the gravest subject which ever challenged the attention of man."—(pp. 205, 206.)

We trust that this solemn caution will not, for an instant, be forgotten by us, in our examination of his testimony relative to Revivals of Religion.

It would appear that the word *Revivals* is very insufficient for the purpose of conveying any adequate conception of the phenomena usually denoted by it. The word itself impresses, simply, the notion of a renovated influence of Religious principle and feeling, in communities where that influence had, for a considerable interval, been dormant and inactive. It is used by Mr. Colton, with much greater latitude, to signify any manifestation of religious principle, operating by means of sympathy, in consequence of an immediate impulse from heaven.

"A Revival," he says, "may be defined as the multiplied power of Religion over a community of minds, when the Spirit of God awakens Christians to special faith and effort, and brings sinners to repentance. . . Sometimes the influence comes like a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, overwhelming, almost instantaneously, the minds of a whole community with a deep religious solemnity, filling the impenitent with alarm, and Christians with expectation."

At other times, it comes—

"Like a still small voice, stealing softly and unseen over the minds of numerous individuals, apparently insulated from each other, spreading deeper and wider, until some season of religious assembly should furnish a natural occasion for the commingling of sympathies, and the unexpected development of a common and irrepressible feeling; so that all would feel that God was in the midst of them by the special power of his spirit."

But besides this class of revivals, in which the visitation of the spirit seems to descend unexpected and unasked, there is another class, in which the instrumentality of man is more visible than in the former; and in this form it is, that the sympathetic religious impulse, or excitement, is chiefly found to display itself at the present day.

"A host of ardent, devoted *revival-men*, have been raised up in the school of former and later revivals, whose ranks are continually increasing, and who are becoming more experienced, and more and more successful. Every fresh revival, of any considerable extent, multiplies candidates for the ministry, who will never forget the day, nor the place, nor the circumstances, of their *new birth*; and who, after a suitable training and culture, become active and efficient *revival-men*. The spirit of revivals is *born into them*, and bred with them, and makes their character. And, so far as I know, the revivals, *which are now going on over*



that country, are principally brought about by such instrumentality. The exceptions to the rule, I believe, are rare, and hence it may be expected, that they will continue and increase till they shall overspread the land; and, may it not be hoped, *till they shall have overspread the nations and the world.*" (Chap. 1.)

Overspread the nations and the world they most assuredly will, if,—as Mr. Colton contends,—revivalism is neither more nor less than a new dispensation. That he does so contend, is manifest from his own words. He speaks of the *sympathetic economy of revivals*: and he calls it an *economy*, because, as he affirms, "it is *strictly* and distinctly so;—an economy of wonderful character and wonderful power. And what makes it wonderful is, that the spirit of God employs the social principles of our nature as instruments of *conversion*, so that when one mind is interested, another is interested—when one mind is deeply and powerfully exercised, another sympathizes—when one is *converted*, another follows in train—and a third—and so on to a multitude." This social principle is an element which operates something after the manner of electricity. The shock or impulse, which is first communicated to an individual, travels with amazing rapidity round the circuit of a whole society or group. And "the spirit of God, taking hold of it as an instrument, facilitates, and (if the expression may be allowed) *economises* his own powers. . . . Instead of confining them to subjects in insulated conditions, as in the cases of sinners standing alone, unconnected with society, he touches a pulse, which beats in many hearts—he touches a heart, in which a thousand others are interested by mediate connections. . . . It is not because the Holy Spirit has need of such facilities; and yet, it is a facility, even to God, if I may say so. It is an admirable *economy*. It puts in requisition, for the renovation of human hearts and of human society, that very principle which thrills all heaven simultaneously with the same sentiment of holy rapture and exultation—which makes a communion of horrors among the spirits of the damned. It is the social principle." And, as for the phenomena attendant upon every *crisis* which may be thus produced, "there is no philosophy, but the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as revealed in the Bible, which can account for them. It is true that this work of the spirit may be limited, and obscured, and exposed to reproach, by the vicious handling of unskilled or unholy instruments. And this is a lamentable device of the adversary to bring the work of the Spirit into discredit;—to excite *disgust and apprehension*, in relation to all religious excitements. But still there is only one way by which the world can be radically reformed; and that is, by an earnest and energetic challenge made upon its errors; and that challenge, to be



effectual, must be accompanied by the power of God;—and these influences together must necessarily produce excitement;—and there can be no excitement without danger of the perversion of excited powers.” Man, however, must submit to the discipline of that school which has been instituted by Divine Providence,—even the *System of Redemption*; and there he must be trained, “by a course of severe, arduous, and, more or less, in its incipient stages, *unfortunate* experiments, until he shall have learned to avoid the evil in the attainment of the good.” (ch. 3.)

The apparatus of this mighty system—this scheme of man’s redemption—hath been long made ready. It was completed just 1800 years ago. But, nevertheless, it is a melancholy fact, that this apparatus has not yet been brought into effectual operation. Mankind, collectively taken, “have made shipwreck of Christianity, as a principle of personal holiness.” “They have made it a convenience for their lusts; and, by their perversions and abuses of its ordinances, they have retarded and kept in check its triumphs, for nearly two thousand years. . . . The utmost stretch of abuse, however, we may hope, has nearly worked itself out. Christianity has rather grown than diminished in its hold on the social fabric. God has been *overturning and overturning*, until the great centres of political sway and social influence upon the earth are ready to shake off *the abuse of power*, with the abuse of religion. And when this *crisis* shall have come, we may hope that *the redemption of the world draweth nigh*.” And where is it that we are to look for those manifestations, which may warrant us to hope that the *crisis* will not be indefinitely delayed? To what quarter are we to turn our ear, in order to catch the sound of the chariot wheels, which have been lingering, age after age, *in the greatness of their way*? To this question Mr. Colton has his answer ready:—“One grand theatre, remote from the common turmoil of nations, has been prepared and opened for a fresh and interesting experiment of Christianity; and scenes of bright and hopeful omen have been enacting there for many generations. *Where, it may be asked, has a state of society occurred, in the providence of God, since the opening of the Christian era, so favourable to this progress of true religion, as in the United States of America? And where have the institutions and ordinances of Christianity been so signally blessed.* . . . . The character of man, all the world over, cannot be thoroughly reduced in submission to Christ—Christianity cannot verify its own predictions—independently of the introduction and support of a series of dispensations, of a character analogous to those of *Revivals of Religion*.” And where are revivals of religion so likely to spring

up with all the accumulated power of sympathy, as in a state of society like that of the American Union?—where all is “on a common level—where every body knows every body, and feels an interest in every body—where nothing of material interest can transpire with a family, or scarcely with an individual—but that a pulse of sympathy beats through the whole body;”—and where the spirit of the pilgrim fathers of New England may still be said to preside over the civil and religious empire, of which they were the founders—those holy men, whose flight to an inhospitable continent reminds Mr. Colton of the woman in the Apocalypse, who, (when her child was caught up to God, and to his throne,) fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared for her of God, that they should feed her there. “God hath indeed,” he exclaims, “*brought a vine out of Egypt, and cast out the heathen, and planted it. He hath prepared room before it, and caused it to take deep root. And lo! it hath filled the land. The hills are covered with the shadows of it, and the boughs thereof are like the goodly cedars. She hath sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river!*”

From all this it appears, that there is no hope of the ultimate dominion of Christianity over the hearts of men, but in revivalism; and that, of revivalism, the American Union is the chosen seat. In Protestant America, therefore, the religious hopes of mankind are, at this moment, mainly centered. It further appears, that this economy has about it all the character of a special and appropriate *dispensation*; and that, to reject it, is virtually, to abandon the cause of Christianity. That this is no exaggerated statement of Mr. Colton's opinions is evident, from his own words. “There is,” he says, “as much need of a *conversion of Christians* into a belief, and into the spirit, of revivals, as of the world *dead in trespasses and in sins*, into a life of holiness.” (p. 113.) And again, (after referring to the day of Pentecost, and other similar scenes in primitive times, and insisting that effusions of the Holy Spirit, *such as those which characterise revivals of religion*, are absolutely necessary, for the final subjection of the world to Jesus Christ,) he asks—“is there not some apology” for all this urgency of ours, “when we are invaded at all points by the *infidelity* of the Christian world upon this subject? May God,” he cries, “remove that *infidelity*, stop the mouths of gainsayers, and speedily convince the world, that there is no other prospect for the redemption of the world from ignorance, and sin, and suffering.” (p. 189.) It is true that, in the very next page to this, his hand is suddenly changed, and his tone most unaccountably lowered: for he there confesses himself unable to *affirm*, otherwise than *as a matter of opinion*, “that these revivals are emi-

nently the work and power of God;" though he is strongly *disposed to believe* that such is their character, and "such *not unlikely* their design." This dark interval of hesitation, however, soon passes away; and he returns to his former confidence of averment, that "they are *dispensations of Divine Providence*, which, in the United States, are *well known*, because they have been a long time, and in many cases, experienced." (p. 193.) And, most undoubtedly, if he feels himself warranted to maintain that *conversion* to a belief in revivals, is quite as needful as *conversion* to a life of holiness,—he cannot, without egregious inconsistency, speak of it as nothing more than a *probable* matter, that they are, indeed, "the work and power of God." He can no more hesitate about it than about any other article of his creed: for, it is to be presumed, that he has too much modesty to call on the world for *conversion* to a mere *likely* opinion of his own.

Mr. Colton will here, we trust, forgive us, if we pause for one moment, to consider the reasonableness of the above demand upon our faith;—coming as it does, upon us, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era; and propounded by no authority to which Christian men are required to bow the knee. No man living can be more alive than Mr. C. to the evils of a bigoted, or, as he is pleased to term it, of a *Sectarian* spirit. He tells us, that men may come to an idolatry of their own religious system, and that "then there is an end of usefulness—there beginneth the empire of bigotry." Some Christians, he reminds us, set up a particular sacramental ordinance as every thing; some a doctrine; some, a particular set of doctrines; some imagine that the faith is in danger from every deviation from the niceties of a creed; and are ready to take the field, with all the earnestness and impetuosity of a Quixote, at the sight of the giddy whirl of a windmill. For this disposition, he assures us, there is no cure but Heaven; and he adds, that "there is great reason to fear that, in many instances, it will never undergo a refinement fit for that place." (p. 117, 118.) Now, if we were to swell this catalogue of symptoms, by which the *Sectarian* temperament is to be detected, by saying, "there are *some* who set up a belief in revivals as every thing,"—what objection could any impartial person make to the introduction of such an *item* into the list? And, how would Mr. Colton set about relieving himself from the imputation of a *Sectarian* spirit? We have just seen that he *pronounces* "a conversion into the belief of revivals" to be every thing, or, if not every thing, at least an essential part and parcel of the *one thing needful*. It is as indispensable, according to him, as the conversion out of darkness into light,—out of the death of sin to the life of righteousness—from the power of Satan to the

power of the living God. From the day of Pentecost, indeed, until the eighteenth century, the history of the Church exhibits nothing which can be said to resemble that series of operations which has been going on in America, for a long period, and with various success. But, we are confidently told, that a "new dispensation was then opened, under which, God came in by his spirit to save, what all the precautions of the Fathers of New England could not have saved. It is now exactly one century since these extraordinary phenomena began to be exhibited," during the ministry of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards; and thenceforward, these "*visitations*" were continued for years, extending over the principal settlements of New England. The interval from 1730 to 1750 was distinguished by the "*great revival*;" that when George Whitefield lighted down on those regions, *as an Angel of God*," he found every thing prepared; and, had literally "nothing to do but to pour forth the overwhelming torrents of his eloquence; and a blessing attended him wherever he went." Then came a period of decline; to be followed, however, in due season, with a bright and glorious renovation; "for never have revivals of religion in the United States been so numerous and powerful, never have they exhibited such promise of extensive and permanent influence, as at the present moment." (see ch. 6.) Such is the history of religion in America for the last hundred years. And the Christian world is now summoned to contemplate it, not *merely* as a remarkable manifestation of religious principle, arising out of the peculiar constitution of society there, but as a *light to lighten* the whole church, and to be the glory of the Israel of God. And men are gravely warned, that unless their hearts bend to this order of things, as to a *new and Divine economy*—unless they are "converted into the belief, and into the spirit of these revivals"—they, in effect, are setting at naught the most obvious manifestations of the sanctifying spirit, and are in no better a condition than they who remain wholly unconverted to the life of holiness. We, therefore, must inquire, once more, how it is that they who make this overpowering requisition, are more entitled to exemption from the charge of bigotry, than those who simply contend for what they conceive to be the faith which was once delivered to the Saints? Mr. Colton may be right, or he may be wrong, in contemplating these phenomena as indications that the Mighty One is about to ride forth prosperously in his majesty, and that the wine-press is about to be trodden with more than usual power. But, by what authority is it, that he, or any other Christian, or body of Christians, can venture on the assumption, that the divine origin of revivalism is to become, as it were, a new article of belief; and that all who

reject it are as much in danger, as if they were still in the darkness of infidelity, or in the bond of iniquity?

We ask these questions, with entire respect for the sincerity and the zeal of Mr. Colton; and having briefly considered his general character of revivalism, we shall proceed to his exposition of the instrumental details of its operation. On the first appearance of revivals, he informs us, among the people of the United States, then British colonies, they were received as undoubted manifestations of the power of God; but they brought with them no definite notions of any instrumental apparatus, by which it was incumbent upon man to promote and perpetuate their efficacy. The believers, accordingly, exhausted their faith in prayer,—and then stopped. But, “of late years, their faith has become more definite, more enlarged, and more practical; and scores of Ministers, and thousands of gifted and influential Christians, have learned to go out *into the highways and hedges* of the country, *and compel them to come in*. They have no more doubt of their reality than of the shining of the sun by day, or of the moon and the stars by night: and they go to work with as full and undoubting confidence as men apply themselves to any enterprize whatever, in the career of which they have realised repeated and uniform earnestness of success . . . . . And the very root and the living spring of their instrumentality, is *faith*; a faith in the *doctrine*, comprehending some definite notion of the thing.” (p. 88.) Of all the various measures resorted to by the ministers and emissaries of this new economy, for the promotion of its power, Mr. Colton forbears to furnish us with any particular account. The indiscriminate adoption of such measures, in other countries, he suspects, might, on many accounts, be disadvantageous and objectionable. Certain of these expedients, he apprehends, might probably prove unfortunate more particularly in England: while there are others which he regards “as equally applicable in any part of the world; because they are founded in human nature, and not in the accidental condition of society.”

In this latter class of measures, prayer-meetings stand foremost: prayer-meetings special and frequent, and having expressly in view, revivals of religion. These, it seems are to be followed up by a course of vigorous operation, in public religious assemblies; for instance, “a public definition of the different grades and classes of impenitent sinners, *so exact and graphic*, that they shall feel themselves described and addressed . . . . an *actual and public separation*, (in some form, and occasionally,) of believers from unbelievers—of those who are willing to profess Christ from those who are not—of the *anxious* from those who are unconcerned” . . . . “a use of the state of the public mind on the

subject of religion, declaring what it is and what it ought to be." And here, we must frankly confess, that, albeit our guide advances with a secure and confident step, we feel ourselves treading upon very treacherous ground. It seems to us as if concealed fires were beneath our path. We are almost impelled to exclaim, "whither wilt thou lead me? I will go no further!" Nevertheless, as we have begun the adventure, we must even go through with it, though we do so with fear and trembling.

Indeed, Mr. Colton himself confesses that the *public division of a religious assembly* is a very delicate and momentous measure, and should be resorted to with the greatest prudence. One mode of separation, it is true, is constantly occurring in every part of the world; and that is, when part of the congregation remain to receive the sacrament, while the rest of it retire; and this division, though without violence, combines such affecting and overpowering considerations, that Mr. Colton exclaims, "who could resist them if rightly improved?" Intimately connected with this is the custom, very general in the United States, for all persons who have been approved as candidates for the Lord's table to present themselves, on the appointed day, before the whole congregation, and there to enter into a *formal and public covenant with God and his people*. And this is a division, or separation, frequently of amazing and incalculable power.

The following scene, to which Mr. Colton was a witness, is related by him, in order to illustrate its efficacy.

"It was after a season of some considerable revival when on a sacramental sabbath, fifty-one of the converts, male and female, old and young, and in some instances parents with their children, presented themselves, at the call of their aged and venerable pastor, in the broad aisle of the church, standing in ranks, before all the congregation, and directly in front of the pulpit, and of the communion-table. The house was filled to overflowing, with a mixed multitude of believers and unbelievers—but all interested, all gazing at the scene, enacting before them, with an intensity of interest, which cannot be described—for the Spirit of God was there. It was a season of revival. These fifty-one persons had now, and in these circumstances publicly separated themselves from the world, there to take the vows of God upon them, in the presence of God, of angels, and of this multitude of witnesses on earth, and then to sit down together, and for the first time to receive the consecrated symbols of a saviour's dying love.

"And the venerable patriarch, their pastor and spiritual father, descending from the pulpit, took his station behind the Communion-table, supported on either hand by his elders and deacons, and was about to proceed to the installation of these waiting candidates in the fellowship and privileges of the church. For a moment all was silence and rapt attention, while that aged man of God stood struggling to arm his tongue for utterance. The sympathies of all hearts clustered round him, as he



was seen labouring in vain to express his emotions. At last with a trembling and broken voice, addressing himself to the officers and members of his church, and looking upon this fresh company now coming up, to offer themselves to God, he delivered himself of this brief sentence: 'This is the day, and this the hour, my brethren, which I have long wished, and prayed, and laboured to see.' And the old man could say no more. But turning himself, he fell upon the shoulder of one of the elders, who stood by his side, and wept aloud. And the whole congregation were instantly possessed of the same feeling, and equally convulsed by the uncontrollable power of their emotions.

"Like an elder father, and an elder saint, who on a more joyful occasion took the infant Saviour in his arms and was satisfied—so did this venerable man, bending alike under the weight of years, and alike hoary with the whitened locks of a care-worn life—so did he, as soon as he could lift himself up again, raise his trembling hands, and streaming eyes, and faltering voice to heaven, breaking once more the protracted pause and awful silence of the place:—'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace—for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

"And never will that hour be forgotten by those who witnessed the scene. And its impression on that Church and on that people will last, while they shall last—while eternity lasts. And names, I trust not a few, I cannot doubt, will be found in heaven, in consequence of the impressions of that occasion."

Another mode of dividing the congregation, though now in extensive use, is of more recent introduction; namely, the *anxious seat*. The reader will here recollect the *anxious benches*, as described by Mrs. Trollope, and may now compare her description with that of Mr. Colton:

"On such occasions, and ordinarily towards the close of the meeting, a challenge is formally made on all those who are willing publicly to signify their anxiety to secure an interest in the great salvation—to separate themselves from the congregation, and come and be seated by themselves, that public prayer may be offered in their behalf, and that they may receive suitable advice and exhortation. And by this act they are known as inquirers, and treated as such, so long as they desire or need it. None are likely to comply with this invitation, except those whose anxiety is paramount to their fear of the world, and of public observation. And every body is aware that such must be the feeling—such the overpowering impulse, which constrains obedience to such a call. And no matter how often it has been done—no matter though it be thing of every day—yet every recurrence of the same scene produces substantially the same effect both on a congregation and on those who go forward.

"The individual who rises for such a purpose, is apt to be so overwhelmed as to be unable to reach the place, without the guidance and support of a second person; and immediately the sympathies of the whole congregation, except those who are hardened and resolved in sin, are roused to unwonted energy. A second and a third, and perhaps a large number rise, one after another, and press forward, under the same emotions, to



the same place. And the common feeling increases. The anxious seat is filled ; and they, and the congregation with them, are in tears. The minister rises and asks ;—‘ And are there no more ? No more ? None others in this congregation resolved to renounce the world, and seek after heaven ? None others here who feel their need of a Saviour ? Dars you wait till to-morrow ! To-morrow, remember, is the thief of time, and the grave of souls.’ And another and perhaps another, and it may be yet a number, press forward to claim a place with those, whose example has decided them. And now the offer is suspended, and fervent importunate prayers are offered up in behalf of these anxious souls, who kneel weeping before the altar of God. And the congregation weep with them. And they are counselled, exhorted, and dismissed. But their names are known, and they are not forgotten or neglected. And the effect of this step on those, who thus present themselves, ordinarily is a speedy conversion. The amazing power of the circumstances, instrumentally, and the Spirit of God accompanying, bring their feelings—enforce them to the crisis of submission to God. And the effect upon the community is great. It is sometimes the means of originating, and always the means of promoting a revival.

Hitherto we have had presented to us none but approved and established methods of excitement. In the course of the last summer, however, Mr. Colton was witness to a “ new experiment,” which turned out to be remarkably felicitous. It was on the *third or fourth day* of a great religious convocation, (“ got up as a kind of missionary or revival effort,”) and during the suspension of the regular services, that a prayer meeting was held. The presiding minister was a man of great mental resource and much experience ; and when the assembly was seated before him, he commenced an urgent address to Christian parents in reference to their children, “ *who had been dedicated to God in baptism, and yet remained unconverted,*”—of which address Mr. Colton has given us the substance, as follows:—

“ ‘ What are the reasons?—Do you use all proper means?—Do you pray for them?—Do you pray *with* them, so as to make them interested?—Do you make them feel, in your treatment of them, that you are concerned for their salvation ? Suppose we make a season of special prayer for these children who are now here with you ; and for this purpose let room be made in all the seats immediately before and around the pulpit, and let all Christian parents who are here to-day, bring their children, older or younger, and here solemnly renew the consecration of them to God, and pray that God would now by his Spirit, *this day—this hour*, effectually impress their hearts, and bring them to repentance. And there are, doubtless, some of your children here who have come to a maturity of years, or are found in the buoyant days of youth, yet unconverted, who will be surprised at this call, and may feel reluctant to comply with your wishes. I say then to all such—If you are willing to be deprived of the benefit of these prayers—if you are prepared to say

to God thus publicly, and in this manner, that you "*will none of these things—that you will not have Christ to reign over you*"—then stay back. If you are willing thus to disappoint and afflict the hearts of your parents, then stay back. But remember you are now to make an eventful choice—a choice which may carry you to heaven, or send you to hell. Come, then, Christian parents with your baptised children, and we will here offer up our fervent and united prayers to heaven, that they may *this day* be baptised with the Holy Ghost.'"—pp. 100, 101.

Immediately on the conclusion of these words there was a movement in the congregation. Place was given as requested. Most of the children, nevertheless, remained behind, only to sink down overwhelmed by the appeal; while some of them "*declined the wishful looks and heart-appealing expressions of their parents.*" An interesting company, however, both of parents and children, at last appeared in the space allotted for the *converts*. And then began "*the agony of concern and the agony of prayer;*" and "*nothing was more manifest than the presence and power of the Holy Spirit throughout the assembly, as well as among this interesting group.*" The *anxious seat* was prepared; the baptised *children* came forward in a flock to the number of forty or more—

"generally of adult years—all *old enough* to have been sinners, and to need repentance, *and an interest in Christ.*"—"Among the rest came two twin-sisters, about fourteen years of age, arm in arm, and took their seat—their heads bowed down, and their hearts full of sorrow for their sins. They were born into the world in company, always lived in company, alike in all respects; accustomed to sympathize on all subjects and on all occasions, they sympathized now. They felt together their need of a Saviour, and came together soliciting of the ministers and people of God their advice and prayers.

"*'What shall we do to be saved?'*" They were the daughters of an elder in one of the churches, who, but a moment before, had stood with them, and wept over them, and prayed for them, in this very place. Surprised with joy at this unexpected manifestation of such feelings, he could not refrain from making some effort to speak with them. As they sat upon their seat their heads bowed low in grief, and supporting each other, their father approached, and as a matter of convenience, knelt down upon one of his knees to get their attention. The moment they perceived it was their father, they fell simultaneously upon his neck, one upon one shoulder, and the second upon the other, his head between theirs, and each throwing an arm about the father's neck; and in that situation the father and his twin daughters remained as if chained together, and wept, and wept, and wept. And all who witnessed the scene gave themselves up to tears. And those dear children, born into the world in one hour, in one hour apparently were born into the kingdom of God. And what a picture! It was a sight which angels might covet to see, and doubtless did see it—and winged with joy their way to heaven to announce the intelligence;—a sight which, perhaps, was never

presented before, and probably never will be again, in a form so interesting, so affecting, so subduing!"—*Colton*, pp. 104, 105.

In further illustration of the expedients by which revivals of religion are brought about, Mr. Colton produces a copious narrative from the *New York Observer*, dated so lately as November, 1831, relative to an extraordinary *work of the Lord*, which had recently occurred in Jefferson County. The period, it seems, was eminently propitious. The attention to holy things had, for some time previously, been much increased. Many had *presentiments* of great things to be performed, and circumstances appeared to warrant, and even to demand, a *protracted* meeting, that is, a meeting continued for a number of days together. On a Tuesday, in the month of March, the public exercises were accordingly commenced in the village of Adams, and were closed on the following Sabbath. For the first three days no extraordinary emotion was produced. But on the Friday the crisis came on. The waters of life flowed freely. *Anxious* meetings were continued for several days after the public meetings were suspended. "Many who came from a distance, went away rejoicing in the hope of a glorious immortality. Probably more than one hundred were here the subjects of renewing grace." Immediately after this another meeting was held at Rodman, five miles distant, which meeting was *protracted to thirteen days!* And here again, during the first three days, the aspect of things was dull and cheerless. But on the fourth, "*the cloud of Mercy burst suddenly upon the people;*" the revival was steadily forwarded, and scarcely an adult in the place was left *unconverted*. Some time afterwards a union meeting was solemnized between the Baptist and Presbyterian brethren at Belville. *Sectional* and party feeling was wholly laid aside. A *large* portion of the Spirit was asked for, and the prayer was abundantly answered; for

"the moving of the Spirit was like the sweep of an overwhelming flood, bearing away, with resistless energy, every obstacle that opposed its progress. . . . . The powers of darkness seemed to have loosed their hold of their victims, and haughty and rebellious men bowed in submission before the offended Majesty of heaven. . . . To give an idea of the power of the work, it is sufficient to state that at one time, during a season of prayer, in the *anxious room*, which lasted about fifteen minutes, thirty-seven persons indulged the *hope of having passed from death to life*; all of whom, so far as I have been able to learn, exhibit in their lives evidence of the reality of the change. . . . The general characteristics of this work," it is added, "have been deep conviction of sin, and an early surrender of the heart to God. Among its subjects were persons of every class and every age. Men of the highest standing have not been ashamed to profess themselves disciples of the Cross, and of those who have thus obtained hope in Christ, there are but very few who do

not stand fast in the faith, and give satisfactory evidence of a change of heart."—*Colton*, pp. 230—237.

The thirteenth chapter of Mr. Colton is devoted to the question, which has frequently been put to him, whether there is any peculiar mode of preaching in the United States which appears to have been signally honoured as an instrument of revivalism; and his answer to this question is altogether very remarkable. He is unable, he says, conscientiously to affirm that any particular kind or mode of preaching has exclusively prevailed when revivals of religion have occurred. In one place the preaching has been almost exclusively doctrinal; in another, hortatory rather than didactic. In some instances one particular set of doctrines has been made prominent; in others another set of doctrines—involving, however, in either case, the essential elements of the Gospel. "And in some instances revivals have occurred where the preaching was anything but evangelical—*downright heresy*, by the common consent of the orthodox Christian world." One thing, however, has been generally found; namely, that during the season of effusion, the preacher himself "*has caught a holier fire from the inner sanctuary—the sanctuary of a revival. . . .*" Revivals have renovated communities—have renovated churches—have renovated ministers. They have made good ministers out of bad ones, and good ones better," and, in many instances, have "radically and essentially changed the character of preaching." Nevertheless, the mode of preaching which has most usually and eminently promoted revivals, and which has itself been promoted by revivals, is defined by him as "a studious effort to combine the cardinal principles of original and evangelical law, and a persevering application of those principles, in their various scriptural forms, through the understanding and the reason, to the consciences of impenitent sinners, until they come to repentance."—(p. 269.) In short, revival-preaching is no other than "the earnest preaching of the Law and the Gospel—*so earnest* that the people cannot fail to feel that the preachers are in earnest."—(p. 278.) It appears, then, that there is, after all, nothing peculiar to America, or to American revivals, in the class of doctrines or principles set forth by the ministers whose efforts have been marked with such overpowering success. To preach the Law and the Gospel has been nothing more than the plain duty of Christian ministers ever since the foundation of the Christian religion. The secret, therefore, seems to lie not so much in the topics selected, as in the vehement intensity of spirit with which they are pressed home on the consciences of the hearers. The only question, therefore, which can fairly be raised, is—whether a sound and healthy religious tem-

perament is the effect of the various stimulants which enter into the current practice of the spiritual doctors?

As might reasonably be expected, Mr. Colton informs us that the first revival which occurs in any community is always the most intense, and frequently attended with some "unhealthy excitement, and, in particular instances, with unhappy results." "The second revival in the same community is always more sober, even when equally powerful." As they proceed, "the community becomes disciplined to such a state of things. . . . Instances of awakening and conversion become of habitual occurrence. The Spirit seems to be perpetually hovering over them, ever and anon scattering here and there drops of his influence, and occasionally pouring down upon them the showers of his grace." "I could name," he says, "many communities in the United States, which have exhibited all these grades of advancement, and which seem approximating constantly to the condition of that uninterrupted, unbroken influence, which is likely to operate a thorough purification." So that revivals have a tendency, if we may so express it, to become *confluent* in any society in which they have once appeared with any remarkable power; and, at last, to enter so completely into the religious habit of the people as nearly to lose all pretension to their original name; or, at all events, the religious feeling and energy becomes, in a considerable degree, dependent on the stated and regular recurrence of the periods of revivalism. And this agrees entirely with the representations of Mrs. Trollope. According to her statement, *the Revival* is spoken of just as familiarly as the recurrence of Easter, or of Christmas, is spoken of by us. It comes to be an invariable part of the religious system, and the omission of it would cause as deep a sensation, as the suspension of any of the ordinary solemnities of the Church would excite in England.

We have now presented to our readers as ample an account of the spirit and the scheme of American Revivalism as our limits will permit. We have not *intentionally* omitted a single particular, in the statement of Mr. Colton, at all essential to the merits of the case; and we trust that nothing has fallen from us which can expose us to the imputation of trifling with the convictions of sincere and honest men. However, before we dismiss his publication, we feel it to be quite necessary that the British public should be distinctly in possession of certain peculiarities which mark the theology of Mr. Colton, and, as we presume, of a very large portion of his Transatlantic brethren. It is quite evident, then, from the whole complexion of his treatise, that he is in the habit of contemplating, in all *nominally* Christian communities,

but two descriptions of persons—those who are Christians and those who are not Christians—those who are *regenerate* and those who are *not regenerate*. Human eyes may, it is true, be unable clearly to discern the exact line which separates any society into these two classes; but that such a division actually exists, is, in his judgment, quite indisputable. Either a man is *born*, or he is *not born*. There can be no intermediate state. All *conversions*, therefore, must, in one sense, be sudden conversions. The spiritual passage from death to life must, like the physical passage from life to death, be absolutely instantaneous. The preparatory steps, indeed, may occupy time. But there is but one step from the regions of unbelief to the regions of belief. The act of passing that boundary is the work of a moment. To talk of *gradual conversions*, therefore, is little better than a contradiction in terms. One man may approach the frontier line with more alacrity and swiftness than another; and one may hover longer than another at the very limit which severs him from the company of the faithful. But the interval which separates the province of light from that of darkness is such as must escape all human estimate, and may therefore be justly regarded as a barrier which must be overleaped in the twinkling of an eye. Whether any relapse into the valley of the shadow of death is contemplated by Mr. Colton and his brethren as a possible thing, we cannot undertake to pronounce. We should judge, however, that, in his opinion, such a fatal backsliding as this is altogether impossible. He is perpetually talking of the moment when men begin to have *an interest in Christ*; and the soul is invested with *an interest in Christ* by an immediate, and, as we understand him, an irresistible operation of the Spirit of God. It is a right absolutely indefeasible, when once attained, and is accompanied by all the *assurance* which the possession of so inestimable a privilege must naturally bring with it. We will not undertake to aver that he has actually, and in set terms, pronounced that this must be so; but we should infer no less from the general tenor of his religious speculations. Conversion, according to his views, is not merely the change which is undergone, when the careless or dissolute Christian begins to walk worthily of his vocation: it is a change from the death of virtual infidelity to the life of Christianity—a change from names and shadows to substance and reality—a change wrought by the sovereign influences of that Spirit, whose prerogative it is to be immutable in all its purposes, and victorious in all its undertakings.

Of course it is no part of our design to rush into the vast extent of debateable ground which is opened by these notions to the spirit of controversy. We advert to them for the purpose of showing, in the first place, what a great gulf is fixed between this



province of American orthodoxy and the orthodoxy of the Church of England. According to our views, every child of Christian parents is invested with *an interest in Christ* from the moment that he is brought to the laver of baptismal regeneration; and if that *interest* is ultimately lost, it must be by a course of abuse or neglect, which places him in a condition resembling that of apostasy. And accordingly, when we exhort a member of our communion to *conversion*, we are always understood to exhort him to a vigorous application of those moral powers which the fall has spared, such as may, with the help of the sanctifying Spirit, secure him from the guilt and condemnation of practically abjuring the baptismal vow. All this will, doubtless, appear to be very inert and sapless theology—perhaps very treacherous theology—to all who are nurtured in the same school as Mr. Colton. But such as it is, whether true or false, it is undoubtedly the doctrine of the Church of England; and so long as it remains the doctrine of the Church of England, it must inevitably render very difficult any approximation between her methods of attempting the subjugation of mankind to the Empire of Christ, and those resorted to by the American Revivalists.

In the second place, every one must perceive how vitally the whole system of Revivalism is connected with these notions respecting *conversion*, and the necessity of securing what is called *an interest in Christ*. In the eye of American divinity, as we have seen, the whole mass of mankind consists of two distinct portions—those who know Christ, and those who know him not—those who have tasted the waters of life, and those who have not—those who have experienced the heavenly birth, and those who have not. According to this scheme, the only essential difference between heathens and *unconverted* Christians is this—that the *unconverted* Christian is living and moving in the very midst of the influences of Christianity, and yet remains untouched by them. The means and opportunities of *conversion* are surrounding him on all sides, and yet he continues an infidel. The waters of life are flowing freely and abundantly at his feet, and yet he remains

“Hard as the rock, and as the desert dry.”

His condition, therefore, is, in one respect, beyond comparison more fearful than that of the heathen. His superior facilities for laying hold on the offered salvation, are, day by day, heaping up wrath upon his head. This view of all societies nominally Christian, must very naturally suggest the necessity of some very powerful apparatus for the deliverance of those who continue in the gall of bitterness, while the celestial manna is constantly descending upon the land; and no apparatus could well be devised for



this purpose, more congenial to the temperament of zealous men, than the separation of Christian assemblies into two divisions—those who do, and those who do not, belong to the flock of Christ. When once a boundary line has been as it were visibly stretched out, and people are invited to place themselves on one side of it, or on the other, it is presumed that the appeal thus made must be too forcible to be resisted by any but those who have neither part or lot in the divine promises. They who persevere in their resistance to it, are placed in a state of virtual excommunication. They who yield are transferred, at once, into the peace which passeth understanding. A process is incessantly going on by which a portion of mankind is, to all intents and purposes, *unchristianized*, and made as *heathens* and *publicans* to the true Church of God. And in this portion are to be found, not only those who are hardened in vice, but numbers who are high in the confidence and esteem of their brethren. No matter for their virtuous, benevolent, or irreproachable lives—no matter for their observance of the commandments of the second table—no matter for their punctual attendance on the means of grace;—they are, all this while, living in a state of idolatry. They fall not down before wood and stone, but they secretly make idols of their passions, and their interests, and their affections, and even of their very virtues. And the only hope of reclaiming them to the service of the Lord, is to assail them with applications, terrible as the thunders of Sinai, and overpowering as the rushing mighty wind of Pentecost. And hence it is that the drastic spiritual chemistry of Revivalism is in constant operation. A course of experiments is actively carried on for the express purpose of disengaging from each other the ingredients of which Christian societies are composed—of exhibiting the pure and genuine element apart, and of precipitating the untractable *residuum*.

That the combinations of phantasmagoria and moral galvanism, above described, *may* operate beneficially upon some constitutions, we have no disposition to question. No person, with one spark of candour in his nature, can affect to doubt, that when similar expedients were resorted to by Wesley and by Whitefield, in this country, many were recovered from the depths of moral degradation and spiritual darkness; and in some instances the change effected was so astonishing as *almost* to justify, at the moment, the confidence of the practitioners in the virtue of their own regimen and discipline. The same system was pursued by the followers of Wesley in America (where, as Mr. Colton observes, the ground was already prepared); and in reading their accounts, we might well nigh fancy that we had before us the picture of a powerful modern revival.

"At Annapolis," says Dr. Coke, "after my last prayer, the congregation began to pray and praise aloud in a most astonishing manner. At first I found some reluctance to enter into the business, but soon *the tears began to flow*, and I think I have seldom found a more comforting or strengthening time. This praying and praising aloud is a common thing throughout Virginia and Maryland. What shall we say? *Souls are awakened and converted by multitudes; and the work is surely a genuine work, if there be a genuine work of God upon earth.* Whether there be wildfire in it or not, I do most ardently wish that there were such a work at this present time in England."

At Baltimore, after the evening service was concluded, "the congregation began to pray and praise aloud, and continued to do so till two o'clock in the morning, &c. &c. . . . One of our elders was the means, that night, of the *conversion* of seven poor penitents, within his little circle, in less than fifteen minutes. Such was the zeal, that a tolerable company attended the preaching at five the next morning, notwithstanding the late hour at which they parted." The next evening the scene was renewed, and the maddening congregation continued their excesses as long and as loud as before. The practice became common in Baltimore, "though that city had been one of the *calmest and most critical on the continent.*" And here, too, was exemplified that powerful tendency of enthusiasm, to react upon the preachers, which has been so pointedly noticed by Mr. Colton. "Many of our elders," says Coke, "who were the softest, most connected, and most sedate of our preachers, have entered with all their hearts into the work. And gracious and wonderful has been the change wrought upon multitudes, on whom the work begun at those wonderful seasons."\* That a great, and even a permanent change may have been occasionally wrought, there is no necessity for disputing; for the watchful providence of God may sometimes be in the midst of the whirlwind and the tempest even of fanaticism itself; not because He delights in that sort of turbulent agency, but because it seems to be His gracious pleasure occasionally to preside over the wildest commotions of human extravagance, and to overrule them to his own glory; and so, to convert the emissaries of confusion into ministers of good. It was, nevertheless, eventually proved, that these violent conflagrations were *generally* like a fire kindled in the straw; and even Wesley himself, when he was mellowed by age and experience, is known to have regarded such tumultuous eruptions of feeling with a marvellous abatement of confidence and approbation. In America, however, as we have already seen, the application of excitement is manifestly settling down into a regular system. It

\* Southey's Wesley, vol. ii. pp. 455, 456.

is likely to form an established part of the religious discipline of the land. Nay, it has actually *assumed* the character of a special economy or dispensation. We confess that our own knowledge of the effects already produced by it, is extremely imperfect. We really are in no condition to institute any safe comparison between the mischief and the benefit. And in this state of ignorance we feel ourselves bound to listen, most respectfully, to the testimony of an individual, whose integrity and zeal we see no reason to question, and whose opportunities of judging must, in all probability, be considerable. Every accession to our information is curious, and may, if properly applied, be ultimately useful; and for this reason it is that we have thought it right to confront Mr. Colton, as a witness, with that very amusing Lady, who has recently earned for herself so dangerous an eminence among the *detractors* of America.

One word more respecting the process of separating nominally Christian congregations into two divisions. This, it is well known, was always a favorite principle with Methodism; and we believe that it continues so to this day. The operation of it was, for the most part, exceedingly pernicious. To adopt the words of Dr. Southey, "it narrowed the views and feelings; burdened people with forms; restricted them from recreations which keep the mind in health; discouraged, if it did not absolutely prohibit, accomplishments which give a grace to life; separated the converts from general society; substituted a *Sectarian* for a Catholic spirit; and by alienating them from the national church, weakened the strongest cement of social order, and loosened the ties whereby men are bound to their native land. It carried disunion and discord into private life, breaking up families and friendships. The sooner you weaned your affections from those who, not being awakened, were, of course, in the way to perdition—the sooner the *sheep withdrew from the goats—the better.*" It seems to have been entirely forgotten that this is a separation, which the Great Shepherd hath reserved for himself; and that for man to anticipate it, is neither more nor less than the usurpation of a Divine prerogative. Nevertheless, "on this head, the Monks have not been more remorseless than the Methodists."\* And, herein, they resembled the Independents of the Commonwealth, of whom it has been said:—"They take all other Christians to be Heathens. These are those pretenders to the Spirit, into whose party, no sooner does the vilest person adscribe himself, but he is, *ipso facto*, dubbed as a Saint, hallowed and dear to God. These are the *confidants* who can design the minute, the place, and the means of

\* Southey's Wesley, vol. ii. p. 519.

their *conversion*; a schism full of spiritual disdain, incharity, and high imposture, if any such there be on earth."\* Undeterred by so unlovely an example, Wesley scrupled not to send this principle to haunt the hearths and homes of his people. If the parents did not fear God, the children were to leave them, as soon as convenient. "As for all other relations," he said, "even brothers or sisters, *if they are of the world*, you are under no obligation to be intimate with them: you may be civil and friendly at a distance."† Whether the practice in question produces all this fearful *decomposition* in America, we are unable to state. But we conceive it to be highly probable that its power may, in some considerable degree, be neutralized by the universal feeling of personal freedom and independence, which pervades the whole fabric of society throughout the Union. Every individual, there, is so much at liberty to think and act for himself, that diversities of religious opinion may, possibly, be attended with little of that collision and heart-burning, which are often their calamitous result in communities differently constituted. It is by no means inconceivable that every member of an American family might have a different creed, or a different set of religious views and notions, without any violent disturbance of domestic harmony. The only thing that seems to be *established*, with regard to religion, is the right of every one to provide for his soul's health in his own way; or, if it so please him, to leave it wholly unprovided for. All that is expected of creditable persons is, that they should belong to some religious community or other; and, even this *expectation* is, we apprehend, by no means universal. In humbler life, at least, it is no very uncommon thing for persons who are questioned as to their belief, to reply, that they are *not Christians*,—*they have had no opportunity*. Nothing can be well more abhorrent, from the whole spirit of such a society, than any importunate interference with each other's principles or maxims, either with regard to religion or any other important interest. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the same persons, who had been publicly divided from each other, in the Meeting or the Church, might coalesce again, in private, into their usual system of relations, without any material interruption of family peace and concord. On this point, however, we are, at present, without the means of speaking confidently: and we advert to it chiefly, as an interesting subject of inquiry.

In the estimation of our own countrymen, one grand objection to any scheme, resembling that of revivalism, will doubtless be the necessity for a prodigal application of stimulants, of some

\* Scott's Somers's Tracts, vol. vii. p. 180, quoted in Southey's Wesley, vol. ii. p. 519, note \*.

† *Ib.* p. 520.

description or other. The religious affections of America, according to the representation of Mr. Colton himself, are now kept in activity by a perpetual course of spiritual charms and *philtres*. The appetite for the bread of life is incessantly sharpened by drugs and cordials. And we, in England, are no more able to imagine how a permanently healthy moral action can be produced by the constant use of such fiery ingredients, than we are able to conceive how the physical constitution can be invigorated by an habitual indulgence in ardent spirits. There is, moreover, a sobriety and sedateness—a sluggishness, if our brethren will have it so—about our national temperament, the consequence of which is, an almost hopeless inaptitude for what may be called a *scene*. There is something too melo-dramatic in the *spectacle* of a Revival, to suit the taste of us saturnine and “melaucholy islanders.” The aged Minister, bathed in tears, and choked with emotion, at the sight of a group of penitents—the father kneeling down before a whole congregation, with the arms of his twin daughters encircling his neck—the weeping and the sobbing, nearly to hysterical convulsion—all these are exhibitions entirely alien from the character of our people; and, as we do seriously believe, almost equally alien from the general spirit of the faith which we profess. Things of this kind were undoubtedly witnessed among us, when Wesley and Whitfield were in the fulness of their ascendancy. But with us, these prodigies of feverish excitement have well nigh passed away; and, we presume that they are now regarded as among the very worst incidents of the Methodistic system, even by men who are disposed to estimate that system with the greatest indulgence, and to ascribe to its operation a vast amount of eventual good. But they have not passed away in America. They are, at this hour, in very general and popular acceptance. We mean nothing like a scornful application of the epithet, when we say, that they are, positively, *fashionable*. That the caustic lotions, and intoxicating gas of Revivalism, *may* possibly, in some instances, recall life and energy to a sinking habit, we have freely conceded. But Mr. Colton himself has also conceded, that the effect produced by them has, occasionally, been such as to move disgust and apprehension. And, we repeat, that, unless Mrs. Trollope has most outrageously *bedevilled* her picture of them, they are fitted almost to excite loathing and abhorrence. Mr. Colton, doubtless, and all other honest and zealous Revivalists, will spurn at her representation as a most abominable and flagitious caricature. And no one can reasonably object to their indignation, if they are profoundly convinced that the genius of calumny has presided over her easel. They will, however, we are quite confident, not only excuse, but thank us, for offering one plain suggestion. If they

should deem it worth their while to attempt an exposure of her exaggerations, it will be to no purpose for them to say,—as Mr. Colton, in effect, has said, in vague and general terms,—that some irregularity must be expected, when agents of such power are at work, and that strange fire will sometimes mingle with the sacred element, which descends from heaven to baptize the souls of men. The credit of their cause will demand much more than this. They must, positively, do one of two things. Either they must show that the English *old woman* (as Mrs. Trollope was called in America), was unfortunate enough to behold one of the most extravagant specimens of a Revival that ever was witnessed in the land; or else they must show that her whole representation is false, at the beginning, the middle, and the end of it; and that her performance must have been dictated by the Father of lies, and the Accuser of the righteous. And they must, further, beware of confining their explanations to the mere revival scene described by her. They must extend their apologetic labours to the still more revolting excesses of her "*Camp Meeting*." For, it is there that, according to her, the fumes of the tripod appear to have been most intense and deleterious. It is there that we are most painfully reminded of the agitations of the Sibyl:

————— subitò non vultus, non color unus,  
Non comptæ mansère comæ; sed pectus anhelum,  
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,  
Nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando  
Jam propiore Dei.

If they should accomplish this vindication, we shall cordially rejoice in their success; for, most certainly, we have no delight whatever in contemplating the aberrations and absurdities of our fellow creatures; especially when the most solemn interests are involved, and the character of a great and estimable people is impeached. In the mean time, we may, perhaps, be permitted to remark, that there is one little department of American ethics which, for the sake of our common origin, we are extremely anxious to have submitted to a searching and scrupulous revision: so anxious, that we would nearly consent to let loose upon it all the powers of Revivalism, if no other means shall be found sufficient for its correction. The peculiarity we allude to, is this—that when American merchants or traders become insolvent, the law of the land permits them to divide their remaining assets according to their own pleasure;—to pay some creditors in full, and to leave the rest without a single sixpence! This odious iniquity is not prohibited by their Code—and, with bitter sorrow, we add, that they habitually avail themselves of the silence of the



law, without the slightest apparent disturbance from their moral sense. No man, it would seem, is bound to be wiser than the law, or better than the established usages of his country! And the practical result frequently is such abominable injustice as, we believe, no commercial member of any state in Europe can think of without indignation. We have before us, at this moment, the work of a Mr. Hodgson, a Liverpool merchant, who travelled in America in the years 1819 and 1820; and who returned from his excursion filled with gratifying recollections, all of which he has duly recorded in his book. So that if any American should experience a painful insurrection of patriotic emotions on the perusal of Mrs. Trollope, we know not what anodyne we could recommend so sovereign, as the work of Mr. Hodgson. And yet, even he is unable to repress the risings of a very uncere- monious feeling, when he contemplates this portentous deviation from the highway of common integrity. He traversed the country apparently with a resolution to be delighted—(a resolution ex- ceedingly convenient and desirable whenever we monarchy-men explore a rising empire of republicans)—and he *was* delighted accordingly. He met with little but hospitality and good will. He was very kind to the Transatlantic virtues; and *a little* blind to Transatlantic defects. He amused himself with the inquisi- tiveness of the people. Their want of what we, fastidiously, call refinement, was, in his eyes, nothing more than the honest frank- ness impressed on the character, by the sense of personal dignity and independence. The expansion of national prosperity and power filled him with benevolent exultation. And his conclusion, upon the whole matter, was, that any one who returns dissatisfied from a visit to the Union, has only to thank his own egotism and irritability for the disappointment. Now this, we hold, is all just as it should be. It is ardently to be desired that every one who surveys the institutions and the manners of our sturdy Colonists— (if we may venture so to call them)—should carry with him an habitual determination to be pleased: provided always, that this disposition is not prompted by an anxiety to discover the superior excellence of democratic government, and to import into this country those maxims and principles which regulate the great political experiment now carrying on in that quarter of the world. And this appears to have been precisely the tone of Mr. Hodg- son's mind throughout his expedition. He suffered nothing seri- ously to discompose him,—*always excepting* this one strange peculiarity, to which we have alluded, in the commercial morality of our honoured brethren. The following are the words of one of his published letters:

“ The instances of breaches of trust, in responsible situations, are



disgracefully numerous. This I attribute principally to the wretched system of the insolvent laws in this country, and the laxity of morals in pecuniary matters, which they are calculated to produce. For the particulars of this system, so repugnant to the general intelligence and morality of the country, I refer you to our commercial friends. It is a perfect anomaly, and cannot long exist. Indeed, the Bankrupt Bill has already passed the Senate; and although other business may interrupt its progress through the House of Representatives, it must, in some form or other, ere long, become a law, and supersede a system, over which, were I an American, I should never cease to mourn, deprecating it, as calculated most seriously to injure the reputation of my country, and fatally to depress her moral tone.

*“ Such a thing as the equal division of the assets of the estate of an insolvent among his creditors, I have never known, nor heard of; while in the majority of instances of insolvency, which have fallen under my observation, the insolvent has assumed and exercised the power of paying some creditors in full, and leaving others without a single farthing. An extensive merchant, of high standing in the community, who had been unfortunate, showed me a list, which he had made out, of his creditors, of whom a certain number were to be paid in full, and the remainder to take their chance. (Some of the latter I know have never received a shilling.) On my remonstrating with him on the iniquity of such a system, he said, that abstractedly, perhaps, it could not be defended; but that he should not be considered a fair trader, and certainly could not expect any support from his countrymen, if he pursued any other; that when the Americans lent each other money, or endorsed each other's notes, there was often a secret understanding, that the lender should, by some means or other, be secured from loss, in case of an accident to the borrower. He attempted to draw some subtle distinctions between one kind of debt and another; but I observed the practical distinction was between those who were likely to be serviceable to him in future, and those who were not, whether Americans or foreigners. British merchants, who were in the habit of consigning goods to America, were to be paid in full. British merchants, on the other hand, who had lent him money for years, by honouring his drafts, were to be left to their fate. Some of these, who were large creditors, have been ultimately excluded from all participation in the estate, although the debt was acknowledged, and the property to be divided very extensive.*

*“ The frauds and subterfuges, in cases of insolvency, exceed any thing I could have conceived; and as long as America continues this system, she must not be surprised to find her deficiencies blazoned forth and exaggerated by foreigners, who have, probably, known her only in her commercial character. But it is not foreigners alone, who would agree in the correctness of these representations. The preceding remarks have been assented to, whenever I have made them in their presence, by the most respectable merchants on all the principal Exchanges in America; and the American writer, Verplank, by no means deficient in devoted attachment to his country, makes the following observations, in a very eloquent and learned discourse before the Historical Society of New*

York, in 1818. Alluding to the unconquerable spirit of the Dutch, whose peculiar manners and customs, he thinks, have been described with a broad and clumsy exaggeration 'by the proud and melancholy islanders'—(the British), he adds, 'during the same period, Holland had served the cause of freedom and reason, in another and much more effectual manner, by breaking down the old aristocratic contempt for the mercantile character; and her merchants,—while they amazed the world by an exhibition of the wonderful effects of capital and credit, directed by sagacity and enterprise, and operating on a vaster scale than had ever before been seen,—shamed the poor prejudices of their age out of countenance, by a high-minded and punctilious honesty, before which, the more lax commercial morality of their degenerate descendants in this country should stand rebuked.'

"Having stated these particulars, which candour would not allow me to suppress, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to add, that I have the pleasure of being acquainted in all the commercial cities, with merchants distinguished by as strict a regard to integrity, as high a sense of honour, as any I know in England, and in whose principles I should be equally ready to place unlimited confidence. They, I trust, will redeem the character of their country, and never rest till they have effected such alterations in its commercial code, as may tend to render the body of their countrymen as honourable as themselves."—*Hodgson's Letters from America*, vol. ii. p. 254—258.

These observations, it must be remembered, were published in 1824; and the American Insolvent Code remains still unamended. This delay we are entirely willing to ascribe, not to any inertness of moral sense in the American legislature, but chiefly to the manifold and stubborn difficulties of the subject. The law of bankruptcy, like all other law, has, in this country, been often converted into a nest for the dirty vermin of chicanery and fraud; and by these ravenous swarms the interests both of the bankrupt and the creditor are sometimes utterly devoured; so that our jurisprudence may seem, in the eyes of foreigners, to be little better than an open sepulchre, and to be numbered among the things that are never satisfied, and that say not, it is enough! And this, undoubtedly, furnishes an admirable reason, to the legislature of the United States, for the most watchful exercise of sagacity and caution, in the work of re-moulding that department of their commercial polity. Cogent, however, as this consideration may be, it can scarcely be sufficient to justify their long abstinence from all endeavour to effect a reform in their present system. The consequences of their procrastination are in many respects exceedingly disastrous. In the first place, it arms unscrupulous and dishonest individuals with most iniquitous powers. Secondly, it lays before men, who are not dishonest, almost irresistible temptations to the indulgence of natural partialities, and,

thus, *puts mortal enmity* between private affection and public duty. And, lastly, it gives to the commercial character of the whole nation an aspect villainously low, and strikes at the very heart of that mutual confidence, which is the life and soul of all commercial intercourse. In spite, therefore, of the perplexities and entanglements with which the question may be embarrassed, a resolute and vigorous attempt should instantly be made towards the recognition of equitable distribution, as a *sacred principle*: and, until this shall be accomplished, we fear that it will be quite a hopeless matter for the best friends of America to think of impressing Europe with lofty notions of transatlantic integrity and honour. If, however, the legislature should still be deaf to the outcry, which a longer toleration of this abuse will, most assuredly, continue to raise, we then call upon those zealous and devoted men, who are incessantly labouring for the *conversion* of their countrymen, to lift up their voices against it, like a trumpet. Never let a Revival of religion be heard of, without an intrepid protest against this stain upon the national virtue. At all events, let those who are called from the dominion of the world to the service of God, be loudly reminded that their *religion is vain*, unless they prove themselves, by their personal practice in this respect, both wiser and better than their lawgivers. We contend, that such applications to the conscience of their hearers will be most strictly within their province. For, surely, it cannot be a task unworthy even of apostolic holiness and energy, to inculcate the observance of things that are *true, and just, and lovely, and of good report*.

To return, for one moment more, to the work of Mr. Colton:—we know not how we can better finish this paper, than with the concluding words of his own volume:

“Stranger as I am in this land of my fathers, and belonging only to a scion cut off from this original stock, and transplanted into a distant region, I cannot be supposed a competent judge of the comparative state of religion here. Whether that scion has flourished better in its new soil, and imbibed a more healthful influence from another climate, and whether it is growing up into more beautiful forms, and bearing more abundant and richer fruit, than the original plant—can better be decided by those, who know how things are here, when they have received sufficient testimony of the condition and prospects of their own transatlantic progeny. For, we are *all* children of the same ancestry. It would be ungracious in us, Americans, not to respect and venerate those, from whom we have sprung. And we are happy to have received so many proofs of a fraternal regard among the descendants of a common stock. And we come to tell them, at their own condescending request, how God hath prospered us. Even if we look at the political relations of the two countries, they are friendly, and we hope ever will be. As fellow-*Christians*, (and it is as such we now speak,—none else will be interested

in this subject,) we confide fully, and without distrust. There cannot be foundation for any other rivalry, than 'to provoke one another to love and good works,' to all possible excellence in Christian purity and Christian enterprise.

"And now may the Great Head of the Church smile upon this feeble effort, and cause it to be well received among those, for whose information it has been undertaken, and to whom it is now humbly submitted—with this additional and earnest prayer:—That it may contribute to the honour of Jesus Christ, and to the furtherance of his cause."

We do most heartily welcome and accept these sentiments; and fervently desire that they may be echoed back from every heart in England. And we, further, earnestly entreat Mr. Colton and his brethren to be assured, that, if we have, occasionally, used some honest freedom of speech in our examination of his book, we have not been prompted to it by a spirit of ungracious disregard for his principles or his convictions. We may, perhaps, in his judgment, be too powerfully influenced by an attachment to the time-honoured institutions and practices of our own country: but we are totally unconscious of any motive so utterly hateful, as a desire to insult and exasperate the Americans, or a pitiful ambition to be numbered among their detractors.

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ART. V.—*The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth: Anglo-Saxon Period: containing the Anglo-Saxon Policy, and the Institutions arising out of Laws and Usages which prevailed before the Conquest.* By Francis Palgrave, F.R.S. & F.S.A. London: Murray. 1832.

WITHOUT any great stretch of imagination, the writers on civil history might, after the manner of the geologists, divide their subject into two great portions—the primary and the secondary. To the first class would belong the more ancient states, which exhibit in their institutions the very elements of social order, and where we can easily trace the operation of those causes that induce men to form themselves into communities, and to submit to the authority of law. The Jews, for instance, afford an instructive example of the various stages by which mankind pass from the simple government of a patriarchal chief, through a federative republic, to a hereditary monarchy. Under the second order would be arranged the nations of modern Europe, as composed of the fragments of the Roman Empire, combined with the more original ingredients of the Teutonic tribes, which, like a flood from the North, agitated the scattered particles, and led them to assume a new form.

Without pursuing this allusion any farther, it may be observed, that the constitution of England presents a greater variety in its structure than any other European kingdom; having in it some relics of the old British, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman legislation, while it claims no higher merit than that of having so adjusted the respective parts as to produce a fabric less remarkable for uniformity than for great practical usefulness. In fact, it is acknowledged that this country differs from the surrounding nations, not only by the conformation of the government, but also by the institutions either directly or indirectly connected with the administration of justice, and which are invested with characteristics as singular and important as those which belong to the Parliament of the realm. They are singular, since, in the present age, we cannot find a parallel to them, except in lands where they have been planted by Englishmen or borrowed from them: they are important, because they are the sources of the peculiarities, of the excellencies, and perhaps of the defects, which mark our political system. It is indeed abundantly obvious that the civil constitution of all states must be based upon their judicial institutions, inasmuch as personal rights relating to the security of life and goods must precede those higher and more abstract claims which respect political privilege and power. Hence the rise of every commonwealth must be closely connected with the progress of those legal provisions which have for their object the welfare of the individual, his defence against violence, and his protection from injury.

But the plan usually followed in writing the history of nations proceeds on a different principle. Political events, as our author remarks, generally occupy the first station; political institutions the second; judicial policy and jurisprudence the third and last. The character of the people, however, mainly depends upon their laws; and it is accordingly utterly impossible to obtain a correct view of the general administration of the state unless we fully understand the spirit of the institutions which pervade the community and regulate the daily intercourse of mankind.

"For this purpose," says Mr. Palgrave, "I have traced the constitution upwards, and analyzed the component elements of the Commonwealth. The ranks and conditions of society among the Anglo-Saxons and their legal institutions are examined before discussing the political government of the realm. When the Anglo-Saxon institutions subsisting through subsequent eras, have received that development which connects with our existing English Common Law, I have pursued their history. But I have in no case adhered to a strict chronological arrangement of the matter. Whatever advantages chronological order may possess, it frequently tends to produce either the most wearisome repetitions or the most repulsive obscurity. I have endeavoured there-

fore to group the different subjects in such a manner as may best tell the story of the constitution. In some cases, the reasons for the classification thus adopted may not at first be apparent: but considerable attention has been given to the *ground-plot* of the work; and, at the conclusion, the reader will find that he has been conducted by the shortest as well as the easiest road."

We are not certain that the reader will agree with the author in the estimate thus formed respecting the plan of his work. For ourselves, we value his labours much more on account of the great mass of information with which he has supplied us, than for the reasonings founded on them, or the conclusions to which they are occasionally directed. Comparing his volumes with those of Squire and Turner, we find indeed many additional notices, and an abundant variety of proofs and illustrations; but in his numerous and protracted disquisitions, in regard to the ranks and conditions of society, their pursuits, manners, duties, and privileges, we perceive not that any new or uncommon light has been shed on the darker parts of our history, whether before or after the Norman conquest. He has not, however, allowed himself to be led astray by any peculiar views in favour of a political party, or of a hypothetical scheme of government which he had previously determined to support. On the contrary, his statements are marked with candour and impartiality, whether they appear to strengthen the claims of the people or to fortify the prerogative of the crown.

There are many points in the annals of England, even at the remotest period of her constitutional history, which cannot be impartially considered by that numerous class of writers who respectively rank themselves under the banners of the two great bodies who divide the suffrages of our countrymen. The effects of the Conquest, for example, by the Duke of Normandy, continue to be disputed with no small degree of acrimony, and even to be regarded as the basis of national freedom, on the one hand, and, on the other, of that indefeasible right by which Kings reign. At the period when Great Britain was contending against those sovereigns who laboured to subvert her civil and religious liberties, the arguments founded upon the occupation of the kingdom by the Normans were still urged by the zealous advocates who fanned the flames of mutual hostility, and who prosecuted their discussions, not as points of abstract inquiry, or as the themes of historical research, but as subjects of vital and practical importance. Doomsday was the authentic record of the entire and unqualified subjection of the English race in the eyes of those who inculcated the doctrine of hereditary right, who sought to prove that all our boasted franchises had proceeded



from the mere bounty of the sovereign, and are therefore revocable at the will and pleasure of him who holds the sceptre. In reasoning against these opinions, the antagonists of prerogative and arbitrary power sought to confirm popular rights by asserting their antiquity. They discovered the English Parliament, with all its powers and members, in the obscure Witenagemot of the Saxon age, and endeavoured to prove that, though Harold fell in battle, the safeguards of liberty survived. Thus, as the author observes, investigations, which, under any circumstances, are sufficiently difficult, became infinitely more perplexed by the passions, that never fail to spring from controversy. At this distance of time, we may perhaps pardon such aberrations. Extending our indulgence equally to the Whig and the Tory, we may be sensible of their errors, and yet respect their exertions in the good cause of constitutional literature. Prejudice was the atmosphere in which they breathed; and they were equally appalled by the fears of tyranny and of rebellion. Despotism, with her hundred arms, and Anarchy, with the heads of the Hydra, were the phantoms that haunted the study of each laborious antiquary; and his researches, naturally the most tranquil and unimpassioned that can employ the mind, became imbued with all the bitterness of the contending partizans whose industry was at once stimulated and deceived by their angry feelings. With the cause which excited them these delusions have in great measure passed away. A reminiscence of the more popular opinions may, however, occasionally be discovered even in those who disclaim their influence. We do not listen to the declaimer who ignorantly founds his arguments for annual parliaments and universal suffrage upon the rights of the Commons under Egbert or Alfred. Yet, a learned and noble historian (Lord Lyttelton) could consider that the royal prerogative and the privileges of the people, during the Utopian age of Anglo-Saxon happiness, were marked out, defined, and introduced in a manner only inferior to the form of government established at the Revolution. Even the more accurate writers of the present day, who do not participate in this enthusiasm, often incline the balance in favour of the supposition that the laws and institutions which followed the Conquest were less favourable to liberty than those by which they were preceded.\*

As the privileges of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were determined by a reference to their birth and property, we are naturally induced, in the first instance, to make some inquiry into the various orders and degrees of men who constituted society in England

\* Pages 53-54, and Lord Lyttelton's Preface to the History of Henry II., quoted by Mr. Palgrave.



before the descent of the victorious Normans. The royal race, it is well known, traced their lineage to Odin, the chief divinity of the North, and refused to mix with any other of a less exalted origin than themselves. On such a subject all investigation would be ridiculous; and yet, notwithstanding the obscurity in which the legends of the Edda are involved, we can distinctly discover, from the pedigrees of those warlike leaders, that they and their Scandinavian kinsmen belonged to a mighty dynasty, uniting the regal and sacerdotal functions, the members of whose different septs and branches were the primeval priests and sovereigns of the Teutonic tribes.

The nobles constituted the next caste or order in the state, distinguished among the Anglo-Saxons by the titles of Eorl, of Thane, and of Hlaford. Aristocracy was indeed the characteristic principle of their government, and, though mere nobility, unaccompanied by the possession of land, did not confer authority, still the main privileges of the patrician were derived from blood and parentage, and were not even suspended by the sacred avocation of the clergy. It would seem that the poorer class of those men of high birth attached themselves to the establishments of the more wealthy, in the character of vassals; for, although the feudal arrangements were not yet fully established, nor the phraseology fixed, the spirit of the system was in complete operation. Whoever could not bestow protection was compelled to render fealty. Hence arose the class of the lesser Thanes, who, although of good extraction, and "gentle by birth and blood," were, nevertheless, under the necessity of performing service, either about the person of the monarch, or in the household of an opulent chief. Mr. Lambard accordingly, in his *Perambulation of Kent*, informs us, that the term thane "properly signifieth a *minister* or *free-serviteur* to the King, or to some great personage. But usually, at those times, taken for the very same that we call now—of the Latin word *gentilis*—a gentleman; that is, a man well born, or of a good stock and family. Neither doeth it detract any thing from his gentry at all that I said he was a minister or serviteur; for I mean not thereby that he was *servus*, which word, straightly construed, doth signify a servant or slave, whom they in those days called by quite a different word; but my mind is, that he was a servitour of a free condition, either advanced by his own virtue and merit, or else descended of such ancestors as were never degraded; and that name the Prince of Wales, or eldest son of our King of this realm, doth not in the life of his father disdain to bear; for out of the very same old word—*denian* or *thenian*, to serve—is framed his poesy, or word upon his arms—*Ik dien* or *thien*, I serve.

The like whereof is upon the arms of the counties Palatine of Chester and Durham also.”\*

The third class comprehended the remainder of the people, excluding the serfs or theowes, as they were sometimes denominated, who could scarcely be said to have a political existence. The ceorls, or free cultivators of the land, although they possessed such privileges as raised them to the rank of citizens, were placed in a state of perpetual dependence on the nobility, and thereby subjected to many restrictions and disabilities. They held their farms on the condition of certain duties and acknowledgments; but as they enjoyed the power of leaving one master, and soliciting the protection of another, they were not altogether deprived of civil liberty, viewed as an abstract right. It is clear, at the same time, that there was a degree of rank, distinct from that of birth, attainable by every one who had acquired wealth to support it, and which conferred political advantages not possessed by indigent nobles. As an incentive to proper actions, it is mentioned in the laws, that through God's gifts, a servile thrael may become a thane, and a ceorl an eorl, just as a singer may become a priest, and a bocere or bookman, a bishop. In the time of Athelstan, it was expressly declared, that if a ceorl have the full proprietorship of five hides of land, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, a burhgate seat, and an appropriate office in the King's hall, he shall be a thane by right. The same laws provide that a thane may arrive at the dignity of an eorl, and that a merchant, who had gone three times over sea with his own craft might become a thane. There is in the same work a passage which attests that, without the possession of a certain quantity of land, the honour of sitting in the Witenagemot could not be enjoyed, not even although the claimant were of noble extraction. An abbot of Ely had a brother, who courted the daughter of a great man, but the lady refused him, because, although noble, he had not the lordship of forty hides, and therefore could not be numbered among the proceres or witenas. To enable him to gratify his love and her ambition, the abbot conveyed to him certain lands belonging to the monastery. The nuptials took place, and the fraud remained for some time undiscovered.

It was chiefly in the power which the freeman possessed of improving his condition, and elevating his rank in society, that he differed from the serf or theowe; for that he was often in a state of servitude may be proved by a variety of passages extracted from our ancient laws. For example, it is provided, that “if any one

\* See Squire on the Anglo-Saxon Government in England, p. 125, and Selden's Titles of Honour, Part II., p. 640. Sax. Leg. by Wilkins, j. 71.

give flesh to his servants on fast-days, whether they be free or servile, he shall compensate for the pillory." So in the statutes of Ina, it is said, "if a freeman work on a Sunday, without his master's orders, he shall lose his liberty, or pay sixty shillings." Still, it is admitted, that the service of this order of persons was voluntary, and that they could transfer their labours from one employer to another. But it is equally manifest that a large proportion of the lower classes were in a state of absolute slavery. This unfortunate description of men, who are frequently mentioned in statutes and charters, are described as actual property, without any political existence or social consideration. They were bought and sold with land, and conveyed in the title-deeds promiscuously with the cattle and other stock. Thus, in an inventory of articles on an estate, it is said there were a hundred sheep, fifty-five swine, two men, and five yokes of oxen. These wretched beings were likewise bequeathed by will, precisely as we now dispose of our plate, furniture, and money. An Archbishop leaves some land to an abbey, with ten oxen and two men. Aelfhelm bequeaths his chief mansion at Gyrslingthorpe, with all the property that stood thereon, both provisions and men. Wynfleda, in her will, gives to her daughter the land at Ebblesburn, "and those men, the property, and all that thereon be." In another part of the same document, "of those theowan men at Cinnuc she bequeaths to Eadwold, Ceolstan, the son of Elstan, and the son of Effa, and Burwhyn Moertin : and she bequeaths to Eadgyfn Aelsige the cook, and Telf the daughter of Wariburga, and Herestan and his wife, and Eclern and his wife, and their child, and Cynestan, and Wynsige, and the son of Bryhtric, and Edwyn, and the son of Bunel, and the daughter of Aelfwer." The treatment of this servile class, too, corresponded to the political estimation in which they were held. The law conferred upon the master the power of whipping, of branding, and of putting into bonds. In one instance, they are spoken of as actually yoked : "let every person know his teams of men, of horses, and of oxen."

"This division of the nation existed from the dawn of Anglo-Saxon history, and continued without any material interruption or variation till its close. In the first and last monuments of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, it is recognized, without hesitation, that every freeman was either noble or ignoble. The two orders of the Eorls and Ceorls, which are always named in marked antithesis to each other, were also respectively known as Twelfhoendmen and Twihoendmen ; appellations synonymous in use with eorls and ceorls, but derived from the maxims and principles of the Anglo-Saxon law, and which were the consequences of the great superiority assigned to the aristocracy by the constitution. Thus the eorl and the ceorl were not considered as possessing the same degree of credibility, when their opinion was vouched in a court of

justice. To render this observation intelligible, we must revert to the forms of the Anglo-Saxon law. Circumstantial evidence was never received. a witness swearing that he was neither 'bidden nor bought,' could only be allowed to declare that which he had seen with his eyes or heard with his ears. A witness could not be called to prove a fact unless he asserted it in positive terms. If such direct testimony could not be obtained, the plaintiff supported his claim by oath, and the defendant or culprit was allowed, under certain restrictions, to clear himself by compurgation. He swore that he was not liable to the demand preferred against him, or that he was innocent of the accusation laid to his charge; and if this exculpatory oath was confirmed by the oaths of a certain specified number of other persons, or compurgators, who, on their parts, swore that they believed in the truth of the oath of their principal—then he was declared not guilty by the law. But the right of appearing as a compurgator, and in that capacity testifying to character, for such is the right, if its real import be kept in view, was apportioned according to the rank of the noble and of the villein; the declaration of six ceorls, or Twiþeendmen, being only equal to the assertion of one single Twelfþeendman."

The value of the several ranks was farther determined on a different principle—namely, the amount of the fines, or pecuniary mulcts, paid for wounds or slaughter. These penalties are said to have been of two kinds,—the *were* and the *mund*. The former was the legal valuation of an individual, varying according to his situation in life. If he was killed, it was the sum the murderer had to pay for the crime; if he himself violated the law, it was the penalty which he had to discharge. The *were* was therefore an expedient by which his safety was guarded, and his crimes prevented or punished. Hence, as we have said, it became the measure and mark of a man's personal consequence; because its amount was exactly regulated according to his place in society. The King's *were* was thirty thousand thrymsas, or about a hundred and twenty pounds; an atheling's was fifteen thousand; a bishop's eight thousand; an eolderman's the same; a thane's two thousand; and a ceorl's two hundred and sixty. To be deprived of his *were* was the punishment inflicted on a man for certain offences, and was held equivalent to the loss of his greatest social protection.

The *mund*, it would appear, was the penalty exacted for any attack on a domestic establishment, and had nearly the same relation to the dwelling that the *were* had to the person. If any one drew a weapon where men were drinking, and the floor was stained with blood, the culprit, besides forfeiting to the King fifty shillings, had to pay a compensation to the master for the violation of his *mundbyrd*. The royal mansion was guarded by a *mund* of fifty shillings: that of an eorl's widow was of the

same amount; while for ladies of an inferior order, it diminished to twenty, twelve, and even six shillings; and if a widow was taken away without her consent, the compensation was to be doubled.

The practice of giving *bork*, surety, or bail, to answer an accusation, appears to have been coeval with the Anglo-Saxons, and to have extended even to felonies. If a man was charged with theft, he was bound to find *bork*, and if he failed to do so, his goods, if he had any, were taken in security; and if not, he was imprisoned till the day of trial. When a homicide was convicted, and could not pay the *were*, he was compelled to find twelve sureties, eight of his father's relations, and four of his mother's. The system of *bork* extended even to witchcraft, by which the accused came under an obligation that he would abstain from his wicked arts in future. If a man, after an appeal to the ordeal, was found guilty of theft, he was put to death, unless his relations consented to save him by paying his *were*, and giving *bork* for his good behaviour afterwards.

But, besides this bail for debt, or crime actually committed, the laws of the Anglo-Saxons required that every individual should afford a similar security for his orderly conduct; an expedient for preserving the public peace which is said to have originated with King Alfred, but which is first clearly expressed in the statutes of Edgar. It is there directed, that "every man shall find and have *bork*, and the *bork* shall produce him to every legal charge, and shall keep him, and if he have done any wrong, and escapes, his *bork* shall bear what he ought to have borne. But if it be theft, and the *bork* can bring him forward within twelve months, then what the *bork* paid shall be returned to him." The man who was accused, and had no *bork*, might be put to death, and buried with the infamous.

Mr. Turner holds the opinion that nothing could be more repugnant to the decorous feelings of manly independence than this slavish bondage and anticipated criminality. It degraded, he thinks, every man to the character of an intended culprit, as one whose propensities to crime were so flagrant that he could not be trusted for his good conduct, to his religion, his reason, his habits, or his honour. But it should not be forgotten, that, in the days of the Anglo-Saxon princes, the bonds of society were very lax; that the temptations to violence and injustice were numerous; and that there can be no better security for the peace of a commonwealth, at all times, than to give to every man a direct interest in the behaviour of his fellow-citizens. The laws in question originated in necessity; and the vices, political and social, which disgraced the age of Edgar, ought to be regarded as an apology

for his legislation rather than as the effect of injudicious interference with personal freedom.\*

We find among constitutional writers some difference of opinion as to the status and privileges of the *ceorls*. Mr. Palgrave, placing them on the same footing as the villains of a later period, regards them as tenants strictly ascribed to the glebe; as persons who, performing predial or agricultural services, were unable to depart from the land which they held, and who either by law, or long-established custom, equivalent to law, had acquired a definite and recognized estate in the soil. So long as the villain performed his services, he was not to be removed from his land, nor was a higher rent or a greater proportion of labour to be exacted from him than what was due and customary. Yet, with this certain right of occupation, defeasable only by neglect of the condition upon which the land was held, the freehold or absolute dominion of the soil was always considered to remain in the lord. The *ceorl*, in short, was not the owner of the land; and his usufructory interest afforded none of the qualifications resulting from real property.

"In the same manner that the nobility were divided into the two ranks of landed and landless proprietors, so the villains in their caste, were separated into two analogous degrees. If the *ceorl* derived his best privileges from his lordship, the *ceorl* obtained his rights from the possession of his home. The aristocracy was composed of Barons and Vavassours; the villainage consisted of householders, *heorthfastmen*, and of those who, destitute of the qualification resulting from a known and permanent domicile, were considered only as the *folghers*, or followers of their more wealthy equals. If the gentleman was compelled to find a lord who would accept his fealty, so the peasant was under the necessity of becoming a labourer, and serving a master who would allow him to become a part of his household. This relationship could be created as well 'within burgh' as without, by an act of mere permissive hospitality. One night's shelter might be afforded by the householder without incurring any responsibility. On the second, the stranger became a 'guest;' and if he continued a third night beneath the roof, the master of the family was bound to consider the inmate as being his *Aghenbine*, and to answer for him accordingly."

The *theowes* or *serfs* were probably to some extent the descendants of the vanquished Britons; but there can be no doubt that the greatest portion of the servile class consisted of freemen, who, by debt or transgression, had forfeited their liberty. The culprit who could not discharge the penalty, called *wite*, became a "wite theowe." He might indeed be redeemed by his kinsmen; but if he was abandoned by them, or, as it is expressed in the law, "if he clasped his hands, and knew not who should make

\* History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. p. 321.



amends for him," slavery was his fate. During twelve months, the release might still be accomplished; but after this period elapsed, his doom was fixed; the yoke could not be removed, and the punishment of servitude was transmitted to his descendants. In fact, the custom of enslaving the criminal and the insolvent seems to have been the policy of every nation in the ancient world, and still prevails to the fullest extent in most countries of the East. A theowe, therefore, was no other than a convict, reduced to that situation by his extravagance or his crimes.\*

The system of government which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons may at first sight appear not only quite dissimilar to our maxims and habits, but even altogether inconsistent with the principles on which our present laws are established. In this, however, as in many other points, the discrepancy arises more from the form than from the essential principles of their legislation. The inequality of the rights possessed by the different classes may indeed be stigmatized as a violation of natural justice, and it may be farther asserted, that the law regulated its awards by a respect to rank and property, rather than by a due estimate of the crime which was to be punished, or of the claim which was to be vindicated. But, as the author observes, before we prefer the accusation, let us pause, and substitute the word *damages* for the word *were*, and we shall find that we have not entirely abandoned the reasoning of the Anglo-Saxon law, though we have narrowed its application. If a father, for example, brings an action against the seducer of his daughter, does not the counsel for the defendant loudly expatiate on the condition of the injured female? Should she be in the humbler walks of life, is not the circumstance of her poverty enlarged upon by the orator, with the view to a corresponding diminution in the price of her honour and her happiness. We need not observe that the same principle of valuation is rigidly applied in the case of the adulterer. Wherefore, when Alfred enacted, that the seduction of the wife of a twelfhœndman, or an eorl, was to be compensated by payment of one hundred and twenty shillings; of the wife of a sixhœndman, by payment of a hundred shillings; and of the wife of a ceorl, by payment of forty shillings; he did nothing more than fix and declare the amount of damages, instead of leaving the assessment to the direction of the judge and the discretion of the jury.

"In another point of view we may discover a more grateful resemblance. The English law, no less than that national feeling which is stronger than any law, fully recognizes the most decided inequality be-

\* *Rise of English Commonwealth*, p. 29.



tween the different ranks and orders of men. No nation was, perhaps, ever pervaded more thoroughly by the spirit of aristocracy, in which the lowest classes of society participate as fully as their superiors. Had our constitution, however, admitted of no other aristocracy but the aristocracy of birth, England would have experienced the calamities of those states in which all authority is monopolized by one caste or class, while the rest are utterly excluded from political importance and honour. Even in the earliest periods the English laws tended to unite the various political ranks of the community into one body, not by humiliating the noble and placing him on a footing with the plebeian; not by depriving any one rank of its inherent, hereditary and vested rights; but by acknowledging the doctrine that these rights might be acquired by desert and industry when denied by birth and parentage; and thus increasing the energy of the state without diminishing its stability. However variably this principle may have been acted upon, it was at least always recognised in England. This is true equality, for it is the only equality which is conformable to human nature and acceptable to mankind. Where it exists as in England, it imparts contentment to each individual, and vigour to the commonwealth. Where it is denied—no matter under what pretence of policy or expediency—the vexation of the people becomes a never-failing source of weakness and rebellion. Dangers arise which no caution or wisdom can avert, and the tempest-tossed vessel of the state will find no haven of security, no refuge from the storm.”

The *weres* or fines imposed for bloodshed, death, and all kinds of personal injuries, are detailed with great minuteness in the laws of Ethelbert. In the case of murder, if the sufferer was a freeman, the first instalment of twenty shillings was paid at the open grave, or down upon the coffin, and the residue within forty days. The scale for wounds, inside and outside, from head to foot, is extremely curious, as will appear from the following specimens:—

If the hair be plucked or pulled, let compensation be made by the payment of fifty sceattas. If the scalp be cut to the bone of the skull, so that the latter appear, let three shillings be paid in name of compensation.

If the bone of the skull be fractured, let compensation be made by payment of ten shillings; and if both the bones of the skull be fractured, let twenty shillings be paid.

If either ear lose its hearing, let compensation be made by payment of twenty-five shillings. The loss of an eye was compensated by the payment of fifty shillings. If a piece of the ear was cut off, the offender paid six shillings. If the nose was run through, nine shillings were paid. The fracture of the chin-bone was compensated by a *were* of twenty shillings. For each of the front teeth, six shillings. For the tooth that stands by the front teeth, on either side, four shillings. For the tooth that stands by the last mentioned tooth, three shillings; and for every other

tooth one shilling. If the speech be affected, twelve shillings. If a thumb be cut off, let compensation be made by payment of twenty shillings; and for a thumb-nail, three shillings. If the shooting or fore-finger be cut off, let compensation be made by payment of eight shillings. For the middle finger, four shillings. For the gold-finger (the ring or third finger,) six shillings. For the little finger, eleven shillings. (In this we think there is an error, the number 11 (two) being taken for eleven.) For every nail, one shilling. If a livid bruise be occasioned in a part which is not covered by the dress, let compensation be made by payment of thirty sceattas. If the bruises be covered by the dress, twenty sceattas for each. If the midriff be wounded, let compensation be made with twelve shillings: if the midriff be pierced, twenty shillings. If the thigh be stabbed, six shillings for every stab. If the stab be above one inch in depth, one shilling more; if above two inches, two shillings more; and if above three inches, three shillings more. If a foot be cut off, let a fine of fifty shillings be incurred; if the great toe, ten shillings; for the great toenail, thirty sceattas.

In the laws of Alfred the *weres* are equally numerous and specific, but the rates are usually higher, owing, it is thought, to the depreciation of the currency. In no case was the plaintiff permitted to heighten the "Leech-fee," by paying the surgeon more than he ought fairly to demand, for the purpose of increasing the costs of the defendant; while the latter, on his part, was bound to make due excuses, and acknowledge that for the sum which he pays, he himself would have pardoned the like injury. These regulations which appear for the first time in the laws of William, betray, it has been justly suspected, the increasing inefficacy of this mode of compensation. It may, indeed, be doubted whether, in England, the acceptance of the *were*, or blood-fine, was in all cases compulsory upon the kinsmen of the person assaulted. On the contrary, it seems probable that custom allowed the relations to prosecute the feud until the one family was entirely defeated, or till both were tired of the war. Under the Anglo-Norman kings, the rights of suit secured by the earlier law, as well as the right of vengeance, which is stronger than the law, merged in the "Appeal;" which either brought the feud to a conclusion by the duel of the parties, or left the defendant entirely at the mercy of his adversary, if, after putting himself upon the judgment of his countrymen, the voice of the inquest declared him guilty of the charge.

The Scandinavians have preserved the Assurance of Truce, or "Trygdamal," which stayed the hand of the avenger.

"Strife," said the judge, "was between Harold and Thorwald, but

now I and the country have set peace between them. The fine hath been told which the deemsters doomed; and let them be friends in the guild and in the guesting house, at the feast and at the folcmoot, in the Church and in the hall. May he who breaks his plighted troth be banished and driven from land and home, as far away as man may flee. Let him be a forflamed man, whilst fire shall flame, whilst the grass shall spring, whilst the fire-tree grows, whilst the babe shall greet after the mother, whilst the mother shall give suck to the babe, whilst the ship shall sail, whilst the shield shall glitter, whilst the sun shall shine, whilst the hawk shall soar, whilst the heavens shall roll, whilst the wind shall howl, whilst the waves shall flow—let him be forbidden from Church and from Christendom, from the house of God and the fellowship of all good men, and never let him find resting-place except in hell.”\*

The history of the Church during the period now under consideration is attended with much interest, although the facts which it embraces are neither numerous nor well authenticated. As the Anglo-Saxons, at the period when they settled in England, were still unconverted to the faith of the Gospel, the Christian institutions, formed by the Britons, were generally neglected, and in some cases entirely abolished. The situation of Glastonbury, in a remote district to which the arms of the conquerors did not speedily extend, saved it from the ravages of the “mere pagans,” who flocked in successive expeditions from the shores of Germany. So late as the twelfth century the monks of that ancient establishment could produce the charters which they had received from the native sovereigns of Domnonia, and which were confirmed by Henry II. None of the other religious foundations of the country could claim a similar descent. Between the extinction of the British kingdoms and the arrival of Augustine, the hierarchy ceased to have any recognized existence amongst the mixed inhabitants of the subjugated realms. The ecclesiastical government was destroyed with the national independence; the chieftains of British race either fled or perished in the field, and the greater proportion of the people who constituted the villainage soon relapsed into those errors from which they had been but imperfectly reclaimed!

“That such an apostasy took place among the ‘Welsh’ or British subjects of the Anglo-Saxon nations, will appear probable from the following circumstances. According to the discipline which prevailed throughout the empire when the ecclesiastical establishment of the Romanized Britons was first organized—and there is no reason to suppose that any departure from the general model took place in the Roman provinces of this island—the metropolitan or mother Church was the only one which possessed any endowment. Constituting one jurisdic-

\* Proofs and Illustrations, p. cxii. et seq.

tion under one pastor, the diocese was the *parochia* of the bishop, who appointed the presbyters to officiate in the various districts, as appeared most required by the spiritual wants of the congregations. All the property of the Church, whether arising from tythe, from land, or from voluntary oblations or offerings, formed a common fund, of which that portion which remained, after providing for the charges of divine service and the maintenance of the poor, was distributed amongst the clergy. Upon the conquest of each British city by the Anglo-Saxons, the ruin of the cathedral would necessarily destroy the whole dependent priesthood, destitute of any permanent glebe or domicile in the districts of the surrounding country, and with no other followers but the husbandmen, the cultivators of the soil, scattered under the authority of their heathen conquerors. Even in this disastrous situation a firm belief might have preserved a wreck of Christianity; but its doctrines do not appear to have been cordially received by the ancient British tribes, or to have become the national religion. Amongst the Roman colonists and the Romanized Britons of the higher ranks, the Gospel was preached with effect. Alban sealed his faith with his blood; nor did he alone obtain the crown of martyrdom; and the cities of London and of Verulam may have profited by the zeal of Eleutherus, and the piety of Lucius, the British king. But the country was still unconverted; and though the bloody sacrifices of the Druids had brought down the anger of the Romans upon them, their mysteries, purified by the abolition of a savage ritual, were perpetuated by the order. Taliessen hardly conceals his belief in the religion of his forefathers; and the Druidical worship, which was still recollected in Strath-Clyde and Cumbria, was so strong and vigorous on the opposite shores of Deira, that the British inhabitants not only preserved their priesthood, but had induced the Anglo-Saxon conquerors to embrace their faith."

The mission of Augustine, therefore, may be regarded as having laid the foundations of the Church to which the successors of Hengist and Horsa became converts. In the infancy of the new establishment, a bishop was appointed for each state or people, and the boundaries of their dominions were those of his diocese. Large grants of land were made by sovereigns and other extensive proprietors, for the service of the altar, free from all burdens but such as respected the public service, the maintenance of bridges and highways, and the repair of fortified places. Ethelwulf, the King of Wessex, on his return from Rome, where he had induced the Pope to anoint the young Alfred as his intended successor, bestowed one tenth part of his land on the ecclesiastical body—a measure which has been considered by Selden as the first legislative enactment by which the soil was subjected to the payment of tythes for support of the clergy. But we are inclined to agree with Mr. Palgrave, in the opinion that the rights of the Church had been already recognised in the most unequivocal manner; and the grants or deeds of surrender, many of which are still ex-

tant, do not afford the slightest countenance to the conclusion which the former writer endeavoured to establish. The general statute expressly points out a decimation of the land by metes and bounds, to be held free from all secular services, exonerated from all tributes to the crown, and from the charges to which of common right all territorial property was subjected; and this exemption was made avowedly for the purpose that the clergy might sedulously, and without interruption, employ themselves in offering up prayers for the souls of the king and of their other benefactors. Proceeding on the same general ground, Ethelwulf carried his intentions into effect by the specific endowments which he conferred upon the various churches of lands which may be termed ecclesiastical benefices, rendering no services except at the altar.

The Anglo-Saxon structures were very simple, and for the most part composed of timber. Some ecclesiastical buildings erected by the Romans had escaped the devastation of the heathen soldiers, who overran the country; and these, when repaired, greatly facilitated the progress of Christianity among the subjects of Ethelbert. In the first instance attention was bestowed upon monasteries and cathedrals, for as yet there was no parochial clergy, neither places of worship corresponding to those which we now call parish churches. According to Bede, in the sixth century the primitive practice still continued of sending presbyters to those parts of the diocese which required their separate ministrations; the seat of the bishop being their place of usual residence, and to which they always returned when their duty was fulfilled. In the eighth century Egbert, Archbishop of York, notices the existence of local churches which had already obtained an endowment of tythes distinct, as it should seem, from the cathedral; and he provides that these original foundations should not be deprived of their dues in favour of new places of devotion. His object was that every church should be endowed with one entire "mansus," or as much land as was usually held by a ceorl or customary tenant.

The canons of Egbert, it is true, were promulgated only for the kingdom of Northumbria; but Mr. Palgrave thinks that this was the law throughout England until it was modified by Edgar and Canute, whose statutes allowed every thane to build a church on his book-land, or allodial territory, and to endow it with one-third of the tythes, if a burial-ground was annexed thereto; but if it had not this appendage, he was to continue the payment of tythes to the mother Church, and to provide for his own priest out of the remaining nine parts of the produce. These regulations are thought to relate to the foundation of parish churches and of

private oratories respectively. On the creation of a new Manor, by severing it from a larger Township, it would naturally become expedient that the inhabitants of the subdivision should have a place of worship of their own; and the desire to accommodate his people, as well as secure a suitable influence in nominating to the charge, would induce the landlord to endow the new foundation—a power which was permitted by the canons in question, with some attention to the rights of the existing incumbent. In the second case—that is, a sacred edifice without a churchyard—while the law licensed the noble thane to build an oratory for the convenience of his household or the welfare of his soul, it prevented him from bestowing the income of the parish priest on a domestic chaplain.

The clergy at a very early period were invested with great privileges, though they continued for a long time subject to the secular tribunals, and were even burdened, as proprietors of land, with certain services to the state. In all matters not connected with spiritual jurisdiction, the clerk and the layman were governed by one code; and the claims of clerical immunity, which in later times were urged so haughtily against the civil authorities, had not as yet any existence. But the Anglo-Saxons, notwithstanding, placed a most extraordinary degree of confidence in the ministers of the altar, especially when the latter were called upon to give evidence or support character in a court of justice. The compurgatory oaths of the priest, the deacon and the monk, if the latter belonged to an inferior order of the hierarchy, were respectively equal to those of one hundred and twenty, of sixty, and of thirty ceorls or bondes. A bishop had equal authority in the state with an ealdorman or earl; his word or testimony, like that of the king, was conclusive in itself, and did not require to be corroborated by any other witness; and the “mass-thane” had the same honour and degree as the “world-thane,” with whom he was always ranked in the scale of the community.

“Affording a sanctuary to offenders, the sacred edifices themselves were not to be profaned by force or violence. Any offence within the walls of the head Church or Cathedral was visited with that increase of penalty or punishment which resulted from breaking or infringing the ‘peace of the king:’ homicide there committed was inexpiable—no blood fine could be accepted, and unless the king pardoned the offence, the criminal forfeited life and land. In many places, it is observed in the ancient Customal that the bishop has the privilege of the hundred; that is to say, the bishop’s township was, like the king’s town, separated from the hundred, and governed by a court of its own, equivalent in jurisdiction. This was also the case with most of the lands of the great monasteries, not as an ecclesiastical immunity, but as a favour specially conceded to the Church by the charter of the king. Edgar thus created



the palatine privileges of Ely, by granting, though not gratuitously, to the monastery all the rights of the crown within the two hundreds of the Isle, and that no one within its bounds should have any jurisdiction except St. Ethelred. Sometimes these special exemptions resulted from the clause that the lands should not be subject to the summons or exactions of the king, the earl, the sheriff, or the hundred; sometimes by bestowing in express terms, the power of taking cognizance of those offences which peculiarly belonged to the king's court, and for which he received the fines. The more important privileges of Durham resulted from the dismemberment of the kingdom of Northumbria. Oslac became the Earl of modern Yorkshire and its dependencies. Oswulph obtained the territory north of the Tyne; and the domain between the Tyne and the Tees, then confirmed to St. Cuthbert, however it may have been obtained, was held by the bishop in dependence upon the crown, yet with the enjoyment of the privileges of sovereign, the dominions being exactly in the situation of one of the smaller states, such as Cumberland and Lothian, which were ruled by kings or princes acknowledging the imperial authority of the Bretwalda, without being deprived of the powers of government within their own boundaries."

No question has been more agitated by historians than that which respects the subjection of the British churches to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. By the authority of Ethelbert, the bishops of the Western Britons, or Welsh, were summoned to meet Augustin; and the submission of these dignitaries to the mandate of the King of Kent, has been regarded as a proof that the dominions still held by the British reguli were subject to the imperial power of the Bretwalda. It is probable, as Mr. Palgrave remarks, that it was upon this right of monarchy the Pope grounded the bull whereby he conferred on Augustin the Primacy of the Britons; for, in those days, the ecclesiastical jurisdictions always followed the temporal sovereignty, and were, in fact, created by it. Hence the appointment of one metropolitan to Canterbury, and of another to the capital of the kingdom of Northumbria, resulted not from the geographical, but from the political division of the island. The refusal of the British prelates to obey the Roman legate was, it is well known, accompanied by an attempt to regain the national independence; but the Anglo-Saxons ultimately supported their superiority, and Oudoceus of Landaff received his consecration from the hands of St. Augustine. From that period, the obedience of the Welsh bishops to the See of Canterbury has not been contested.

"Amongst the Picts and the Gael the Anglo-Saxon prelates had no authority; they were considered as strangers in nation, and almost in creed. But a considerable portion of modern Scotland was included in the province of York; the Firths of Forth and Clyde constituted the boundaries of the state of Northumbria, and of the bishopric of Lindes-fairne; and the town of Edwinesburgh or Edinburgh, together with



many other domains, had been bestowed upon the see by the bounty of Ceolwulf. The ancient bishops of the Scots, co-ordinate in rank, and without any distinction of province or see, equally exercised their pastoral functions in every part of the land which was peopled by their countrymen. And when Lothian was separated from the crown of Northumbria, these prelates descended into the Saxon Lowlands, whose connection with Lindisfairne had been destroyed. Malcolm Canmore first divided his kingdom into dioceses, and the Bishop of St. Andrew's acquired the rights of St. Cuthbert beyond the Tweed: yet they were not forgotten; and Ralph Flambard endeavoured, though in vain, to reassert his privileges over the less distant Tiviotdale. Whitherne, or Candida Casa, was the seat of another bishopric, founded by Ninian, and which extended over that part of Galloway which was subjected or tributary to the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria. Exposed to the incessant invasions of the Scots and Picts, this 'extreme region of England,' as it is termed by Malmesbury, seems to have been separated from Northumbria, in the period of anarchy which succeeded to the assassination of Ethelbert; the bishopric became extinct; and the inhabitants of the district are thought to have submitted to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Norwegian prelate of Man and the Isles. When the see was revived in the eleventh century, the bishop elect, Gilla Aldan, was admonished to place himself under the archiepiscopal authority of the primate of England, Gilla Aldan obeyed; and the attendants of the prelates of Candida Casa, in the great councils of England, under Henry II., resulted from this supremacy."

The subjection of the Scottish church to the see of York originated in the same circumstances which gave occasion to the homage so long rendered by the northern kings to the sovereigns of England. The Caledonia of ancient times was bounded on the south by the Firth of Forth, the *mare Scotticum* of old writers, and by the natural line of hills and marshes which connects that estuary with the river Clyde. The greater part of the Lowlands were included in Cumbria, or Northumbria, a kingdom consisting of the five northern counties of England, and eight or ten southern counties of Scotland, as we now reckon, and governed by an Anglo-Saxon prince. At a subsequent period, the territorial distribution of the two nations was altered, and a large portion of the land which had belonged to the heptarchy, and owned the imperial sway of the Bretwalda, was ceded permanently to the Scottish crown, on the usual conditions of fealty and service. It appears not that sufficient pains were taken to secure, at the same time, the supremacy of the Archbishop of York over the churches which had been founded in his diocese, which, as has been already observed, was conterminous with the Northumbrian kingdom. As time advanced, difficulties augmented and doubts increased; for the territories of the Scottish monarchs were extended northwards, as well as in the direction of the

Tweed, the Cheviots, and the Solway, rendering the term *Scotland* a word of very ambiguous meaning. The country, governed by Kenneth M'Alpine, was not the same, in point of limits, as that under William the Lion, while the latter differed very considerably from the dominions which submitted to the rule of the Stuarts, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hence the dispute about homage to the English crown, and obeisance to the archiepiscopal see, has been perpetuated chiefly owing to the vagueness of the language in which the subject is discussed. The Scotland, over which Malcolm III. ruled, was formed principally of districts which had been subdued by the Anglo-Saxons, and were, therefore, properly called English, and, in point of fact, were not less so than Westmoreland and Lancashire; whereas the Scotland which owned the sovereignty of James IV., comprehended the whole northern division of the island, to the Pentland Sound and the shores of the western ocean. For the latter portion of his kingdom, the counties beyond the Forth and the Grampians, no Scottish monarch was ever asked to do homage.

In the reign of Malcolm, when Lothian was permanently attached to the northern sovereignty, the limits of the country which owned his government, as well as the names of the different provinces that composed it, varied year after year. Part of the lands north of the Tweed were called Saxony, because they were occupied by a German people, while the remains of the British Kingdom in the west, were usually denominated Strath Clyde. There was still a separation between Scotia and Lothian, which, though under the rule of one king, were far from being united in customs, manners, or language. The Gael bore the most inveterate hatred towards the Saxons, though, in a certain sense, their fellow subjects; while the Teutonic inhabitants of the coast, the descendants of the Northumbrian-Angles, regarded their enemies with equal contempt and horror.

This distinction continued several ages, and has not indeed altogether disappeared at the present day. Thus we are told, that in the reign of Alexander, there was a Justiciar of *Scotland*, and a Justiciar of *Lothian*. The limits of Scotland, in the twelfth century, were still the Firths of Clyde and Forth. In Renfrewshire there is a proverb, *out of Scotland into Largs*; the Clyde being the southern boundary. In early ages, whoever crossed the Firth, and landed on the opposite shore, went out of Scotland into Largs. The conjecture of Mr. Palgrave, relative to the nomenclature of those early times, is not devoid of probability. He thinks that Lothian and the Lowlands first acquired the name of Scotland from the English, who, ignorant of the internal divi-

sions of the country, would designate as Scotland all the territory appertaining to the Scottish King. Nor is it improbable, that the political union of the several districts was gradually effected, partly by force, and partly by the silent operations of jurisprudence, perhaps not always in accordance with the strict principles of justice and equity. He maintains, however, that down to the period of the Conquest, we cannot point out any material feature distinguishing the Scottish princes from the other vassals of the English crown. There is no token of dependency affecting the Britons, which does not apply with equal clearness to the Lords of Lothian and the Rulers of the Gael. Their subscriptions appear in the same charters; they stood side by side when they performed homage to the Basileus; their obligations are conceived in the same terms: and hence, he concludes, that unless we reject all rules of historical evidence, our assent to the proposition cannot be withheld.

After the Norman conquest, again, according to our author, the Lowlands of Scotland are to be considered as a portion of Anglo-Saxon Britain, of which William possessed the feudal superiority. Under Malcolm Canmore, Lothian stood in the same relation to the Confessor, as Bernicia had done to Edgar. But the dominion, which the King of Albania possessed over the tribes beyond his Bernician and Cumbrian territory, was exercised also upon Saxon principles; and he ruled, or attempted to rule, the lords of the Isles and the chieftains of the Gael, just as the Scots themselves had been subjected to the Basileus or Bretwalda.

To this question of the "Scottish subjection," Mr. Palgrave devotes a whole chapter, in which he accumulates facts and arguments, with the intention of proving that the princes of Holyrood held their kingdom as a feu, and were accordingly bound to *do right* or perform service to their lord superior, the sovereign of England. This position was assumed by Edward I., when he claimed the right of settling the destination of the northern crown, disputed by Bruce and Balliol. Before the union of the two kingdoms, pride and interest gave a degree of importance to this subject, which, perhaps, it did not even then possess; for the independence of the weaker country could only be maintained by arms, under the direction of a wise policy, and not by an appeal to antiquated documents, the true import of which it might be impossible to understand. The acute feelings of the Scottish nation, in regard to this matter, are perfectly intelligible; but it is not so easy to comprehend why the subjects of Henry VI. should have attached so much value to the determination of a point which, at that late epoch, was usually committed to the

skill of a general, rather than to the ingenuity of a feudal lawyer. Yet it is well known that Harding, who forged certain charters, as evidences of the rights of the English crown, received a pension of twenty pounds per annum, as a reward for his supposed discovery of ancient documents, bearing the great seals of David II., Robert I. and Robert II. He pretended that James I. had offered him the sum of one thousand marks sterling for the said parchments; that his life had been exposed to the greatest peril in obtaining them; and that he did not escape without sustaining a very severe wound. In consideration of his sufferings and fidelity, the annuity already described was conferred upon him, payable out of the issues of the county of Lincoln, by letters patent, tested at Westminster, 28th November, 36 Henry VI.

Nor must we conceal that other fictitious documents of the same class, and which may have been manufactured about the same period, are still in existence. These, however, generally speaking, bear such obvious marks of imposture, that no one accustomed to the style and form of ancient deeds can be deceived by them. English writers have long ceased to support their authenticity, being content with a reference to the charters of Edgar, the purity of which has remained unquestioned. We must further acknowledge, in the words of Mr. Palgrave,

“ That the evidences, taken separately, do not go the full length of establishing the assertion advanced by Edward, that the kings of England, or the Anglo-Saxon kings, had, from the first origin of that kingdom, the full and direct dominion over the kingdom, ambiguously termed the Kingdom of Scotland; nor can we always decide whether any given act of homage performed by the Scots, after the grant of Lothian to Kenneth, was or was not intended more particularly for that last-mentioned country. It is sufficient for us to know that the obligations of the Scottish sovereigns are such as, in the Anglo-Saxon or Carlovingian age, might be demanded from an *antrusion*, from one who had accepted the son of Cerdic as his Lord Protector and Defender. The engagements contracted by a chieftain in the tenth century, when feudality was still in its germ, are not to be measured by the standard of Pavia, Paris, or Bologna. A period existed when the act of homage performed by the Scots possessed a double character: it might be due in respect of the *benefice*, or might proceed from an unbeneficed *antrusion* commending himself to his superior. But the Scottish kings and people allowed the submission to grow upon them, even as similar relations had risen within their own realm. The objections of the Scots, if valid, prove too much for the Scottish king. Neither Bruce nor Balliol would have derived any real advantage from the doctrines advanced by the advocates of Scottish independence. If the arguments employed against the supremacy of the English crown had been pursued, they would destroy the most valued rights of Scottish sovereignty.”

The supremacy of the Archbishop of York took its rise in similar circumstances, and was at length opposed on similar grounds. The kingdom of Northumbria originally included the Lowlands of Scotland, the district in which the first bishoprics were founded; and as the diocese of Lindesfarne was conterminous with the realm of the northern Angles, the authority of the prelate was necessarily exercised to the same extent. In process of time, however, the Scoto-Saxons mingled so entirely with the Gael, or inhabitants of the mountains, and with the remains of the Picts or Britons of the eastern coasts beyond the Forth, that their connection with their countrymen on this side the Tweed was gradually abolished. Hence the cathedrals erected in the remoter parts of Scotland refused submission to the Archbishop of York, on the ground that his jurisdiction had never reached the lands in which they were situated; or in other words, that they were not placed within the bounds of the ancient province of Lindesfarne, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

The tenth chapter is, in our estimation, the most interesting portion of Mr. Palgrave's volume; the object of which is to show that the laws and institutions of the Roman empire descended far down into the middle ages of Europe, and influenced greatly the character of the nations which sprung out of its ruins. He maintains that the empire has been continued, not destroyed, and that its domination did not sink beneath the yoke of the invader: for while its outward form was altering, it was replaced by the communities of western Christendom. Instead, therefore, of considering these states as formed by the submersion of the fourth great monarchy, they must be viewed as founded upon an authority, which, severed and divided, was transmitted to the authors of the Barbarian dynasties, who succeeded to the inheritance of the Cæsars. It is in the Codes of the Lower Empire that we discover the origin of the principles of government and public law, which have given birth to the European character—a character understood so easily, yet defined with so much difficulty; but which has rendered these races upon whom it is now impressed diverse from all other nations of the world.

Whatever may have taken place in other parts of Europe, there is no doubt that the Britons received a deep impression from the manners and laws of their Roman conquerors. The facility with which the natives adopted the customs, the arts, the garb, and the refinements of Italy, excited the surprise of Tacitus. "*Jam vero Principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abneuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent: Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta*

vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset." The Latin language, the great medium of intercourse and the vehicle of learning, was acquired with great eagerness; and it is well known how entirely it superseded the use of the Celtic dialects in Gaul, whence the love of eloquence had passed over into Britain. Even the traditions concerning the Trojan lineage of our ancestors are proofs of this reciprocal cordiality. It is indifferent, as Mr. Palgrave observes, whether these tales existed before the arrival of the Romans, or whether the adventures of Brito or Brute, the son of Silvius, were invented by the bards, to propitiate the favour of those who also prided themselves in being the progeny of Æneas, since, in either case, they must be viewed as indications of good will, or at least of a desire to promote it. Adorned by the pen of romance, these legends are presented in a questionable shape; but they are not to be neglected as if they were recent or arbitrary fictions. Taliessin addressed his countrymen as the "remnants of Troy." Nennius repeats the tradition in the eighth century; and if the Gauls gloried in their descent from the fugitives of Ilium, the same genealogy could scarcely be unknown to their insular brethren. The country, too, was replete with the monuments of Roman magnificence. Malmesbury appeals to those stately ruins as testimonies of the favour which Britain had enjoyed: the towers, the temples, the theatres and the baths which yet remained undestroyed, excited the admiration of the traveller; and even in the fourteenth century the edifices raised by the Romans were so numerous and costly as almost to excel any others on this side of the Alps.

"Nor were these structures amongst the least influential means of establishing the Roman power. Architecture, as cultivated by the ancients, was not merely presented to the eye; the art spoke also to the mind. The walls covered with the devices of the legislature, engraved on bronze or sculptured in the marble; the triumphal arches crowned by the statues of the princes who governed the province from the distant Quirinal; the tessellated floor pictured with the mythology of the state, whose sovereign was its pontiff—all contributed to act upon the feelings of the people, and to impress them with respect and submission; the conquered shared the fame and were exalted by the splendour of the victors."

We must refer to the work itself for an account of the manner in which the great stream of law and government that issued from the Roman capital spread over the tributary states in the east and west. It might, indeed, be presumed that the greater civilization of the people who fought under the standards of the



Cæsars would have made a deep impression on the manners, and even the legal institutions, of the Gauls, Germans and Britons; and, in point of fact, we believe it admits not of any doubt, that the rules according to which property was held and transmitted, power exercised, justice administered and crimes punished, during the middle ages, were derived, more or less, directly from the jurisprudence and usages of the Romans. The same distinctness does not, perhaps, apply to the question which respects the feudal law, properly so called, it being uncertain whether its principles may not be more successfully traced to the primitive habits of the German tribes, than to the grants of the emperors in favour of the barbarian hordes who undertook to guard their frontiers. The allotment of land as a fee for services due to the state, is a practice which seems to arise naturally from the usages of society, so soon as mankind have directed their attention to the cultivation of the soil and the benefits of a permanent settlement. It may accordingly be discovered in the simplest forms of social existence, where the pursuits of the wandering shepherd have been succeeded by those of the agriculturist—the era at which a territorial inheritance first acquires any value.

We have already mentioned that the volumes of Mr.—we believe we ought to have said all along—Sir Francis Palgrave, contain a great mass of information on a most important branch of national history, and especially on those points which connect the political constitution of England with its judicial arrangements. It is, therefore, a valuable work for the antiquary and lawyer, supplying both with topics for reflection, which are not anywhere else to be found collected in so small a compass. Perhaps the several subjects which he has discussed might have been more advantageously considered under a somewhat different order and connection, there being, we think, an occasional confusion of the historical parts with those which are meant to elucidate manners and institutions. A book, like a house, often proves the want of skill or of experience in the architect; and when the structure is finished, he is obliged to acknowledge that he has as yet done nothing more than bring together the materials of which a noble building might be composed. On the whole, however, the "*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*" is a production which does great honour to the industry and talents of its author, who, besides, appears perfectly free from any such bias as would have drawn him from the straight path of literary honesty, and bent his researches towards the gratification or support of a particular party in the state.

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**ART. VI.—*Sermons, with an Essay on the Right Interpretation and Understanding of the Scriptures.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D. Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London. Fellowes. 8vo. 1832.**

OUR readers may possibly recollect that, in our notice of Dr. Arnold's former Volume of Sermons,\* we expressed a firm conviction that his office, as Head Master of Rugby School, would be regarded by him as a position on which he might grapple with that hitherto untractable problem, the religious education of a large collection of boys; and that all the resources of his heart and understanding would be prodigally put forth, to secure the success of so arduous and noble an undertaking. It is, therefore, with unspeakable satisfaction that we announce the appearance of this volume, which so far realizes our anticipations, that it exhibits to us the spectacle of a scholastic instructor, who brings with him to his station the remembrance that *one thing is needful* far above all mental accomplishment. In this collection of Sermons, the Christian public has a pledge, that the teacher and governor of a great public seminary, is solemnly engaged in fixing the thoughts of his pupils on their eternal destiny, and in doing all that benevolence and piety can dictate for the correction of those defects and vices, which have often given to our schools the aspect of monstrous, though unavoidable and necessary evils. That the other guardians and instructors of our children are *not* similarly occupied, is very much more than we would willingly be understood to affirm, or even to suggest. But we have in this volume an assurance which, at least, must gladden the heart of every parent who has a child at Rugby—an assurance, that the main object of its discipline is to train up children in the way in which they *must* go, if ever they would reach the prize of their high calling. Should any of the youth under the care of Dr. Arnold forget the glorious titles and privileges of their baptism—as members of Christ, as children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven—most assuredly their honoured preceptor will be innocent of their blood. He has faithfully declared unto them the whole counsel of God, together with the awful manifold obligations which it imposes on them that are thus furnished unto every good word and work: and we may humbly hope, that the Author and Finisher of our Faith will graciously own and prosper his endeavours.

The number of sermons in this volume is thirty-four. Twenty-nine of them were delivered in the chapel of Rugby School, and were therefore addressed to a peculiar congregation. But as the

\* Brit. Crit. for April, 1830, Art. I.

faults against which they are directed are more or less common to all schools, the preacher has thought that they might be useful to others, besides those for whom they were originally designed. (Preface.) For this "peculiar congregation" the sermons are, in all respects, admirably adapted. In the first place, they are of a most judicious brevity; so measured, as to inflict no intolerable penance on boyish restlessness and impatience. In the second place, they are singularly plain and unambitious. They are just such addresses as an affectionate and earnest teacher might make to a small knot of pupils assembled in his study. The care of the preacher has been, throughout, to bring down his instruction to the level of the most unripe understanding among his auditory. And when it is recollected, that many of the boys are very young, some of them, perhaps, not far emerged from childhood, no one will be disposed to complain of their simplicity. In the third place, the plan of Dr. Arnold has been to awaken the youthful conscience to a sense of plain duty, and to a distinct perception of the demands of God's revealed law. And having done this, he has laboured to lead his hearers forward to a knowledge of the Gospel, as a scheme mercifully instituted for the purpose of exalting all our moral qualities and performances, and, at the same time, of providing remedy and atonement for all our moral defects. The whole is rendered singularly interesting and useful by the selection of such topics of reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, as are peculiarly appropriate to a congregation of school-boys. Our criticism, on the whole collection, may be summed up in the declaration, that we should regard it as a signal blessing to all parents and children, if these discourses (or such as these) should be delivered to his pupils, or provided for them, by every schoolmaster throughout England. And we should greatly rejoice to see them in such a cheap and popular form as might secure their circulation among all the schools and families in the empire.

There is, to us, one eminent recommendation in these discourses; they show that the author is not blind, and does not affect to be blind, to those evils, which make many a parental heart to sink when the child is committed to the society which Cowper denominates "a mob of boys." Dr. A. very plainly tells *his* boys, that public schools have been stigmatized as little better than seminaries of depravity; and, in order that the public may know *how* plainly he has told them this, we shall produce his own words. Having first endeavoured to show his youthful hearers that "the law must be their schoolmaster, to bring them to Christ,"—that the pure and perfect will of God must be set before them, in order that they may contrast with it their own prin-

ciples and practices, and so be made to feel their sin and danger, and the need of that deliverance which none can effect for them, but their Lord and Saviour ;—having first laboured for this end, Dr. Arnold proceeds :—

“ What the aspect of public schools is, when viewed with a Christian's eye,—and what are the feelings with which men, who do really turn to God in after life, look back upon their years passed at school,—I cannot express better than in the words of one \* who had himself been at a public school, who did afterwards become a most exemplary Christian, and who, in what I am going to quote, seems to describe his own experience : ‘ Public schools,’ he says, ‘ are the very seats and nurseries of vice. It may be unavoidable, or it may not ; but the fact is indisputable. None can pass through a large school without being pretty intimately acquainted with vice ; and few, alas ! very few, without tasting too largely of that poisoned bowl. The hour of grace and repentance at length arrives, and they are astonished at their former fatuity. The young convert looks back with inexpressible regret to those hours which have been wasted in folly, or worse than folly : and the more lively his sense of the newly discovered mercies, the more piercing his anguish for past indulgences.’ Now, although too many of us may not be able to join in the last part of this description, yet we must all, I think, be able to bear witness to the truth of the first part. We may not all share in the after repentance, but we must know that our school life has given ample cause for repentance. ‘ Public schools are the very seats and nurseries of vice. It may be unavoidable, or it may not ; but the fact is indisputable.’ These are the words of the sensible and excellent man whom I have just alluded to : and with what feelings ought we all to read them, and to listen to them. I am afraid the fact is, indeed, indisputable—‘ Public schools are the very seats and nurseries of vice.’ But he goes on to say, ‘ It may be unavoidable, or it may not :’ and these words seem to me as though they ought to fill us with the deepest shame of all. For what a notion does it give, that we should have been so long and so constantly bad, that it may be doubted whether our badness be not unavoidable—whether we are not evil hopelessly and incurably. And this to be true of places which were intended to be seats of Christian education ; and in all of which, I believe, the same words are used in the daily prayers which we use regularly here ! God is thanked for those founders and benefactors, ‘ by whose benefits the whole school is brought up to godliness and good learning !’ Brought up to godliness and good learning, in places that are the very seats and nurseries of vice ! But the doubt, whether our viciousness be or be not unavoidable, is something too horrible to be listened to. Surely we cannot regard ourselves as so utterly reprobate, as so thoroughly accursed of God. ‘ The earth, which beareth briars and thorns, is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, though we thus speak ;’ or else, indeed, our labour would be utterly vain. But then our hope that this viciousness is not unavoidable,

\* The late Mr. John Bowdler,—See his “ Remains,” Vol. II. p. 153. Third Edition.

depends upon you, whether or no you choose to make it so. Outward order, regularity, nay, even advancement in learning, may be, up to a certain point, enforced; but no man can force another to be good, or hinder him from being evil. It must be your own choice and act, whether, indeed, you wish this place to be 'unavoidably a seat and nursery of vice,' or whether you wish to verify the words of our daily thanksgiving, that, by the benefit of our founder, 'you are here brought up to godliness and good learning.'"

We have here a distinct and honest avowal of the "bad eminence" hitherto supposed to belong to the institutions framed for the nurture and discipline of our children; but we have likewise a noble and courageous protest against the notion that the mischief is inevitable. And the reader will be gratified to find that this protest is followed up, throughout the volume, with an unsparing, but at the same time, a truly paternal exposure of "the sins, and negligences, and ignorances," which are sure to beset a community of lads. Their selfishness,—their coarseness,—their brutality,—their false conceptions of courage and of honour,—their positive dread of the approbation of their teachers, lest it should fix upon them the badge of mean, servile, pigeon-livered submission;—their resolute and systematic habit of regarding all authority as a legitimate object of open hostility, or secret stratagem;—the execrable tyranny which is inflicted by worthless hardihood over helpless and retiring merit:—these, and a multitude of other pernicious crudities, are exhibited by Dr. Arnold in their native ugliness; and in a manner which, one would hope, must deprive all but the incurably depraved of any pretence for continuing to *glory in that which is their shame*. At the same time, it is satisfactory to observe, that all this is done by him in the spirit of one who feels it the most sacred duty of a Christian teacher to *speak the truth in love*, and to avoid all resemblance to an intolerant and unfeeling satirist. His object is, not to break and trample down the expanding spirit of youth; but to engage it on the side of all that is *truly* honourable, and lovely, and of good report—if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, to compel his youthful aspirants to think of those things.

The task which Dr. Arnold has assigned to himself is one that requires no ordinary address and firmness; for, many of the evils which he has to combat have been growing up for centuries. Our scholastic seminaries were, many of them, established in times of *comparative* barbarism. There is an aspect of Spartan austerity and hardness about them, which, of itself, is well fitted, to suppress all the more domestic and filial attributes of the youthful character. It was a maxim among our sturdy ancestors (a maxim, too, not confined to schools, but often rigorously applied to families,) that the wills of children should be, not merely bent and moulded, but broken; that they must be tamed, almost

like the unreasoning brutes, with bit, and bridle, and scourge. If our memory deceives us not, the founder of St. Paul's School, the excellent Dean Colet himself, was no enemy to the frequent practice of severe flagellation, extremely disproportioned to the actual fault committed, but not at all disproportioned to that principle of rebellion, which, as he conceived, was incessantly and secretly at work, in the heart of every urchin consigned to the tender mercies of the pedagogue :\* a notion about as rational as that of the illustrious Caleb Quotem, who is represented as giving his boys, occasionally, a *provisional* whipping, in order that any delinquencies which they *might* possibly commit might be sure of due chastisement beforehand. It would not be easy to imagine a system better calculated to harden a child's heart—to destroy all confidence and affection between master and scholar—to produce any habitual feeling of slavish sullenness—and to plant a rooted principle of insurrection against all authority. Neither would it be possible by any other means more effectually to deaden the more refined and generous impulses which ought to govern boys in their intercourse with each other. A gradation of tyranny would naturally establish itself, from the pedagogue downwards ; and, with it, a partial extinction of those better habits, which can flourish only under the influences of justice and of kindness. We are far from asserting that these vestiges of a more savage period have not been gradually wearing out. But, it can scarcely be doubted that they continued in pernicious activity long enough to leave a task of fearful difficulty to those who have laboured, and who may still be labouring, to make education what it ought to be—a blessed process, by which the noblest energies of the mature and experienced scholar and Christian may be made to distil, like the gentle dews of heaven, into the very depths of the youthful heart.

And here, let us not be told of the danger lest the tone of the youthful mind should be unbraced, and its powers of hardy endurance impaired, by a more liberal infusion of the spirit of the Gospel into the discipline of our schools. Christianity, it is true, is the religion of love ; but, if judiciously inculcated, it is likewise the religion of genuine heroism. Unless its spirit be egregiously mistaken, it will make no man or boy a driveller, or a

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\* Every one has probably heard the story of Dr. Busby, of flagellating memory, viz. that on hearing one of his former scholars, who paid him a visit, vaunt that he had never been flogged, instantly ordered in two or three of his stoutest boys—had the unflogged boaster, in a moment, on the back of one of the lictors, and administered a vigorous application of the salutary twigs ; declaring that no pupil of his should ever have to say that he passed through Westminster school without bearing on his skin the marks of its incomparable discipline. The tale may, possibly, be fictitious. But the very existence of such a fiction is a sufficient indication of the scholastic system of the times.

coward. There can be nothing effeminate in the faith which has produced Apostles, and martyrs, and confessors, and men, who, out of weakness, were made strong, and waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Christianity, it is true, claims a rightful supremacy over all other principles of action; but there is nothing in it which refuses alliance with the loftiest conceptions of honour, or the noblest feelings of generosity, or the grandest motives of patriotic daring. Add to your faith *virtue* (*ἀρετήν*)—says the Apostle—that is, adorn your religious profession with such manly firmness of purpose, such steadfastness of integrity, as heathens might look upon with admiration. It is nothing better than vile and despicable cant to harp upon the fear lest the school boy should grow up a Puritan, or a saint, and, perchance, a hypocrite. This perversion is, indeed, possible enough under incautious or fanatical treatment. But the apprehension is purely chimerical, where the formation of the character and habits is entrusted to learned, sober-minded, and accomplished men. Let any parent peruse the volume of Dr. Arnold, and then let him say, whether he would not gratefully rejoice if his son should turn out to be almost, or altogether, such as that volume unquestionably tends to make him? Of Dr. Arnold's personal demeanour among his pupils, we know nothing. Judging of him, however, by the only criterion which we have the right or the opportunity to apply, we should say that he bids fair to realize, in the truly Christian sense, the brightest views entertained by the Roman moralist, when he exclaimed,

“Dī majorum umbris tenuem, et sine pondere terram,  
Halantesque crocos, et in urnā perpetuum ver,  
Qui preceptorem sancti voluere parentis  
Esse loco.”

The five remaining sermons in this volume are parochial discourses, addressed, as the author informs us, to congregations of the usual character.

“They were all written,” he adds, “within the last fifteen months, that is, since the beginning of the aggravated state of disorder in our social relations, which now wears so threatening an aspect. But the views which they contain I have entertained for many years; and have long anticipated the crisis which has come upon us. Would it were as easy to discover the remedy for the evil, now that it is come, as it was to foresee that it must come.”—(Preface.)

We have no space for extracts from these discourses. It must be sufficient for us to remark, first, that the views of Dr. Arnold lend a powerful confirmation to those which we have at large propounded in our last number. One main cause of the intensity of our social evils, in his judgment as in ours, is to be sought in the



want of amicable and fraternal contact between the various orders of society. It seems, at present, as if a great gulf were fixed between the affluent and the laborious classes : and unless something can be done to close it, we are in imminent danger of its swallowing us up quick ! It may seem strange to say this, at a time when the funds of our charitable designs and institutions are of an aggregate magnitude, which equals the revenues of some subordinate principalities. But so it is. An approximation of heart is wanting ; an interchange of kindly personal offices ; a something by which our humbler brethren may be assured that they are regarded, not merely as pensioners on Christian bounty, but cherished members of the great Christian body. Our recent reflections upon this fearful subject render it unnecessary to dwell now at greater length on these considerations. We have, therefore, only to add, that Dr. Arnold is, further, fully impressed with the truth, that we are labouring under the dangers and difficulties incident to a redundancy of numbers. The land is unable to bear its inhabitants : and this superfluity he, justly enough, considers as an indication, that it is now an imperious duty to comply with the providential design of replenishing the unpeopled regions of the earth. It was hardly to be expected that a preacher to village congregations should enter into this matter in all its manifold perplexity of detail. We cannot, however, forbear to express our astonishment at the confidence with which certain contemporary writers are in the habit of alluding to the resources opened to us by emigration. One would imagine, from their language, that it implied nothing more than a few weeks comfortable and easy march, or sail, from crowded provinces to smiling scenes of fertility. They tell the poor, that the earth is all before them where to choose ; that they have but to go up and take possession, and to exchange helpless dependence for prosperous and well-requited labour : and then, straightway, the sages empty the phials of their wrath on the head of those remorseless economists, who are perpetually insulting a gracious Providence by expositions of the ills inseparable from all over-crowded communities. Why—who can doubt, that vast bodies of the poor would very gladly hear of transplantation from starving idleness to thriving toil, if it were not for the intermediate casualty, and uncertainty, and struggle, through which they must buffet their way to the fulfilment of the adventure ? And, who can doubt, that, if depletion is to afford us effectual relief, it must be by means of a national effort, or rather by a series of national efforts, carried on, and continued, upon a scale incomparably more vast, than has ever yet been witnessed, or thought of ? What resemblance is there between our modern schemes of emigration, and those parties of pleasure (for such,



*comparatively*, they must have been) across the *Ægean*, or, at most, the *Mediterranean*, by which previously organized communities were transferred, in ancient times, to regions of fruitfulness and sunshine? With us, *magnum maris æquor arandum*: and the settlers have to go forth like sheep without a shepherd, and, consequently, in imminent danger of perishing in the wilderness. And, unless great sacrifices and systematic exertions are made to meet the peculiar impediments which are arrayed against us, it will be idle to talk of permanent and continuous relief from colonial projects and enterprizes.

The thirty-second of these discourses is remarkable for a very masterly and vigorous statement of the evils, resulting from that unhappy method of address, by which certain Christian preachers, and, sometimes, even Christian societies, are labouring to build up a wall of separation, which shall divide communities, professing the Gospel, into two distinct classes—those who are of the flock of Christ, and those who are not. With exemplary candour, and true courage, Dr. Arnold apprizes his readers of the apparent inconsistency of these sentiments, with those expressed by him in his former volume. If the inconsistency were real, he says,—

“ I should very little regard it : for as it is great presumption in any man to think himself so certainly right in all his opinions, as to refuse to reconsider them, so it is great weakness or great dishonesty to conceal such alterations in them, as further inquiry may have wrought. But, in the present instance, the difference between the two sermons in question is no more than this ; that what I considered in the former volume as by far the best and happiest alternative of the two ways of making nominal and real Christianity more generally identical, I have now dwelt upon, not only as the best, but as the one which we must assiduously labour in our practice to carry into effect. The Church of Christ was originally distinct from the National Society, to which its members belonged, as citizens or subjects. It was promised, that these National Societies should become Christian Societies ; and so they have become, but, unfortunately, not so entirely in spirit as in name. Hence, many good men wish the two Societies to be again distinct : believing that the Church is more likely to be secularized by the union, than the nation is to be christianized. And, doubtless, as things are and have been, this belief has too much to warrant it. But, on the other hand, as things ought to be, and as I believe they yet may be, the happier alternative is the one to be looked to ; namely, the carrying forward God's work to its completion,—the making the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of Christ ; not partially, or almost, but altogether, in spirit and in truth. It is certainly very bad to remain as we are ; and to go back to the original state of the Church would be most desirable, if we could have no hope of going on to that glorious state of perfection for which Christ designed it. But this hope is too precious to be lightly aban-

done; and our present state is a step to something better, however little we have chosen to make it so: the means are yet in our hands, which it seems far better to use even at the eleventh hour, than desperately to throw them away."—p. iv—vi.

In our notice of Dr. Arnold's former volume, we ventured on the freedom of expressing our thoughts on this subject copiously, and without reserve. We have now the satisfaction of seeing our own views most powerfully advocated by the author himself. In the former part of his thirty-second sermon, he first describes how they that do the work of Belial and Mammon endeavour to unchristianize private and public life, by substituting all manner of unsanctified motives of action for true Christian principle; and then he proceeds thus:—

"But now, how do many good men act under these circumstances? They are actually playing the enemy's game, and helping to do his work. Instead of remembering that this is a Christian country,—that every parish is by law a Christian society,—and that we are bound to one another at once by the ties of nature, of civil society, and of Christianity,—these persons are trying to make little separate societies again,—to cast off the mass of their countrymen and neighbours as servants of another master, and to go back wilfully to that state of the church from which it was promised to be delivered; a state in which the kingdoms of the world were opposed to the kingdoms of Christ. Whether in the Established Church or out of it, (for it is to be found in both places,) this is a most grievous evil, and one which I am sure serves most fatally the cause of the enemy. I know it is natural enough. I know that for our own mere pleasure we should never associate with any one who did not quite sympathize with ourselves: and if this were so, into what a mass of narrow-minded and uncharitable societies the world would be divided! I know, as a matter of taste, serious persons may most covet the society of the serious; and excited and vehement persons the society of the vehement. So also, persons of particular religious opinions find it agreeable to associate with one another;—and, because they do associate with one another only, and thus know little of the good which exists out of their own circle or sect, they begin to think that goodness and their own opinions go together, and consider as a peculiar blessing upon themselves what arises merely from their own wilful narrowness of views and living to themselves only. But, God be thanked, He who provides far better for all our wants, temporal and spiritual, than we can provide for ourselves, He has given us opportunities of living to far better purpose than this. Nature and neighbourhood have determined with whom we shall live most, and towards whom we are called upon to perform Christ's lessons;—but, now that society is Christian, to the ties of nature and of neighbourhood are added those of Christianity. My relation is not less my relation than he was, nor my neighbour less my neighbour; it was amongst the heavy trials of the early church that Christ's call did interfere with these natural bonds: but now he mercifully sanctifies them, and gives us the bond of Christianity only to bind

them closer. And shall I undo his merciful work ? and call those as belonging to the world whom he calls belonging to the church ? What, though at the end of the world, He, to whom all hearts are open, will say, that many of them were not truly his ; yet, who am I that I should judge before the time, or judge without his authority ? What, if they live not as he lived in this world ; what, if the earnest of his Spirit be not visible in them !—then may not the labour be doubly blest which strives to prepare the way for it ? Would to God that all the Lord's people were his in heart and in truth !—and he has given me the best encouragement to try to make them so, when he tells me that he rejoices more over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance.”—pp. 389—392.

These appear to us the words of soberness and truth : and we cannot but cordially rejoice at finding, in Dr. Arnold, a decided advocate of the views for which we have repeatedly and earnestly contended.

The last sixty pages of this volume are occupied with an Essay on the Right Interpretation of the Scriptures. It contains some very valuable and useful suggestions ; the application of which, however, demands great integrity of purpose, and no ordinary rectitude of judgment. In the first place, Dr. Arnold maintains, that the Divine commandments, addressed to one man, or one generation of men, are binding on other men and other generations, only so far forth as their respective circumstances and conditions are similar. The canon here propounded may, undoubtedly, provide abundant opportunities of evasion, or perversion, to the spirit of dishonest casuistry. This, however, cannot be helped. It is a part of our moral probation ; for which, prayer, and docility of heart, will very sufficiently prepare us : and, under these influences, the way of the Lord will, assuredly, be made plain before us. Let us take an instance. The *letter* of the injunction to hallow the Sabbath day may, in its utmost strictness, be applicable only to the Jews : but the supreme authority from which it proceeded—the solemnity with which it was inculcated—the position which it occupies in the tables written by the finger of God—its admirable adaptation to the necessities of man, both temporal and spiritual—all these, and various other considerations, combine to make it certain, that this was no transitory institution. The *spirit* of the ordinance, therefore, survives the Mosaic economy, although the mere letter of it may have been partially abolished. And, accordingly, the observance of the Christian Sabbath justly takes its place among the laws of eternal and immutable obligation. It has lost nothing, by the destruction of the Jewish polity, but those incidental circumstances, which have unavoidably dropped away from it, in consequence of a change of dispensation.

Similar to the above, is another important consideration ; namely, that the communications of God to man have always been more or less accommodated to the state of moral intellectual attainment prevalent at the time when those communications were made. Both the ignorance of man, and the hardness of man's heart, are elements which seem to have entered into the *calculations* of the Supreme intelligence (if we may so express it) whenever He has vouchsafed a revelation of his will. And it is not easy to understand how this could well be otherwise ; unless the Deity were to hasten the progress of society by an overpowering and miraculous impulse. This, however,—if we know any thing—we know to be altogether alien from the general character of his providential government. According to our poor and impatient computations, his chariot-wheels may seem to linger, and even to drag heavily. In the mean time, they are rolling onward, with majestic and uncontrollable momentum ; and are gradually bearing down before them all the impediments heaped up by the folly and wickedness of man. It is ours to await, in adoring resignation of heart, the glorious period, when every valley shall be raised, and every mountain shall be levelled, and a highway shall be made for the march of his Omnipotence.

The first of these two principles has been illustrated by Dr. Arnold, by the application of it to the second commandment of the decalogue. The spirit of this commandment, he justly observes, is eternal : but then, to our astonishment, he adds, that under our present circumstances, the injunction is, *assuredly*, not violated by the worship of Christ, under the image of the crucifix ! This he conceives to be a “ warranted similitude of God ; ” and, therefore, he contends, that to turn from the likeness of Christ crucified, is a strained and vicious application of the law, and a needless abandonment of a powerful aid to our devotions. It would require much more discussion, than Dr. Arnold has here given to the subject, to satisfy us, that Christians are warranted in falling down before carved or pictured representations even of the Saviour himself. We have always been in the habit of believing, that the prohibition in question was directed not *solely* against the use of *unwarranted* representations of God, but also against the danger, so notoriously incident to human nature, of gradually transferring to the lifeless representative, the adoration due to the divine original. We all know the plausible vindications of idolatrous practices : but we likewise know the uniform result of such practices to have been, that the honour which belongs to God has been given to stocks and stones : and we are unable to imagine how the crucifix itself is to be guarded against the same perversion and abuse. To Dr. Arnold the use of it might be

innocent enough, although, beyond question, entirely needless and superfluous. But if it were to be generally introduced among unlettered men, it is greatly to be feared that, in the end, it would be *sin unto them*. At first, indeed, it might be employed to fix their devotional thoughts; but, in the course of time, it would probably share the fate of all other idolatrous expedients. It would become an *idol* or *supplement* of superstition. It might even be worn as amulet or charm. It would, in short, be converted into a sort of *Nehushtan*; and nothing would then remain but to break it in pieces.

The second rule suggested by Dr. Arnold he illustrates by reference to the command for the sacrifice of Isaac. On this subject we have recently offered some remarks to the public.\* We have contended against the notions, either that this was a mere emblematical representation, the bloodless issue of which was disclosed to Abraham before hand; or, that the design was merely *permitted* and not expressly commanded; or, that it was a deed which might be ignorantly devised by Abraham himself; and not only so, but that it was a deed which, in that age of imperfect illumination, might be innocently, if not laudably, undertaken, even without a positive injunction from heaven. According to the exposition of Dr. Arnold, the command was received by Abraham, as a call to the performance of “a most painful duty, severely trying, indeed, to his *feelings*, but in *no way* startling to his *conscience*.” It is very possible that the conscience of the Patriarch may not have suffered the same dreadful violence which such a command would inflict at the present day; for he dwelt in a land notorious for similar abominations, and long before such sacrifices had been denounced as objects of utter abhorrence with the Lord. But yet it is very difficult to imagine that one who had lived so much as it were in the confidence of the Deity, could have received an injunction like this without some convulsive resistance from his moral sense. Abraham, it is true, may have been far less distinctly acquainted than we are, with the pure and perfect will of God; but he must have been, beyond all comparison, more enlightened than the sanguinary and idolatrous tribes around him: and if so, the difficulties of his trial must surely have been rendered more formidable by his moral doubts and misgivings. He was supported, however, partly by the general conviction, that the Judge of all the earth would, eventually, be found to do right, notwithstanding all transient appearances to the contrary; and, more particularly, by the persuasion that the Lord would find some way of fulfilling his own promises; even if need were, by raising the child of promise from the dead. And, from

\* See Brit. Crit. for Jan. 1832. pp. 37—42.

the dead, as the Apostle observes, in a figurative sense, the Patriarch did receive him : for, to his feelings, the revocation of the command, at the very moment of its impending execution, must have been like the recovery of the victim from the grave.

The same principle is next applied to Saul's commission for the utter destruction of the Amalekites, and to the command for the slaughter of the female captives of Midian, with the exception of the unmarried women. We have not space to follow Dr. Arnold further through the discussion : we can therefore only repeat, that his maxims are well deserving of consideration, and may often furnish us with a useful clue to the labyrinth of God's mysterious doings ; though it might be too much to expect that it should guide us completely through the darkest and most intricate passages of his providence. The general tenor of Dr. Arnold's reasoning may, perhaps, be sufficiently illustrated by an imaginary case. It is by no means extravagant to "entertain conjecture of a time" when the kingdoms of the world should learn war no more. At present, however, there are no symptoms of such a blessed state of things. Let us, then, suppose the Almighty to vouchsafe, at this day, a special revelation to some one christian people, commanding them to go forth, in his name, against every nation which should persist in carrying on the slave trade ; and to accompany the injunction with a promise of certain and complete success if the order should be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution. There would, most assuredly, be little in the command to startle the public conscience. For, in the first place, the licentious orgies and sanguinary idolatries of the Canaanites were scarcely more abominable than the traffic in human beings, with all its attendant atrocities, and the unspeakable horrors of its middle passage : and, secondly, war is now regarded as the legitimate arbitrement between kingdom and kingdom ; so that no one would ever dream that the decision of the sword could be otherwise than lawful, in the undoubted cause of the Deity himself. But, now let us further imagine that the history of this proceeding is read and canvassed at some remote period ; in an age, when the world should be so far advanced towards Christian perfection, as to regard all war as a complication of every human crime,—and to look upon it, in any shape, with full as much abhorrence as we now look back upon the most savage and detestable excesses of barbarian hostility. In times of such universal gentleness and humanity, a gainsayer might, perhaps, be found to exclaim (much as the infidel Carlisle, when indicted for blasphemy, actually did exclaim, in the course of his defence, relative to the slaughter of the Midianitish matrons)—"is it possible to believe that we have here a faithful



record of the dealings of God? Is it credible that the Father of Mercies should execute his vengeance against the most crying national sin, by a process which tends to demoralize the human race, and which every one feels to be an outrage both on humanity and religion?" Now, we who live in less pacific times, may surely perceive, that it would be no unreasonable answer to this objection, to say, that the Almighty may employ the existing usages of mankind, as instruments for the fulfilment of his righteous purposes, without being supposed to intimate thereby any approbation of bloodshed and havoc in the abstract. And, if so, we may reasonably extend the analogy backward to much more ferocious times than our own; and thus approximate, at least, to something like a clear and worthy estimate of the recorded dealings of Omnipotence. The ruthless and exterminating practices of barbarous warfare are to us, what the most mitigated system of modern hostility may be hereafter in the estimation of purer and milder ages. And yet they might, each of them, be called into action, in their own order and their own season, for the execution of God's purposes, without inflicting, at the time, any destructive violence on the moral sense of mankind. And if it should be asked, how are we to reconcile, even with our humblest notions of the divine attributes, the belief that the Deity should, at any period, be content to take men just as he finds them, and send them forth, with all their untamed passions and savage habits, as ministers of his will?—we can only reply by asking, in our turn, how we are to reconcile with his attributes all the suffering and all the atrocity which has ever existed under the sun? By a momentary exercise of his will he could put an end to these evils. By an outpouring of his spirit he could, at once, so universally and so completely exalt the moral sense of his reasonable creatures, that they should, one and all, be unable to endure the thought of sanguinary and merciless outrage. But we know that the world does not advance by any such sudden starts in the career of civilization and righteousness. The process of its regeneration is slow and painful, as *men count slackness*; and they who demand a full explanation of God's ways and thoughts, as recorded in sacred story, are bound first to explain and vindicate the ways of his general providence. Both of these, however, are tasks too hard for our present limited faculties. We must, therefore, be content with humble and cautious approximation to the solution of such problems, instead of rushing into despair or unbelief, because we cannot *find out God to perfection*.

We cannot close the volume of Dr. Arnold without transcribing his spirited protest against our comparative neglect of Hebrew; a neglect which tends to consign our students of divinity



to the very dangerous guidance of the German wholesale dealers in Neologism. These men, it is well known, have wrought in that, as in many other departments of literature, like so many “drudging goblins.” Their learning is vast—their endurance of toil almost superhuman—while their impatience of trammels is nearly as untameable as that of the wild ass. It is high time that our youthful aspirants to the ministry should be withdrawn from these blind guides (for blind they are, or nearly as bad as blind; in consequence of the multitude of cross lights which they let into their lucubrations), and encouraged to examine the sacred idiom for themselves. Happily, symptoms of better times are now discernible; for Hebrew scholarships have recently been founded at our universities, which will, at least, do something towards a revival of this indispensable branch of study. All this, however, is but a beginning; and the consummation ought to be the refusal of orders, or, at least, of theological degrees, to all who are ignorant of the language of the Old Testament. That Dr. Arnold is not prompted to this protest by any complacent consciousness of superiority in this respect, is manifest from his candid avowal that the Hebrew Bible is a sealed book to him:—

“In connexion with this subject, I cannot but express my deep regret at the general neglect of the study of Hebrew in this country; and, especially, that it is neither required of candidates for ordination, nor as a qualification for degrees in theology at the Universities. How far it may be studied by individuals, it is, of course, impossible to know; but this I do know, that many clergymen, deeply engaged in the practical duties of their profession, must find it impossible then to begin it; although, had they been obliged in earlier life to make a certain progress in it, they might afterwards have carried it on to a high degree of proficiency. At any rate, the *publications* of English Hebrew scholars are not numerous, and men in this study as in so many others, are attracted by the high reputation of the German writers, to put themselves under their guidance. Whether this reputation be well founded or no, I know not, as I have to regret my total ignorance of Hebrew; but, judging from the indefatigable industry, and exceeding ability of the distinguished writers of Germany on other subjects, I should suppose that no man there could acquire a high character, in any branch of learning, without deserving it. But it is said that the Hebrew philologists are deeply infected with that same spirit which has characterized so many of the German theologians; and, if it be so, no devout man can use their works habitually in his study of the Scriptures without great pain, or possibly without great danger. For the mere intellectual fault of over scepticism he may, indeed, have been prepared, by his acquaintance with the German commentaries, and illustrations of profane literature: but there is in the rationalists a coldness and irreverence of tone, and so apparent an absence of all feeling of their own personal relations to God, as men and as sinners, while they are discussing, like

indifferent spectators, his dealings with mankind in the abstract, that their intellectual fault is greatly aggravated by these moral defects. And, if we look for the cause of these defects, we shall find it in their exclusively literary habits, and in their want of Christian intercourse with their fellow-men, and especially with the poor; so that the Bible has presented itself to their minds more frequently in connexion with their studies than with their practice. The English clergy, on the contrary, enjoy such great moral advantages in the daily exercise of their parochial duties, that with them the deepest and boldest spirit of critical and philological research would be tempered by the healthy state of their spiritual affections, and would be alike secure and profitable to their readers and to themselves."—pp. 479—481.

One word more, and we take our leave of the author with sentiments of deep respect for his useful labours. The progress of science, he observes, appears to send dismay into the hearts of many a thoughtful and pious man, lest it should be found, eventually, to fight against the Scriptures. That it may be dangerous to the faith and virtue of many an arrogant or half-learned inquirer, is probable enough. But that one department of truth should ever be found at variance with another, is, of course, absolutely impossible. Nevertheless, at the present moment, the study of geology is regarded with peculiar suspicion and aversion by numbers, as a formidable aggressor on the regions of revealed truth. In spite of all denunciations, however, it is most certain that the science will continue "to hold on the way it takes." Our truest wisdom, therefore, is to possess our souls in peace, and to rest in the assured confidence that the progress of geological knowledge will, ultimately, turn out perfectly harmless to the cause of Revelation. Do we not know that the Copernican system was once stigmatized as *heretical*; that the defence of it immured Galileo in the cells of the Inquisition; that the name of Newton himself has not been able to rescue it from the expurgatory index of the Vatican; and yet, that no person of tolerable intelligence can now perceive the slightest enmity between the *Principia* and the Book of Genesis? And so it will be with geology. Let the men of the hammer, then, go forth, and fracture the ribs and joints of their mother earth: and let their labours of exhumation bring to light the fragments and ruins of gigantic monsters; and let them ransack the Greek Lexicon for combinations expressive of the forms and qualities of these ancient tenants of the globe. All these things move us not. The time may be distant, but we doubt not that it will arrive, when the labours of Cuvier, and of Buckland, and of Sedgwick, shall rest, in amicable juxta-position, on the same shelves with orthodox commentaries on the Scriptures of Moses.

ART. VI.—*The Masque of Anarchy*, a Poem. By Percy Bysshe Shelley; *with a Preface* by Leigh Hunt. 1832.

THE public has been favoured of late with abundant information respecting Mr. Shelley and his works. Mr. Hogg (with whose clever book of travels we remember to have been much amused) has given a copious account of the poet's doings at Oxford; and Captain Medwin has traced the inclinations of his friend from his childhood, and instructed us with various anecdotes of the precocity of his genius. Both of the memoirs are valuable for several reasons independent of any purely literary interest. They furnish us with the history of a self-willed and perverse individual, who, from the earliest dawn of comprehension, seems to have surrendered himself to the most rash and melancholy delusions—confident in his own judgment, and despising the wisdom and experience of others, he became a sceptic at Eton, an atheist at Oxford, and a miserable man throughout his life.

Both Captain Medwin and Mr. Hogg are very lacrymose with regard to Shelley's treatment at Oxford. "It is to be regretted," says the captain, "that his tutor or some of the authorities of the University, did not attempt to convince him of the fallacy of his deductions, instead of resorting at once to expulsion, a poor test of truth." Shelley's challenge to the examining Master to dispute with him in the schools was of course received with the contempt due to a young gentleman of seventeen, whose knowledge of chemistry consisted in burning holes in carpets, and whose metaphysics were comprised in Hume's Essays.

We may remark, that the celebrated Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, signalised the first day of his residence at University College (the college of Shelley likewise) by a challenge to a logical disputation, although he might have pleaded his infant age in extenuation of his folly, for, if we recollect right, he was not at that time more than twelve years old. But Shelley's impiety was not so passive or limited as that of the author of the *De Veritate*. Will it be credited, that this youth, whom Mr. Hogg styles "the most docile, the most facile, the most pliant, the most confiding creature that was ever conducted through the various paths of learning," should have had the unexampled audacity to draw up a paper in which *the non-existence of a Deity was mathematically demonstrated?*—yet such was the fact. Was it to be endured, then, that he who had thus prematurely manifested the fearful signs of unbelief—that he who in the very morning of his youth could look up to heaven and declare aloud there was no God; was it, we repeat, to be endured, that such an individual should continue to send out his pestilential doctrines unpunished? The

moral leprosy was upon him, and by no law, human or divine, could he be allowed to remain among the pure and the healthful. Of what avail does Captain Medwin suppose argument would have been with Shelley, in whose mind, according to his own showing, scepticism had long before taken root?

It is highly ludicrous to read the anecdotes of Shelley given to us by his friends—every action is the subject of an eulogy, and every movement is a study for a painter. As a moralist, he is “above all Greek, above all Roman fame;” charity and virtue accompanied him wherever he went, and when the eye saw him, then it blest him.

Occasional discrepancies, indeed, do sometimes occur in his friends’ narrations, which raise a smile upon the face of the reader. Mr. Hunt, in his Preface to the *Masque of Anarchy*, speaks of “the quintessence of gentlemanly demeanour” which was observable in Mr. Shelley in drawing-rooms, while Mr. Hogg, with a desire to laud his friend, and yet show some deference to truth, admits that there was “a mixture, or alternation of awkwardness with agility, the clumsy with the graceful,” a most felicitous bit of mystification. According to Mr. Hogg, the quintessence of Mr. Shelley’s gentlemanly demeanour consisted in stumbling while crossing the floor of a drawing-room, tripping himself up on a smooth shaven grass-plot, and tumbling in the most inconceivable manner in ascending the commodious, facile, and well-carpeted stair-case of an elegant mansion, so as to bruise his lip, or his nose, on the upper steps, or *to tread upon his hands*, and even occasionally to disturb the composure of a well-bred footman.\* Now none of these habits of Mr. Shelley, in our humble opinion, constitute “the quintessence of gentlemanly demeanour,” and the treading upon the hands is one of the most extraordinary feats of manual ingenuity we ever heard of, and well worthy the attentive study of Ramo Samee.

Let not our readers imagine that we are sneering at the eccentricities of a man of genius—we are only laughing at the ridiculous enthusiasm which urges Mr. Shelley’s admirers to canonize his character as a great and faultless exemplar. We have no right to complain of Johnson because he sometimes chose to compose verses while swinging in a tree, or Gluck because he pleased to write his *Iphigenia* in the open air, under the mingled inspiration of the piano and champagne. We have therefore nothing to say against Mr. Shelley’s “projected neck” over an open volume in Cheapside, in Cranbourn Alley, or in Bond Street; nay, had we met him, we should have delighted to have

\* See *Shelley at Oxford*, in the *New Monthly Magazine* for December.

stepped out of his way with something of his own "vast and quiet agility."

Our readers have, we doubt not, long ago formed their own estimate of Shelley's character. Captain Medwin, and Mr. Hogg, and Leigh Hunt, may reiterate their assertions about docility, and meekness and gentleness, and the other virtues, but, after all, an author must be judged by his works; for it is here that he speaks with his natural voice, and utters the predominant sentiments of his mind. It is absolutely foolish to say that a man is by nature tender and affectionate, whose written feelings breathe a spirit quite adverse to these qualities. A wicked book has been pronounced by one, who, least of all, studied lenity of phrase, to be a *malefactor*; and when the production of genius, it is a malefactor of more than ordinary power and malevolence; for it is subject to none of the casualties of life—it knows no death, and its ability to injure continues unimpaired from century to century. It is the phial in which the concentrated spirit of the author is preserved, and succeeding writers of equal malignity, but inferior prowess, anoint their arrows with its pernicious and deadly poison. No conscientious man, therefore, no sincere lover of his country, will go about recklessly disseminating opinions, which, taking root in the very highways of society, may at a future day spring up armed men, and fill the country with war and bloodshed. Mr. Shelley endeavoured to do this, and gloried in so doing—if his apologists deny the accusation—we refer them to his works, and upon them rest our argument.

These hasty observations have been suggested by the publication of the little work before us, from which the spirit of the author looks out, if with less than its usual fierceness, yet still with something of its habitual expression.

The Mask of Anarchy, we learn from Mr. Hunt's Preface, was written by Mr. Shelley, on occasion of the bloodshed at Manchester, in 1819, and was sent to Mr. Hunt, who was then editor of the *Examiner*, to be inserted in that journal or not, as he thought fit. I did not insert it, says Mr. Hunt, because I thought that the public at large had not become sufficiently discerning to do justice to the sincerity and kindheartedness of the spirit that walked in this flaming robe of verse. His charity was avowedly more than proportionate to his indignation; yet I thought that even the suffering part of the people, judging not unnaturally from their own feelings, and from the exasperation which suffering produces before it produces knowledge, would believe a hundred fold in his anger to what they would in his good intention; and this made me fear that the common enemy would take advantage of the mistake to do them both disservice. Mr. Shelley's writings,

Mr. Hunt continues, have since aided the general progress of knowledge in bringing about a wiser period; and an effusion, which would have got him cruelly misrepresented a few years back, will now do unequivocal honour to his memory, and show every body what a most considerate and kind, as well as fervent heart, the cause of the world has lost.

There are circumstances connected with the publication of this poem which restrain any disposition on our part to speak severely of Mr. Hunt or his sentiments. We will not inquire into the peculiar aptitude of the present season for the reception of the *Masque of Anarchy*, nor into the degree of influence which Mr. Shelley's writings have exercised upon the progress of knowledge—both of these points are inconsequential. But we cannot persuade our minds to pass over the tone which characterizes a great portion of the present poem. We have sought in vain for the evidence of a “most considerate and kind, as well as fervent heart,” in the following verses:—

- “I met Murder on the way—  
 He had a masque like Castlereagh—  
 Very smooth he look'd, yet grim;  
 Seven bloodhounds followed him.
- “All were fat;—and well they might  
 Be in admirable plight;  
 For one by one, and two by two,  
 He tossed them human hearts to chew,  
 Which from his wide cloak he drew.
- “Next came Fraud, and he had on,  
 Like Lord E——, an ermined gown;  
 His big tears, for he wept well,  
 Turned to mill-stones as they fell;
- “And the little children, who  
 Round his feet played to and fro,  
 Thinking every tear a gem,  
 Had their brains knocked out by them.
- “Clothed with the \* \*, as with light,  
 And the shadows of the night,  
 Like \* \* \*, next Hypocrisy,  
 On a crocodile rode by.” —

Our readers, we think, will join with us in regretting that this effusion, which, Mr. Hunt says, would have got the author “cruelly misrepresented a few years back,” should now be considered as doing “unequivocal honour to his memory.” Mr. Hunt must, of course, be far better acquainted than we can pretend to be with the political improvements of the age, and we are sorry to find, that the love of blood and rapine are so much on the



increase. The third and fourth stanzas, quoted above, contain an allusion, we are informed, to Mr. Shelley's children, who were taken from him "by the late Lord Chancellor, under that preposterous law by which every succeeding age might be made to blush for the tortures inflicted on the opinions of its predecessor." It was certainly a cruel and preposterous law which enabled an English judge to take the children from an unbelieving father, who was naturally desirous of rearing them up in the beautiful simplicity of his own religion! Is was, certainly, an unnatural and wicked action to inflict such tortures upon each succeeding age, as must, inevitably, arise from depriving the world of a few additional Atheists! But the allusions to the Chancellor, if intended, have the frequent merit of Mr. Shelley's poetry—that of being unintelligible. What are we to understand by *tears turning to mill-stones* in one verse, and in the next into *gems*, which are, moreover, guilty of the heinous cruelty of knocking out the brains of little children.

No person, who has heard of *Queen Mab*, requires to be informed, that Mr. Shelley was not a very enthusiastic friend of the church. In the *Masque of Anarchy*, its ministers could not fail of having an active part assigned to them—

" And many more destructions played  
In this ghastly masquerade,  
All disguised, even to the eyes,  
*Like bishops, lawyers, peers, or spies.*

The italics are our own. Last in the procession rides Anarchy, on a "white horse, splashed with blood;" and, amid the immense multitude which are assembled to do him honour, we see

" *Lawyers and priests*, a motley crowd,  
To the earth their pale brows bowed;  
Like a bad prayer not over loud,  
Whispering—'Thou art Law and God.'

No impartial reader can deny the truth of Mr. Hunt's observation, that these passages have the "usual ardour" of the author's tone, and are marked by that "unbounded sensibility" which distinguishes all his references to religion. Indeed, it is quite apparent that Mr. Shelley did not permit any of those things, which we, in our blindness and folly, account sacred, to be numbered among his "universal affinities"—a phrase which we do not comprehend, but which, doubtless, sounds very proper and excellent to those who do. Mr. Shelley did not believe in the necessity of any church or ministry either, and, therefore, it was finely said by Mr. Hazlitt one day, in Mr. Hunt's hearing, that it was not worth Mr. Shelley's while to compromise with an untruth. He acted quite correctly, therefore, in introducing the clergy into his

Masque of Anarchy. We are, however, bound to confess that he has been more merciful than on former occasions, and the church cannot but feel his kindness acutely.

But Shelley was a poet, and whatever he wrote presented some tokens of the fine though clouded light that dwelt within. We trace the Greek Mythos in some of the following lines:

“ When one fled past, a maniac maid,  
And her name was Hope, she said;  
But she looked more like Despair;  
And she cried out in the air;

“ ‘ My father, Time, is weak and grey,  
With waiting for a better day;  
See how idiot-like he stands  
Fumbling with his palsied hands!

“ He has had child after child,  
And the dust of death is piled,  
Over every one but me—  
Misery! oh! Misery!—’

“ Then she lay down in the street,  
Right before the horse’s feet,  
Expecting with a patient eye,  
Murder, Fraud, and Anarchy.

“ When between her and her foes  
A mist, a light, an image rose,  
Small at first, and weak and frail,  
Like the vapour of the vale:

“ Till, as clouds grow on the blast,  
Like tower-crown’d giants striding fast,  
And glare with lightnings as they fly,  
And speak in thunder to the sky,

“ It grew—a shape arrayed in mail  
Brighter than the viper’s scale,  
And up-borne on wings whose grain  
Was as the light of sunny rain.

“ With step as soft as wind it passed  
Over the heads of men—so fast  
That they knew the presence there  
And looked—and all was empty air.

“ As flowers beneath the footstep waken,  
As stars from night’s loose hair are shaken,  
As waves arise when loud winds call,  
Thoughts sprung where’er that step did fall.

“ And the prostrate multitude  
Looked—and ankle deep in blood,  
Hope, that maiden most serene,  
Was walking with a quiet mien.”

We have already devoted more space than we had intended to the consideration of this Masque; but we cannot conclude without extracting a passage, which Mr. Hunt gives in the Preface, from a pamphlet by Shelley.

“ With respect to universal suffrage, I confess I consider its adoption, in the present unprepared state of public knowledge and feeling, fraught with peril. I think that none but those who register their names as paying a certain small sum, in direct taxes, ought at present to send members to parliament. The consequence of the immediate extension of the elective franchise to every male adult, would be to place power in the hands of men who have been rendered brutal, and torpid, and ferocious, by ages of slavery. It is to suppose, that the qualities belonging to a demagogue are such as are sufficient so endow a legislator. I allow Major Cartwright’s arguments to be unanswerable; abstractedly, it is the right of every human being to have a share in the government; yet nothing can be less consistent with reason, or afford smaller hopes of any beneficial issue, than the plan which should abolish the regal and aristocratical branches of our constitution, before the public mind, through many gradations of improvement, shall have arrived at the maturity which can disregard these symbols of its childhood.”

The “ singular and happy anticipation ” which Mr. Hunt discovers in these remarks, he is right in thinking sufficiently obvious. Our object in making the extract is merely to show the opinion entertained of democratical ascendancy by one of the wildest and most reckless of modern innovators.

We have spoken severely of Mr. Shelley; but we should scorn to associate him with the political thieves and brigands of the day. Impossible as his schemes of universal happiness and legislation certainly were, we still believe him to have been actuated by a desire for the benefit of his fellow men, which, though a mistaken and erroneous one, was nevertheless sincere. He was endowed with that peculiar political vision, which Swift calls *the art of seeing things invisible*. None of his followers and most vehement eulogisers, we suspect, will ever imitate his views with regard to the payment of the national debt. Plunder is their object—the aggrandisement of themselves, not the advantage of others. But one passage in the foregoing extract demands especial notice and repetition. *It is to suppose, says Mr. Shelley, that the qualities belonging to a demagogue are such as are sufficient to endow a legislator.*

These memorable words ought to be engraven in gold upon the walls of every Political Union room throughout the country.



**ART. VII.—***Waldensian Researches: during a Second Visit to the Vaudois of Piemont; with an Introductory Inquiry into the Antiquity and Purity of the Waldensian Church, and some Account of the Compacts with the Ancient Princes of Piemont, and the Treaties between the English Government and the House of Savoy, in Virtue of which this sole Relic of the Primitive Church in Italy has continued to assert its Religious Independence.* By William Stephen Gilly, M.A., Prebendary of Durham. London: Rivingtons. 1831. 8vo. pp. 560.

ENOUGH, and far more than enough, it might be thought, has been already written to convince any mind not rendered wholly callous by the most perverse and impenetrable obstinacy, that the Vaudois held many of those Articles of Faith which are now distinctive of Protestantism, long anterior to the time of Peter Waldo, and the Heretics of Lyon. The Bishop of Meaux needs no more slaying; and unless he is likely to fight like "that gunpowder Hotspur," even after he is dead, we may safely leave him on the field without the supererogatory infliction of "a new wound in his thigh." Mr. Gilly, however, is not of this opinion; and he has accordingly devoted 136 pages of his present volume to a preliminary inquiry into the Antiquity and Purity of the Waldensian Church. Without conceding to that Church immediate approximation to the Apostolic Age, we are quite prepared to grant that it dates from time immemorial; and without assenting to that very marvellous proposition, which must have astounded Lord Aberdeen when he read Mr. Gilly's Memorial, that it is "the origin of every Reformed Church in Europe,"\* we are equally willing to admit its accordance in main points of doctrine with the Reformers. We think it therefore quite unnecessary to tread over again the often-trodden path by which we have arrived at this conviction, or to double upon our own trail for the mere pleasure of running it down afresh. Moreover, we so very much prefer Mr. Gilly's narrative to his ratiocination, that we shall extricate ourselves as rapidly as possible from his argumentative researches, in order to accompany him on his far more agreeable travels.

It is by no means with any intention of disparaging the claims, which, as we have already stated, we believe the Vaudois may maintain to a very remote antiquity, that we remark, in passing, how much the assertion of the early date of some of the Morland MSS., upon which that claim was once so confidently asserted, has gradually dwindled away. Of certain documents, attributed by Mr. Gilly in his former Work on the Vaudois to the com-

mencement of the XIIth century, we now hear that "it may be granted that some of the identical copies from which Leger transcribed were not written before the middle of the XIIIth century"—the date to which Allix long ago referred them—"or even the XIVth:" but there is strong internal evidence to prove that these Treatises contained passages which had previously formed part of Religious manuscripts preserved among the Waldenses at a period more remote." Now, it is plain that at least 200 years are here at once conceded; and it seems to us that by the saving clause, which introduces "internal evidence," preparation is made for abandoning as many more centuries as diligent and accurate investigation may hereafter curtail. The precise dates of the MSS. themselves is manifestly of very little consequence, if we once persuade ourselves that they embody matter which was familiar to the Vaudois at an indefinitely remote period. On the value of the internal evidence itself which they afford, we by no means venture to pronounce;—it *may* fully bear out every thing which is predicated of it; still less are we inclined to detract from the immemorial existence of the Waldensian doctrines. Our sole wish is to show that the reins have been thrown far too loosely upon the neck of Imagination; and that the testimony of written documents in behalf of the antiquity of the Vaudois has been cited with too little caution. It should not be forgotten that when Morland himself, after collecting the MSS. in compliance with Archbishop Usher's commission, deposited them at Cambridge, *he* also spoke at a guess; and talked of "internal evidence," which carried one of them *at least* 600 or 700 years back from his own time, 1658.

But we proceed onward to the narrative of Mr. Gilly's tour, which throughout exhibits him in a very amiable light. Somewhat there may be, or rather, no doubt there is, of natural exaggeration respecting the people with whom he mixed; and towards the close of the volume, we find a very honest admission that "incidents of a very unpleasant nature and traits of Evil" (among them, as we learn elsewhere, were a suicide and a murder,) which he observed during his two months' residence in the valleys, have been carefully kept out of sight; because "the professed object" of the writer was "to commend the cause of the Vaudois to the Protestant World." This qualification in great measure reconciles us to the ordinary lot of humanity. A single paragraph dispels the dreams of Utopia which had played round us for 500 pages; and we awake to the conviction which we had entertained before our short slumber, that Evil is not confined only to the heavy atmosphere which envelopes great cities; but that, in accordance with a general and unvarying law, it pursues human nature, in

some shape or other, even to the rarified summits of the Alps. Alas! when the profane swearer borrowed the cloak of his smooth-spoken friend Aminadab, which was to cure him of his unrighteous licence of tongue, he found that he had made but a commutation of offence. He was stripped indeed of his oaths; but he had clad himself with lying as with a garment. Man every where is born to sin, no less than to trouble, even as the sparks fly upward.

Mr. Gilly's very praiseworthy objects in revisiting Piemont were to determine the most beneficial mode in which a fund, placed at his disposal for the use of the Vaudois, might be employed; to ascertain how far monies already contributed had been discreetly expended; and to acquire a more intimate knowledge of their condition than he already possessed. No lack of charitable feeling had been shown towards the wants of their Church since his former visit: nearly 12,000*l.* had been collected in the Protestant Countries of Europe (England, as may be supposed, contributing much the larger proportion,) for the foundation and support of an hospital and schools; and an annual payment of 277*l.* from our Government to their Pastors, which had been suspended at the epoch in which their destinies fell under French controul, was renewed in 1827. The division of these 6,800 francs among their thirteen Pastors would have given each of them an addition of about 583 francs to his yearly revenue. With a noble spirit of self-denial, they agreed in their Synod not to receive more than 300; and to devote the surplus, 2,900, to a fund for the superannuated and for widows; and towards the maintenance of two additional Pastors in remote districts, at that time without adequate ministry. The value of this high-minded abstinence may be estimated better, when we add, that the maximum income of the wealthiest of these good men, even after its augmentation, does not exceed 60*l.* a year.

“Calculation to a day, when we can do it, may be defended by a great example,” is a golden rule, over which the wise, worthy, and weighty Aubrey chuckles, while he cites it from Dr. Pell, in defence of his own sapient hypothesis of day-fatality. On this principle, doubtless, it is that we are informed by the tourist now before us, “we embarked on board the Brocklebank steam-boat, near London Bridge, on Wednesday morning, at six o'clock, May 27, 1829.” A proœmium thus precise gave us some little misgiving that it was not unlikely to be followed by a very detailed route to Paris; but, in justice, we must add, that we were deceived in our anticipation; and that we arrive at Geneva, Turin, and, finally, even at La Torre, with very desirable rapidity. The parsonage of M. Bert, Pastor of the last-named Commune, in the neighbouring hamlet of San Margarita, formed Mr. Gilly's headquarters during his visit to the mountains; and beneath that hospi-



table roof he found "every want and wish anticipated. Not only was he lodged in the Pastor's own study, in which he had the power of reading many "interesting Treatises of authors whose names have long since passed into oblivion;"—(a relaxation which, it must be confessed, *we* have occasionally found laborious; )—but his chamber was furnished with a sufficient "provision of linen, and of basins and water-vessels, ample and capacious enough for the most luxurious ablutions;" he breakfasted early, dined at two, "off a small piece of beef or veal not remarkable for fatness or flavour, poultry, trout, and some preparations of eggs, rice, vegetables, or pastry;" and he supped off "a flowing bowl of milk, rich as cream, or of custard-pudding, with some preserved fruit." When the allowance of meat, which at first was scanty, had been increased in consequence of the "silent observations" of the hostess upon the appetites of her guests, it is scarcely possible to doubt, in the emphatic words of the author, that "their repast, and particularly the suppers, were enjoyable beyond all description."

We pass on, however, from these personal matters and private creature-comforts—the introduction of which is amply justified by their importance to the individual, and which agreeably relieve the monotony of statistical detail—to subjects of more general import. It may be necessary to remark, that, as Mr. Gilly is very little solicitous concerning either arrangement or compression, we cannot undertake the toil of classifying that which we find unclassified in his pages; and that the reader must be content to receive information as we find it, in a form (if form it can be called) diffused, dismembered, and desultory.

To begin with Education. Public instruction is given in 1 grammar school, 15 great schools, 126 small schools, (this last number is far from being constant) all maintained by contributions from Holland; in 4 girls' schools supported by a London Committee, and in 4 others dependent on individuals. The number of pupils altogether averages about 4,500, the majority being boys. This apparatus seems by no means insufficient for a population amounting to not quite 20,000 persons; but, unhappily, there are many drawbacks upon its efficiency. First, the system of mutual instruction is peremptorily forbidden by an edict of the Sardinian Government; secondly, the smallness of stipends to the schoolmasters, the frequent necessity of employing the children in field-work, and the difficulties arising from bad roads, distance, and occasional inclemency of weather, limit the session (if we may so call it) of the great school from a nominal ten months to a real five or six; of the smaller schools sometimes to three. Many of the schoolmasters speak French imperfectly, and write indifferent hands; and those indispensable appurtenances of

Learning, books, paper, slates and pencils, are to be attained only at an expense which, for the most part, amounts to a prohibition. It is not a little gratifying to learn that, in spite of these formidable obstacles, the children learn to read, with considerable fluency, the Bible, and a catechism of 125 pages (a μέγα κακόν, which ought to be corrected,) that they can write some sort of character, and that they are not wholly ignorant of arithmetic.

The vernacular Tongue of the Vaudois is described as a barbarous dialect, "between Latin, French, and Italian, more like Spanish perhaps:"—a description which, without conveying any very accurate analysis of its nature, sufficiently informs us that it is a truly Babel compound. The language of the State is Italian; that in which instruction is given is French; and the schoolmasters very often are unacquainted with the spoken *patois*. The medium of communication therefore between the teacher and the taught is not always unincumbered. The greatest payment made to any of the masters of the 15 central schools is 14*l.* per annum, and in that sum, Mr. Gilly believes, is included his salary as catechist and reader in the church. In the small schools, from 20 to 25 francs is considered good pay for three or four months' superintendence. The school-rooms (of the small schools) are cheerless and uncomfortable, for the most part unglazed, with scarcely any desks or seats, and warmed by a stove, which distributes more smoke than heat; the largest of them, in which 55 pupils are sometimes taught, does not exceed sixteen feet square. Thickly strewn as is the path of Learning every where with thorns, we recollect no spot under Heaven in which the rampart erected against it is more prickly than in the valleys of Piedmont, if we may judge from the above account.

The Church service on Sundays is preceded by a slovenly reading of some portions of Scripture, accompanied by Osterwald's Reflections upon them. This task is assigned to an officer called the Regent, who is often the schoolmaster also, and who, for the most part, is incompetent to execute the duty with any propriety of recitation. The service, which ensues, is performed in the following order by the Pastor, according to the *old* Liturgy of Geneva:—

- " 1. A short exhortation to confession.
- " 2. A form of supplication and confession combined.
- " 3. A psalm sung.
- " 4. Prayer before the sermon; extempore, or precomposed.
- " 5. The sermon preached from memory.
- " 6. A long form of prayer for all orders of men, for persons in authority especially.
- " 7. The Lord's Prayer.
- " 8. The Apostles' Creed.

" 9. A psalm sung.

" 10. A benedictory address, and exhortation to almsgiving.

" 11. The final benediction.

" The whole of the service did not occupy more than one hour and a half, and this is all the public Sunday duty in which the pastor of La Torre, or any of the Vaudois pastors, is expected to take part."—p. 219.

The psalmody is that which, in spite of all Mr. La Trobe may urge to the contrary, mixed congregational singing always will be, more earnest than harmonious. The Regent, as Mr. Gilly admits (after the manner of most parish clerks nearer home) is conspicuous rather than agreeable, and the organ is grievously wanting to drown the discords.

*Raucisoni cantus, cornicum ut sæcla vetusta  
Corvorumque greges.*

" The tunes are generally so very dismal and monotonous, as to leave not only an unpleasing but a melancholy impression. I could only fancy that these were the mournful notes descriptive of sorrow and suffering, which the poor victims of oppression used to raise in their asylums among the rocks and forests, when they fled before the sword of the destroyer." p. 221.

The *old* Liturgy of Geneva (that according to the edition of 1754) is expressly mentioned above, on account of the important omissions which, according to the *Reglement* of May 13, 1817, reduced the new copies almost to the *caput mortuum* of Socinianism. By that Edict of the Genevan Divines (which, we rejoice to add, has been suspended within the last two years), silence was enjoined, according to its own words, " 1°. *sur la manière dont la nature divine est unie à la personne de Jésus Christ*; 2°. *sur le péché originel*; 3°. *sur la manière dont la Grâce opère, ou sur la Grâce efficiente*; 4°. *sur la predestination*:" and copies of the Ritual castrated in conformity with the above rules, were issued for general use.

The high repute of the English among the Valleys may form a powerful bulwark against the inroads of this neighbouring pseudo-liberal Divinity. During a visit to the Pastor of Bobi, Mr. Gilly must have been gratified by viewing the contents of his host's Library.

" Mr. Muston's book-shelves contained many volumes, which belonged to an ancestor of his, M. Appia, who was ordained in London about a century ago; and among them some of the English divinity and ecclesiastical history of that day. He reads English himself, but does not speak it; and it offers a goodly prospect for the spiritual interests of the Vaudois, that several of the pastors make a study of our language and literature, and entertain a high opinion of the theology of the English school of divinity. I have heard it observed more than once, in the val-

leys, that the works of the British Divines, next to the Bible, are the main support of the Protestant cause."—p. 344, 345.

Another occurrence while he was treading some of the loftiest crags of the Upper Valleys, although trifling in itself, evinces our popular estimation.

"In one of the most desolate parts we met a woman, who asked us if we knew the owner of a pen-knife, which she had found eight months ago. In answer to our inquiry, why she imagined that we might be able to say who had lost it, she said she had been told the knife was made in England, and belonged to an Englishman. Every stranger in these regions, whose appearance denotes him to be above the rank of a peasant, is supposed to be from England."—p. 395.

One improvement in the external arrangement of our own worship might be derived from the Vaudois; and in spite of the aristocratical prejudice which cannot fail to be shocked by the following remarks, we most cordially and entirely assent to their spirit.

"There are no pews, those worst introductions of the worst times, whether you consult taste, utility, or piety, and which, with the exception of a very few new churches in England, continue to be the disgrace and deformity of our sacred buildings. Even many of our cathedrals have admitted them.—Wherever pews occupy the whole or the greater portion of the space in churches, it is as much as to say, 'Here the privileged may come to hear the word of God, but there is not room, or there is not accommodation for the poor, that they may have the Gospel preached to them—it would be inconvenient to the few to throw open the house of God to the many.'

"It is the glory of the Roman Catholic Churches, that they receive all who enter them, upon a footing of equality, and it is cheering and edifying to gaze upon the multitudes that fill them, kneeling, or sitting, or standing side by side, as they may chance to go in and to place themselves; high and low, rich and poor, one with another: and were individual inclinations and interests to be sacrificed to public considerations, and were our own parish churches to be entirely thrown open, as "free sittings," there is no doubt that the Sunday congregations of the Establishment would soon become what they ought to be."—pp. 366, 367.

The brief notice of one most interesting department of Pastoral duty, which we subjoin, is very simple and very touching, *Dr. Warton* might expand, but he could scarcely improve the description.

"Mr. Bert had made an appointment to pray with a venerable parishioner, whom the weight of years was bringing gently down to the grave, on this first Sunday of my arrival. At his invitation I accompanied him. I felt that it was good for me to be there. The dying man was supported in his bed by some attentive children or grandchildren, and seemed more like one who was to give, than to receive

exhortation and comfort. After a word or two from his pastor, he took up his parable, and continued it with a strength of voice and an earnestness of manner, which evinced a foretaste of heaven. There was neither rapture nor presumption in any thing that fell from his mouth; but an expression of humble confidence in his Redeemer's love, and of dependence on the promises of God, which denoted him to be in full possession of that peace, which passeth understanding. Mr. Bert spoke of me to the old man as an English clergyman; he desired my prayers, and promised to remember me in his. 'I am eighty-three years of age,' said he, 'and my testimony of God's graciousness and mercy is more than that of David. I have never been forsaken even in my unrighteousness; God is with me in my old age, though I have too often gone astray from him, both in youth and age.'

"The silent respect with which the pastor of La Torre listened to the old man, and the very fact of his saying so little, and being a listener, until he raised his voice in thanksgiving, for the consolation that was bestowed from above upon the expiring saint, spoke more for his own piety than the most copious and fervent address, which he could have delivered."—pp. 241, 242.

It seems to be the policy of the Sardinian Government to throw every possible obstacle in the way of that Religion which, happily, it is beyond their power to extinguish; and the numerous harassing and vexatious prohibitions by which the Vaudois Pastors are encompassed, might kindle in less well-regulated spirits, hostility little in accordance with the meekness and gentleness of Christianity. It is with unfeigned pleasure, therefore, that we read two instances illustrative of the existence of an opposite temper. The compact of neutrality mentioned in the first anecdote proves discretion on the part of the Roman Catholic; the deserved praise in the second, evinces genuine charity on that of the Vaudois.

"I inquired of the pastor of Bobi, if he and the Curé were upon friendly terms? 'We are not very sociable,' was his frank reply, 'but we live upon terms of harmony. When he first came into the parish, I expressed a wish that we might meet occasionally, and confer upon theological subjects; but he instantly put a bar to this, by telling me in plain words, that as he did not mean to try to make a proselyte of me, and as I should certainly not be able to convert him, we had better avoid all religious discussion.'"—p. 345.

"In the pine grove on the mountain side facing the hamlet of Lower Prali, where is the Roman Catholic church, and directly opposite to that building, M. Peyrani showed us a noble fir-tree, and upon it a cross cut deeply in the bark. 'This emblem of her faith,' said the pastor, 'was made by a Roman Catholic woman, whose flocks and chalet are on the Alp, immediately above us. The church below is the nearest to her pasturage, and here she comes, as frequently as she can, at the hour of mass, and kneeling before this cross, and within view of the sane-

tuary, where she knows the priest is officiating before the altar, she offers up her devotions, and enjoys all the consolations of her religion.' The Protestant clergyman related the anecdote with every feeling of respect for such sincere and simple piety, and I am sure that we heard it with equal sympathy."—pp. 406, 407.

The first steps for establishing an Hospital near San Margarita were taken in 1824. The King of Sardinia having granted permission for the appropriation of a house and land as an asylum for the aged, infirm, and sick Vaudois, and their wants having been made known among their Protestant brethren throughout Europe, 105,000 francs were at once transmitted from France, Swisserland, Denmark, Sweden, and the German States, and were expended in the necessary purchase. The endowment, amounting to nearly 500*l.* a year, arises from the rent of a farm included in the purchase, and from the much larger contributions of England, Prussia, and Holland, which have been discreetly vested in the funds of those several Countries. Among the benefactions must not be forgotten one of 400 francs presented by Alexander of Russia. The building, which is admirably situated so as to afford easy communication with the most populous villages, stands in an enclosure of about two acres, and consists of twelve rooms, the smallest of which is sixteen feet square. The wards are cheerful, clean, and well ventilated; the bedsteads are of iron; accommodation can be afforded within the Hospital for fourteen patients, and eight more can be received in a Dispensary at Pomaretto. About two hundred admissions occur in the course of the year, and the expense of each patient, including food, medicine, fuel, and wine, is calculated at one franc a day. The physician, who is resident and controls the establishment, receives 500 francs per annum; the surgeon, who visits periodically, and also whenever his services may be required, has no more than 300.

The Grammar School, κατ' ἐξοχην, as it is somewhat inappropriately called, is *held* in the same neighbourhood. We say *held*, because there is not any fixed house for the scholars, who are taught, by permission, in the Presbytery of La Torre; and the master engages to pay rent both for his school-room and his own residence, and to teach Greek, Latin, and Divinity, for a stipend not exceeding 35*l.* a year, contributed by the Dutch. The school, at the time of Mr. Gilly's visit, consisted of twenty-two boys, whose ages varied from nine years to fifteen and a half, and his report of their progress, under disadvantages scarcely less than those which we have before mentioned as clogging the small schools, is highly favourable. Although not even a Dictionary but such as may be lent by the master is at the command of any



of the pupils, Mr. Gilly speaks of a boy only eleven and a half years old, who construed a passage in Virgil turned to at random, and answered the mythological and grammatical questions arising out of it, with very gratifying accuracy.

The propositions which Mr. Gilly submitted to the Pastors of the Vaudois, after personally inspecting thirteen out of their fifteen parishes, were to the following effect:

“ ‘To apply funds at my disposal to the endowment of a school, or college, which shall serve for the instruction of young persons intended for the ministry, for regents, schoolmasters, &c. &c., and which shall, as far as it is possible, be equally beneficial to the three valleys. In the promotion of this object, I engage to furnish five thousand francs towards building a house for the proposed establishment, provided that the Vaudois will themselves give the site, within the commune of La Torre.

“ ‘To give a stipend of 1500 francs a-year to the head-master.

“ ‘To give ten exhibitions of 100 francs each to students of the ten communes, situated at the greatest distance from La Torre.

“ ‘To make these permanent endowments, if the college goes on satisfactorily.

“ ‘To make a communication of these intentions to the London Vaudois Committee, and to the Dutch Committee, under the hope that the former may supply the means of raising a salary for the second master, and that the latter may consent to transfer the stipend and services of the master of the grammar-school of La Torre, to the proposed college, by which a third mastership may be established.

“ ‘To enter into a further correspondence with the benefactors of the Vaudois in Holland, and to request that the sum of 750 francs per annum, now allowed to Vaudois students at Lausanne and Geneva, at the rate of 70 francs a-year each, may be assigned in augmentation of the ten exhibitions at the college of La Torre, or to increase that number, when the students now in the enjoyment of these gratuities shall have finished their studies.

“ ‘To assign 2000 francs for the purchase of books, of my own choice, for the use of the students of the proposed establishment; under the expectation that the pastors will contribute from their own stock of books towards the foundation of a library.

“ ‘I engage also, to assign 500 francs annually to the Officers of the Table, to enable them to meet the expenses of annual visitation,—

To the Moderator . . . . 200

To the Moderator adjoint . . . 150

To the Secretary of the Table . 150

upon condition that they visit the college twice a-year, and that they also visit the parishes as heretofore.

“ ‘To assign also 1300 francs annually, in equal allotments, to the pastors, to enable them to meet the casual wants of the poor, or of the schools of their several parishes, upon condition that they deliver a report in writing to the Moderator, every year, in answer to the queries proposed at his visitation.



“ ‘ To defray the expence of printing 50 copies in quarto, of a Book of Common Prayer, for the use of the churches; such book of prayer to contain public and private prayers, to be composed by a commission of pastors, chosen by myself, upon the basis of the English liturgy, and the three liturgies now in use, namely, the liturgies of Geneva, Lausanne, and Neufchatel.

“ To have 2000 copies of the same printed in 12mo. or 8vo. for the use of families and individuals.”—p. 427—431.

The Pastors in return accepted these offers with lively gratitude, only somewhat qualifying the mode upon which a Liturgy was to be framed, and requesting that the five hundred francs proposed for visitation might be appropriated to some public object. Each Commune has shown itself anxious that the College should be fixed within its own boundaries; and a rivalry of generous offers has arisen among them, in order to secure that coveted honour. Money, sites, materials, carriage, and labour have been freely tendered; and, although the permanent College is not yet erected, a provisional Institution is already opened.

On his return to England, Mr. Gilly followed up his exertion by memorializing Government to interpose with the Court of Sardinia, so that the privileges of the Vaudois might be respected in conformity with existing Treaties. The Duke of Wellington met the application by a very plain and reasonable inquiry; requesting Mr. Gilly “ to point out the Treaties which exist between his Majesty and the King of Sardinia respecting the Vaudois;” and when Mr. Gilly acknowledged his inability so to do, the Duke answered, by another and equally reasonable observation, “ that he was in hopes that when Mr. Gilly mentioned treaties with the King of Sardinia he could state what they were.” A process, which Mr. Gilly had forgotten in his first ardour, relieved him from the embarrassment into which he was thus thrown; and after a diligent search in the State Paper Office, under that urbane and indefatigable guidance, which every one acquainted with that depository must always be forward to acknowledge, he received from the hands of Mr. Lemon, a Treaty between Great Britain and the Duke of Savoy, dated in 1704, in which the latter fully confirms his Vaudois subjects, “ *leurs enfans et postérité dans la possession de tous et chacun leurs anciens droits, édits, coutumes, et privileges, tant pour les habitations, negoces, et exercice de leur Religion, que pour tout autre chose.*” No time was lost in communicating this important discovery to the heads of Government; and, to their credit be it spoken, the matter laid before them was taken into serious consideration. Mr. Gilly informs us that he has “ been assured that Lord Aberdeen had begun a paper

upon the subject before he left office, and that the day before he gave up the seals, he expressed his regret that he had not been able to finish it." The change in Administration will, probably, compel a repetition of all the steps which Mr. Gilly has hitherto trodden; and the chief of the Protestant Governments of Europe may still neglect and overlook those interests to which the great despot whom it overthrew found leisure to attend, in the very spring-tide of his prosperity.

"Napoleon never lost sight of the Church of the Valleys after he had once learnt to take an interest in its fate. I have the copy of an order signed by him at Moscow, in 1812, by which he directed a negligent Vaudois Pastor to be suspended. Strange! that the invader of Russia, in the palace of the Czars, should be concerning himself with the affairs of a small parish in the remote wilds of Piemont, and that the Protestant representatives of "the Defender of the Faith," should forget the Waldenses at the congress of Vienna! The usurpers Cromwell and Buonaparte have left a better lesson behind them in regard to the Vaudois, than the advocates of legitimacy."—p. 521.

We have hitherto noticed Mr. Gilly only so far as regards the main object of his travels: a few words may be added upon their incidental occurrences. Every line which he writes impresses us with a favourable estimate of his kindness of heart, his spirit of enterprize, his physical energy, and his perseverance. With these good qualities perhaps are mingled a little want of caution, a little easiness of belief, and the natural result of both of these defects, an occasional hyperbolism of expression. Thus, although we entertain full conviction of the many and great virtues, and the exceeding usefulness of M. Meille, the ex-pastor of St. Giovanni, and very readily also believe that "his well built and substantial habitation" is situated in a district of more than ordinary beauty, we cannot but think that Mr. Gilly deviates from absolute sobriety when he affirms, that "*it is not exaggeration* to call it a Paradise occupied by a Patriarch." Again, we think there is rather too much boldness in concluding, that Hannibal entered Italy by the passes of Monte Viso, because "the description of the Alps, as seen on the French side, that is, of the barrier ridge of the main chain, answers to the realities of Mont Viso to the letter." Now, it appears to us, that Livy's description of the barrier ridge, so far as Mr. Gilly quotes it, has not one single peculiarity, but that it is couched in vague and general language, which may be equally applied to any range of lofty mountains from Himalaya to Chimborazo; *altitudo montium, nivesque cælo propè immistæ*.

Ciceroni of all Countries—from the sleek *Abate* who lies in wait for the open-eared stranger in the *Stanze di Raffaele*, to the sturdy

knave who lies on the Field at Waterloo—are proverbial for their skill in embellishment; and it is probably to the imagination of some mountain guide that Mr. Gilly is indebted for the “Bird and Baby” story of the eagle who carried off a child near Briançon, and of the chamois-hunter who despatched the “horrid devourer” with a single ball, while the prey was yet alive in its talons. The accompaniments of the deaf and dumb child and the idiot, the former of whom was unable to give any account of the rape which he had witnessed, while the latter expressed by uncouth antics his joy at being delivered from a troublesome charge, are indeed new to us. But, in other respects, we may safely affirm, that there is scarcely a crag in which the king of birds ever constructed his eyrie, which does not afford a similar tradition. We need not do more than mention the legend explanatory of the crest of the Stanley family; a crest, as the Heralds would describe it, on a *chapeau gules*, turned up *ermine*, an eagle with wings expanded *or*, preying upon an infant in its cradle *proper*.

We will not quarrel, however, with the bold assertions of mountain guides, for they have furnished two very interesting chapters containing an account of Mr. Gilly's excursions in search of a cavern among the rocks of Castelluzzo, in which, according to Leger, 400 Vaudois found shelter during one of their most severe persecutions. A peasant undertook to show the spot, and a party of five, including Mrs. Gilly, set out on the fatiguing enterprise. We love to *read* of mountain adventures.

“From the hamlet of Tagliaretta, we descended into a deep ravine, and then mounted again towards Kiavoula and Rua. From the latter, where we were obliged to leave the pony, we had a fine view of the mountain pasturages of La Cea, which at this time were full of cattle. After resting ourselves, for about half an hour at a chalet, and enjoying the refreshment of some rich milk and cream, we again crossed a ravine of considerable depth, and then commenced the more arduous task of climbing the rocks of Castelluzzo. Hitherto we had been in the midst of cultivation of some sort, and though we occasionally traversed tracts, which man had not yet been able to subdue beneath the spade or the hoe, the soil was for the most part productive of something; but now the scene changed entirely, and, without a tree to shade us, we toiled up a rocky acclivity under a scorching sun, and upon a burning surface. This steep was closed in by a cliff, which rose almost perpendicularly from its base, and terminated in that tower-like summit, which has therefore obtained the name of Castelluzzo; but though we strained our eyes to discern the means by which we were to proceed, we discovered none, until we arrived close to it. We then perceived a narrow ledge, projecting from the face of the rock, but only broad enough to admit one at a time to ascend by its dizzy path, and overhanging the depth below. This was formidable—and we enquired of our guide with no little anxiety, if this were the only approach to the place of which we

were in quest. Grant assured us, that by this we must continue our route, or retrace our steps, and return home. It was one of those Alpine pathways, by which the peasants of Tagliaretta and Bonetti had often eluded their adversaries : for woe be to the fool-hardy pursuer, who would venture to plant his foot on this track, with an enemy in his front, or above him, resolved upon disputing the passage.

" We ascended in perfect safety. The guide led the way—my brother followed. My wife held fast by a leathern belt which was round my waist. Mr. Amadée Bert brought up the rear ; and glad enough were we, when we had cleared the ledge. Again we had to clamber up another height, or rapid slope. Mont Vandelin was to our right, and on the craggs, which overhung our line of march, we saw goats peeping down upon us, as if curious to know what we wanted by invading their aerial domains. This part of the ascent was fatiguing, but not at all dangerous. But the heat of the day was by this time intolerable, and we were almost expiring under thirst, and the glare of the sun reflected from the masses of rock, by which we were surrounded. We had brought no water with us, for Grant had promised us, that we should find a spring at the very point which we had now attained. The disappointment was too great to be described, when we reached the spot, and found the fountain dry !

" Again we toiled on towards the ridge that soared above, and never shall I forget the bright vision that burst upon us, when we attained it. As if by magic, the arid and stony surface, over which we had been dragging our weary steps, was succeeded by one of those verdant pasturages of the Alps, which the crest of the mountain concealed from our view ; in fact, we had scaled the rampart, and were at once transported to an amphitheatre of rich grass, on the western side of the ridge. Cows and sheep were grazing round their keepers ; the lowing of the cattle, and the voices of men and boys, greeted our ears ; and for a moment we forgot our thirst and fatigue, in the charming prospect that broke so suddenly upon us.

" When we made our wants known to the shepherds, they went in search of another spring, in one of the cliffs of Mont Vandelin. It was at some distance, and we waited impatiently for their return. But again we were disappointed. This supply had also failed, and we were almost in despair. The cows, which were depastured here, were not in milk ; but one of the boys bethought him of an expedient to relieve us. He set up a loud shout, and made the surrounding mountains echo with his shrill and prolonged notes. Presently we saw goats dashing down the steeps, and galloping towards us in all directions. It was the boy's shaggy flock, which, faithful to his voice, obeyed the well-known summons, and soon filled our leathern cups with their milk. The beverage was not such as to quench our thirst, but it allayed it ; and never was there a more grateful supply. Seated on the green sward, we shared the contents of our basket with the boy and his companions, who had so kindly volunteered their assistance ; and after reposing for about an hour, and amusing ourselves with the conversation of these children of nature, we proceeded in search of the memorable cavern."

But the entrance to the cavern was not to be found. Their

guide having failed in one spot, bade them look over the face of a cliff which, for several hundred feet, was perpendicular as a wall, and pointed to one spot in its scarped side as the mouth of the grotto which they sought. When asked how it was to be reached? he answered, by stooping over the projecting crag on which they stood, catching hold of the rough points of the cliff, and so descending till they reached a sort of tunnel or chimney which led at once into the cavern. A more startling question remained behind; how was this feat to be effected by women and children? for there were women and children among the 400 refugees.

Although the difficulty thus propounded was by no means satisfactorily removed when the guide suggested that there *might have been* another entrance now unknown, yet the pertinacity with which he maintained that the cavern had in fact been visited by some of his acquaintance in the very manner which he described, stimulated Mr. Gilly's curiosity to a second attempt; and never since we shuddered over the more than mortal hardihood of Bois-Rosé at Fescamp, did we read with more breathless anxiety of any adventure between heaven and earth, than that which ensued.

"Making a detour by Borel, we arrived at the same spot to which Grant had conducted us on the 6th of July, and which he represented to be the place from which the descent into the cavern must be made. Nothing presented itself to the eye, which gave the slightest idea that the wall of rock, down which we looked with shuddering gaze, contained an accessible hiding place, large enough to admit 400 people.

"Chanforan and Ricca pulled off their shoes and stockings, stripped off their upper garments, and looked as if they were rallying their courage for an exploit. Two young peasants who had joined us, the one twenty years old, the other sixteen, signified their intention to follow the two elder mountaineers, at all risk; and the coolness with which they stood over the precipice, and moved along its dizzy edge, satisfied us, that they had nerve enough for any thing. When the guides were ready for the descent, they addressed their countrymen, M. Bonjour and M. Revel, and told them, that they would not dare to go down. 'Then what will our friends do?' said they. 'They are English,' replied Chanforan, 'and will break their necks, rather than turn back.' The compliment was more to my brother's taste than to mine.

"Presently the four mountaineers disappeared. How they sustained their footing, and to what projecting points they clung, I could not imagine. I looked down, but the cliff projected so much, that I could not distinguish the means of their descent. Presently we heard shouts from below, and a voice directed us to lower the rope ladder, which we had previously attached to a fragment of rock, large enough to sustain any weight. The ladder was let down, and made fast at the other end by the men below. My brother was the first of our party to descend

by it. I went next. Our precautions were so well taken, that I found the descent more difficult than dangerous : but I confess, that when I found myself suspended between heaven and earth, by a swinging staircase of rope, which the sharp points of the rock might cut in twain, the sensation was any thing but enviable. The ladder did not hang straight, but followed the irregular lines of the face of the cliff, which had given hand and foot-hold to the peasants who led the way. At the depth of about twenty feet I found the ladder resting upon a sort of shelf. From this shelf the ladder hung in an angular direction, and next lay along a rough sloping ridge like a camel's back ; and then depended perpendicularly, rocking with great violence. At about fifty feet from the top, there was a second shelf, and this attained, I perceived a sort of tunnel, or chimney, in the cliff ; but the ladder was not long enough to reach to the bottom of it, and with the assistance of Ricca, who was planted there to help me, I let myself down, much after the fashion of a climbing boy descending a chimney. This achieved, the grotto was attained without much further difficulty.

"The risk which the men encountered, who descended without the rope ladder, consisted in passing from ledge to ledge, where the hold was very slight and insecure. What, then, must have been the horrible nature of the persecution, which compelled women and children to trust themselves to the perils of such an enterprise ? It is probable, however, that ropes had been before used to facilitate the descent, for I observed several places, which looked as if they had been indented by the friction of cordage."

After all these perils, there was strong reason to believe that the gallery which they had attained was *not* the *merveilleuse caverne* described by Leger, in search of which the adventurers had thus hazarded their lives ; and the language, with which Mr. Gilly winds up his chapter, speaks not a little strongly in proof of his imperturbable equanimity. "We were pleased," he says, "with our performance, and felt proud of having accomplished a feat of some difficulty."

Of the Vaudois, on the whole, we entertain much the same opinion as that which we held before the perusal of Mr. Gilly's narrative. Viewed, not through the tinted medium, the Claude spectacles, if we may so express ourselves, which it is plain he has always worn when regarding them, they are, nevertheless, a people who cannot fail to excite profound interest and glowing emotion in the heart of every Protestant Christian : and we far more readily sympathize with a generous temper which involuntarily exaggerates, than we should do with a more cold and measured observer, who did not fully estimate their high claims upon our admiration. Of their general freedom from the grosser vices which pollute mankind when herding together in larger masses, there seems little occasion to doubt ; and the reason is



obvious, they are more free also from the temptation to commit them. We are not about to enter upon the obscure and intricate question of *local* morality: of the increased or diminished incitement to particular deviations from rectitude, which appears to vary according to station in life, to degree of civilization, to difference of climate, to individual temperament. No problem in the whole economy of our nature more completely defies resolution: and for its equitable adjustment we can recur only to our fixed conviction, that He who penetrates every secret of the heart will proportion His final sentence according to His accurate knowledge of the condition of each offender. Without stopping on this point, it may be sufficient to remark, that the seclusion of the Vaudois, in their remote fastnesses, is no doubt advantageous to their simple and incorrupt habits. Yet, on that very account, unspotted as may be their lives, primitive as is their faith, ardently as we concur in their praise, cordially as we would join in any plan for their culture and assistance (for to use the words of their great advocate during the period of the Commonwealth, "We must acknowledge ourselves linked together, not only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the same Religion")—we cannot but think their importance is in some measure over-rated. In one sense—for *the past*—their value is inestimable. Like the Jews themselves, although with a directly opposite tendency, they are a standing record and testimony for the integrity of our doctrine; and the existence of this accepted people (the phrase is scarcely too strong) no less than that of the rejected nation, unchanged through Ages, is one of the great landmarks by which God has been pleased to manifest the truth as it is in Jesus. But of the power which is sometimes attributed to the Vaudois *over the future*, we are far from entertaining any sanguine anticipations; nor can we bring ourselves to believe with Mr. Gilly, that it is from their garner "the great Sower will again cast his seed, when it shall please him to permit the true Church of Christ to resume her seat in those Italian States from which Pontifical intrigues have dislodged her"—(p. 158.) The selfsame causes which have hitherto contributed to the preservation of this people, will continue to militate against their attainment of any very extensive influence; and their "happy poverty and purity," so often the theme of eulogy with our immortal Bard, most probably will live and perish together. Without fancifully investing them with a might which they do not in truth possess, it may be wise to remember what they *have* done, rather than to dream over that which we idly imagine they *may* do. The debt already owing to their piety and their constancy is never to be fully discharged; and



even if in centuries to come they do not teach others to "fly the Babylonian woe," they may rest amply content that they are recorded both in Heaven and on Earth, as

"Those who kept the Truth so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones."

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ART. VIII.—*The Last Days of our Lord's Ministry; a Course of Lectures, delivered in Trinity Church, Coventry.* By the Rev. Walter Farquhar Hook, M.A. Prebendary of Lincoln, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. London. Duncan, 1832. 8vo. pp. 341.

THE chief occurrences during the last three days in the week of our Lord's Passion, form the appropriate subject of this course of Lectures. After a brief review of the celebration of the Paschal Supper, and the institution of the "new commandment," when Jesus proceeded to the distribution of the bread and wine, we find a very useful practical rebutment of a common error.

"On these principles, while we contend against those who would desecrate the blessed sacrament, or detract from its efficacy, we unite with them, in exhorting the brethren not to fear, where no fear is. We all know the excuse which carelessly drops from every one's lips, when exhorted to participate in this holy ordinance; namely, that they are afraid lest they should receive unworthily. But I scarcely know, whether it be necessary, to supply an answer to this objection. For if this excuse be, sometimes, honestly urged by the ignorant and weak, is it not much more frequently adopted, as an idle plea, and a sophistical evasion! Who are they, who are really deterred from communicating, by this righteousness overmuch? The number must be small indeed, among those who are capable of reflection, since the plea amounts merely to this, that, 'they will not go to the fire, pretending they are cold; and reject physic *because* they need it.'

To receive unworthily, is to receive without discerning the Lord's body; that is, without regard or reference, to the sacrifice of Christ.

Those, therefore, are guilty in this sense, who approach those holy mysteries, under the influence of secular motives, or the mask of hypocrisy; and those, too, who, puffed up in their fleshly minds, seek not the intercession, rely not on the merits, and look not for the grace, of our divine Redeemer; but, on the contrary, *rejoice in a thing of naught, and say, Have we not taken to us horns, by our own strength!* They, also, are to be excluded, who are determined to live in the commission of any known sin, or in the omission of any acknowledged duty. For these, lacking the principle upon which all evangelical obedience is grounded, are virtually guilty of the whole law. And how can they

pretend to wish for grace to improve, when they make not an attempt at amendment?

"To all such persons, the language of the church is that of friendly reproof, and earnest admonition. Let them, indeed, seriously reflect, on the awful dilemma in which they place themselves. On the one hand, there is, indeed, an inspired Apostle, who threatens them, if they receive unworthily: but, on the other, there is Jesus Christ himself, who expressly declares, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*"—pp. 73—75.

Perhaps the effect of this sound and satisfactory explanation is a little diminished by a somewhat too ambitious paragraph, which occurs not long afterwards. The penitent sinner is invited to partake in the Eucharist, in terms more declamatory than are usually employed in an English pulpit.

"With contrition of heart, with humility of mind, and with lively faith, approach, then, the holy table, and there will be joy in heaven, where the angels witness thy repentance, and record thy pardon. Yes, ye invisible but sympathizing ministers of omnipotent mercy, I can imagine you winging your noiseless way, around the Christian altar; I can almost hear you, joining in our eucharistic hymn, at that glad moment, when the contrite offender is added to the number of the faithful, and when, his sins having been done away by the blood of Christ, he goes forth, in the strength of the Lord, to commence a new career of godliness upon earth, and to lead the residue of his life, in the fear, and to the glory of Almighty God."—p. 77.

The note, indeed, refers us to the authority of St. Chrysostom; but it may be doubted whether the selection here made from that Father, is the most judicious which might have been afforded by his admirable tract, *De Sacerdotio*: a tract which it would be well if every candidate for the Christian ministry would read and fully digest, before presenting himself to the Bishop for Ordination. But the eloquent Father, in the particular instance before us, as Mr. Hook, himself, perceives, has approached very near the dangerous borders of legendary Divinity.

"At that time, the Angels are present with the priest. With those heavenly intelligences, in honour of Him who lieth there, the whole sanctuary is filled, and especially the chancel. This we may fairly conclude, when we reflect on the mysteries which are celebrated there."—S. Chrysostom. *De Sacerdotio*, lib. vi. cap. iv.

The story he proceeds to relate, of some one who *saw* the holy Angels round the altar, I omit; because St. Chrysostom himself affirmed, in after times, that, in his age, miracles had ceased. The tale, however, shows, that the passage is to be understood not figuratively but literally.—p. 101.

Amid a good deal of highly valuable matter, evidently the result of extensive reading and diligent meditation, Mr. Hook's

chief blemish throughout, arises from too free an indulgence of imagination. Wherever the Gospels have contented themselves with a simple outline of narrative, the filling up, as a Painter would call it, unless executed with the utmost delicacy of touch and the nicest regard to the original manner and design, had far better be avoided altogether. Without this salutary caution the "perhaps," and the "it is probable," and the whole train of similar conjectural formulæ, weaken, rather than add strength to the sketch of the Evangelists. Few portions of our Lord's history are involved in deeper mystery than his agony in the garden; and it is but just to Mr. Hook to say that after half a dozen lines, he has discovered the hazard of a metaphysical speculation, into which acquaintance with Irenæus might have betrayed him, and has discreetly refrained.

"The divine nature in the Lord Jesus, was, perhaps, (to adopt the language of theologians,) at this time, quiescent; that is to say, his divine nature may have been now, as it was under the former temptation, in a state somewhat analogous to that of our own minds, when we are asleep. The immortal mind, when we are asleep, still exists, but, in ordinary cases, it ceases to control the body. So may it have been, with the divinity of Christ Jesus. But, let us not seek to be wise, above what is written.—p. 112.

"This theory is at least as old as the days of Irenæus. 'As he was man, that he might be tempted; so was he the Word, that he might be glorified; the Word being quiescent (*ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου*), that he might be tempted, crucified, and die.'—*Advers. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. 21."—p. 139.

Our objection, perhaps, may be more fairly directed against some other passages. Thus, it is scarcely necessary to go far out of the way in search of a reason why the officers who accompanied Judas, should carry "lanterns and torches," even during the night of the Paschal full moon. Their anxiety to apprehend their prisoner fully accounts for the supererogatory precaution; and so it has been very sensibly understood by Grotius: *μερὰ φανῶν καὶ λάμπων*, John xviii. 3. *Ostendit Evangelista quanto ardore Christum quæsierint et metuerint ne elaberatur, qui plenâ lunâ, tamen et faces et laternas attulerint, ut omnes latebras perreptarent.* This is quite enough; but Le Clerc has gone a little further. *Allatis laternis et facibus quæ propter noctem nubilam, etsi erat plenilunium, necessariae esse poterant.* Without the slightest authority for this clouding of the night, which if it had really occurred, would scarce have been omitted by the Evangelists who record the subsequent darkness at the Crucifixion, Mr. Hook has caught the hint and implied that it might be supernatural.

"It was the time of the Passover; and the moon, therefore, was in

the full. But, as, on the morrow, the sun withdrew his shining, so upon this night of the betrayal, agony, and apprehension, of Him, who, in the beginning, had said, *Let there be light, and there was light*—darkness may have seized upon the moon, together with the stars of heaven, and the constellations thereof.”—p. 148.

Again, in noticing Peter's denial “immediately while he yet spake the cock crew?” it appears superfluous to conjecture the “perhaps there was some unexpected silence in the hall, so that the crowing of the bird was distinctly heard.” The tumult in the hall must have been loud indeed, (and we do not read of *any* tumult) which would prevent the Apostle from distinguishing the peculiarly shrill note of the cock.

But not to continue the invidious task of pointing out defects, we return to a far more pleasing occupation, which is afforded us by a large proportion of Mr. Hook's volume. We cannot conclude this short notice of its contents more satisfactorily, either to the writer or to ourselves, than by subjoining his very judicious remarks on the Penitent Thief.

“Now, with respect to the fact before us, it surely can have been recorded, only to convey to us the comfortable assurance, that repentance can, in this world, never come too late. It is this conviction, that gives energy to the pastor's exhortation, when, standing by the bed of sickness; it is this, which banishes despair from the heart of the contrite. To the last moment that reason, energy, and resolution hold their place within this mortal frame, there still is hope. The everlasting arms are ever open to receive the poor afflicted penitent, whose *heart is turned within him, and whose repentings are kindled together*. If it be true that there is only one instance on record, of the efficacy of a late repentance, let us never forget that there *is* one, to silence the harshness of the uncharitable, and to save the wretched from despair.

“It is not, indeed, by attempting to limit the boundless mercies of our Divine Redeemer, but it is rather by defining the nature of repentance itself, that we shall, most effectually, deter the presumptuous from false security, and arouse the thoughtless, to discretion, vigilance, and caution.

“Now, repentance consists, not in a fleeting resolution, or a vapoury sigh; not in a temporary feeling of remorse, or a partial desire of improvement; but, in such an entire change of character, of principle, and of heart, as must necessarily lead to newness of life, and to a settled though gradual amendment of conduct.

“When the body is weakened by sickness, when the heart is softened by sorrow, when the mind is depressed by care, when we are terrified by fears for the future, and saddened by remorse for the past, when the appetite ceases to solicit, when the passions cease to inflame, when temptation ceases to allure, the task may be easy, and the duty light, to confess our sins, and even to persuade ourselves, that our resolutions of amendment are sincere. But why is it, that, at *any* time, we yield our members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity, unto iniquity? Is

it because we are enamoured of sin in the abstract? No. It is because either lust, or passion, or pride, goads us on, to the commission of an offence, or because indolence inclines us to float down the easy stream, with the multitude who hasten to do evil. It is, therefore, utterly impossible, when all the incitements to evil are removed, and all the obstacles to improvement forgotten or concealed, to be certain, that our renunciation of sin is real, or that our virtuous resolutions are sincere. There is one method, and *only* one, by which we can give proof to others, or ascertain for ourselves, that our repentance is unto life; and that is, by a patient continuance in well doing. Consequently, if the life of a sorrower be taken, before he has had time to bring forth the fruits of repentance, with respect to his eternal state, all must be darkness, doubt, and fear. That such a repentance *may* have been effected in him, as would have induced him to pass the remainder of his days in all virtue and godliness of living, had his life been prolonged, Christian charity may always hope, believe, and pray. Nor will it be doubted, that, under such circumstances, although the changed principle may not have been proved by any overt act, the will to serve God will be taken for the deed, and faith be counted for righteousness. Had St. Peter dropped down dead, while weeping in the porch, his genuine repentance would have been known in heaven, though not proved by deeds upon earth, and his pardon would have been sealed, before he went hence. But *thus* to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart, belongs to Omniscience alone. Such knowledge is too wonderful for us; we cannot attain unto it. All, therefore, that the minister of the Gospel can say to the repentant sinner is this: *if* your repentance be genuine, then it will be accepted for the merits, and through the mercy, of your crucified Saviour; but *whether* your sorrow be of that godly sort, which worketh repentance not to be repented of, I dare not to affirm, nor can you yourself decide. It is to be proved by facts.

*The looking forward to judgment*, under such circumstances as these, will be fearful indeed. This view of the subject, therefore, can afford but slight encouragement to those, who have resolved, to defer the season of repentance, and to postpone to a period, whether definite or indefinite, the relinquishment of their sins. But we may proceed yet further. The conduct of such persons only proves, that they are the easy victims of self-deception. Their expectations are delusive, if not insincere. Until *when* is it, that they would delay the correction of those habits, the culpability of which they virtually admit? Until *necessity* compels them to the course which their spirit approves, but their flesh condemns; that is to say, until the wished-for object can be accomplished, without self-denial, exertion, or virtue. Or, let the anticipated leisure, the long-expected hour for repentance and amendment arrive! Alas! where will be the disposition to commence the salutary work; where the resolution to resist the incursions of evil, by long indulgence become almost omnipotent? Listen to the wise man: *He that being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy.*

Indeed, my brethren, if the fate of the *penitent* malefactor breathes hope into the soul of those, whose repentance is, like his, sincere; the

conduct of the *hardened* malefactor, speaks in a voice of thunder, to such as are going on still in their wickedness. If the former have nothing to fear, the latter have little to hope. The conduct of the remorseless malefactor, who, to the very last, *clothed himself with cursing as with a garment*, too awfully and too sadly shows, that the turning from evil to good, if long delayed, may be at length, like the changing of an Ethiop's skin, or a leopard's spots. Well says the adage of the worldly wise, that custom is second nature. A frequent indulgence in sin, renders the heart callous to its repetition; while the renunciation of what is endeared to us by long habit, is, oftentimes, like the cutting off of a right hand, or the plucking out of a right eye. The influence of custom becomes, at last, mechanical. As the muscles will sometimes continue to play, when the spirit has fled, so will the passions, long unrestrained, prove themselves strong, in the very article of death; and evince their vigour, when no object for their exertion may remain. While the moral sense, unheeded and neglected, will, like a jaundiced eye, become utterly unable to discern between good and evil, much less to hate the one and to love the other."—pp. 267—272.

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ART. IX.—*Sermons on the Christian Life and Character.* By Arthur B. Evans, D.D., Head Master of Market Bosworth Free Grammar School. London, Cadell; Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1832. 8vo.

FEW surprises are more agreeable than that which is afforded by an unexpected burst of picturesque country, by a varied prospect of hill and dale, wood and river, breaking on the traveller's eye at points in which he looked only for a continued range of level and uninteresting champain—and such is the pleasure which we have derived from this volume by Dr. Evans. Uncertain which to chuse from the huge mass of Sermons with which our contemporary press overflows, we took up this collection at random, dipped into it at a venture, and, after half a dozen pages, never allowed it to quit our hands till we had mastered its entire contents. It abounds with acute views of human nature, correct expositions of doctrine, powerful applications of Scripture to the heart of every reader or hearer, sober piety and chastened eloquence. It is not unworthy of the best times of our Church; and it evinces a mind, not only fertile with exuberant knowledge, but possessing, moreover, the rare and enviable faculty of so drawing from its copious stores as best to accommodate them to universal benefit.

High as this praise may appear, we have little apprehension that it will be considered too high by any one who attentively reads Dr. Evans's pages. Yet in the narrow compass which a Review can afford to the consideration of six and twenty miscellaneous and unconnected Sermons, it may not be quite easy to



bring sufficient evidence to justify our opinion. We may, indeed, produce detached passages of no ordinary merit: and yet their necessary disjunction from the main stock will leave another great merit behind, which we cannot exhibit—we mean the masterly frame-work of each separate Discourse by itself. Without the slightest ostentation of method, and with an entire concealment of art, they are compacted and put together by the hand of a cunning workman; and on the nice arrangement of each part depends much of the strength and symmetry of the whole.

Perhaps there is no more distinctive characteristic of these Sermons, than the invariably cheerful aspect in which the preacher delights to present Religion to our acceptance. Not that he is backward in proclaiming with full utterance the terrors of the Lord, if occasion demands their enunciation; for who that is about to commit premeditated sin, can read without shuddering the following application of “The Handwriting on the Wall,” the Christian lesson to be derived from the warning to Belshazzar?

“But there is a truth, a fact, attending sin, which, though not miraculous, yet if ever present to the mind and imagination of the sinner, would effectually restrain him. It is this. Upon every occasion of sin, when his heart is bent upon its idol; when the will leads him headlong to guilt; when his passions are excited, and he has availed himself of the time, and means, and opportunity; when his purpose is concealed from man, and he is delighted with his secrecy, and the darkness or solitariness of his retirement;—let him then look up, and mark above him a beaming eye of vigilance and vengeance, which surveys his very inmost soul. There it is,—bent upon him,—watching him,—following him. ‘The darkness is no darkness to that eye.’ It penetrates the strong-holds of sin in the blackness of midnight; brings with it a noon-day light into the recesses of villany and debauchery: neither sleeps nor slumbers; and fixes a steadfast, and awfully indignant, look upon the hidden acts of the audacious and disobedient. That eye, my brethren, is the searching Providence of Him, to whom ‘all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are concealed.’ Its prying glance pursues each of us; sees all the machinations of the wicked mind, the subterfuges of the crafty, and the retired lurking-places of artful hypocrisy and unbelief. It perceives the stratagems, by which you would silence conscience, and retain sin. It is intent upon your inclinations, your thoughts, and projects, every instant of your lives. It superintends you at the feast, and in the hour of mirth. It watches you in your business, and during your devotions. It is about your path, and around your bed. Thus ever present with you, what manner of men should you be, what manner of lives should you lead? If that eye be extreme to mark what is *done*, or even *thought*, amiss by you, which of you shall be able to abide it? Yet in its justice, be it remembered, it *does* mark every thing; and, but for the merits of Christ operating in your behalf, only upon true repentance, *will* punish all. Act, then, under this conviction. On

all occasions shrink before that all-seeing eye. Check the rising thought, the distant tendency to sin. Eschew evil, and do good. Or, if at any time you shall have engaged in iniquity, look to where it beholds you,—retreat before its gaze,—draw in the hand of guilt,—retrace the steps to ruin,—and fall down and kneel before the Lord your Maker, the jealous God, and, by repentance, through faith, make your peace with him. So shall you not be guilty of the great offence, and iniquity shall not be your ruin.”

But it is in passages of a gentler nature, in the representation of God's mercy and beneficence, and of the happiness of the righteous, even amid their trials in this world, in portraying things pure, honest, just, lovely, and of good report, that the current of the writer's eloquence runs most strongly. We give below, a picture of a life when framed in conformity with its Author's will, which is offered in proof of the assertion that “God's sceptre upon Earth is a right sceptre.” After remarking that the careful observer will everywhere perceive traces of benevolence in the inanimate world, Dr. Evans continues,

“Yet here the survey must not end. He will remark in every thing that has been blest with life, an indescribable enjoyment of existence. To the very act of living, when not frustrated by the perversion or abuse of natural faculties and privileges, there appears annexed throughout the creation, the condition, as well as the capacity, for the happiness of the individual. But, in such a review of animated nature, his thoughts will always revert to his own species. And here also, in the destination of his fellow-creatures, when not estranged from their Maker by habitual vice, the same merciful provision of peculiar advantages and means of bliss, will be discovered. Every age of life will be found replete with blessings. He will observe, for instance, in youth, inexhaustible funds of enjoyment,—health, spirits, elasticity of mind and body, thirst of knowledge, exemption from care, defiance of sorrow, love of amusement easily gratified, eager desires, sanguine hopes, and not a single anticipation of future evil. Manhood, again, will appear to him the period of vigour, energy, and enterprize. Honourable ambition,—the pleasures perhaps of a family,—but seldom, except through neglect or mismanagement, counterpoised by very great cares,—the satisfactory discharge of public duties,—the improvement of property,—joys of home,—prosecution of public-spirited designs,—literary, mercantile, or other necessary pursuits,—in short, all the busy avocations of an honest and useful life, supply the principal ingredients in human happiness, namely, constant and innocent employment, attended by the consciousness of God's favour upon our best endeavours to attain the great end of our existence. In age also, he will perceive, not the dotage and decrepitude entailed by a life of luxury and intemperance, with which our argument has nothing to do; but, with the necessary decline of bodily vigour, with less powers of fancy, and perhaps less retentiveness of memory, he will observe greater judgment and foresight, from experience and maturity of reflection; cheerfulness, rest, and exemption from

laborious duties ; ready deference from others, authority, and precedence ; together with increased opportunities and leisure for more contemplative and devotional preparation, towards that awful change, which he is so soon to undergo, in his passage through the gates of death ; from things fluctuating, vain, vexatious, perishable, to things sure, and excellent, and blissful, and everlasting ; and in which he will be supported by that Saviour, who destroyed him that had the power of death."—p. 84—86.

In the same spirit, in another Sermon, the "Omniscience of the Almighty" is represented as the secret guardian of the truly pious.

"But if he thus hears and beholds the ways and works of the wicked, does he not also hear and see the heart and conduct of the true Christian ? Most undoubtedly he does. He observes his whole course of spiritual warfare and discipline. He hears his unremitted prayers. He marks his contrition and self-reproaches ; his frequent but unsparing scrutiny and examination of his own heart. The secret ejaculation, the pious desire, the first application for his assisting grace, escape not his observance. He hears the accents of his distress under difficulties, trials, and temptations. He fails not to notice his kindly intercourse with his fellow-men ; his love unfeigned, his candour, sincerity, and charitable judgment of others ; his friendly advice, reproofs, encouragement, and consolation, to those who need them ;—in a word, his holy, peaceful, and edifying intercourse and communication with all around him. Nor is the *eye* of God less observant of his life in thought and deed : it surveys the inmost purposes, resolves, and struggles of the heart ; it notes the weakest attempts at the purity and perfection of the Gospel ; it observes and aids the conscientious care and vigilance, the sobriety and moderation of mind, the subduement of pride and vanity, the self-denial, the unwearied well-doing, the resignation, and perseverance of the humble Christian. In short, in the midst of all his infirmities, imperfections, sins of omission and commission, his occasional negligence and relapses, the eye of God beholds, and beholds with favour, the Christian's progress in his dangerous pilgrimage through life."—pp. 103, 104.

"So, again, on the other hand, the more hidden, silent, and humble graces of the Christian, as well as his more open and conspicuous virtues, shall be made known. The benevolence and good wishes, the kind offices and intercessions, the attempts to reconcile and restore peace, the charitable constructions, the unknown relief, the secret comfort and exhortation, the avoiding of offence, the suppression of improper thoughts and inclinations, the forgiveness of injuries, and, in a word, all the hidden discipline of the Christian heart, unknown or unheeded by men, shall then be declared by that God, who saw them at the time, and from the gladly received operations of whose most Holy Spirit, constantly implored, they arose."—pp. 105, 106.

Two Sermons, eminently practical and likely to be productive of much good, are the xiii. "On the supposed duty of giving a Religious turn to subjects of common conversation," and the xix. "On the Duty of Family Prayer." In the former, the texts com-

monly and mistakenly adduced in order to prove that all subjects should be excluded from conversation and familiar intercourse, excepting such as have an immediately spiritual, devotional, and edifying tendency, are first referred to their proper and original meaning. Thus, our Saviour's declaration, (Matt. xii. 36,) "that every *idle* word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the Day of Judgment," is shown to have been directed by our Lord against the denial of His miracles and divinity made by the unbelieving Jews. The *ῥῆμα ἀργόν* of the Evangelist in this passage, is understood, by Dr. Evans, as "mischievous;" an interpretation into which he has probably been led by deference to Symmachus, who, in a note on Leviticus, has considered *ἀργόν* equivalent to the Hebrew, *פגול*, *polluted*. But we are rather inclined to abide by Grotius, who finds a parallel in the *κενὸν λόγον* of St. Paul, (Eph. v. 6,) and thinks that it is not only a *verbum inutile*, but yet more *quod veri soliditate caret*. This "lying" speech, therefore, is plainly not applicable as condemnatory of discussions unconnected with Religion.

In another text, often erroneously cited to the same purpose, *Coloss. iii. 16*, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord;" Dr. Evans proposed a different punctuation; "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; in all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another; in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace, in your hearts to the Lord." For this change, however, we do not recollect any authority, nor, indeed, do we perceive any advantage which it would afford to the question immediately under review. "The Word of Christ," as Dr. Evans rightly explains it, does not mean conversation about Religion, but the Doctrine of the Gospel. This word is to *dwell* in us, *ἐνοικεῖν*, thoroughly to imbue our hearts and spirits; and it is to be the subject of teaching and admonition, accompanied by exercise of psalmody. We know not how this precept, which relates entirely to Religious training and instruction, can be diverted to familiar conversation.

A passage in the same Epistle, "Let your speech be always with Grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man," is sufficiently explained by the context, to refer to the manner in which the disciples ought to bear themselves towards the heathen, "them that are without," with whom they may chance to have intercourse. So also the precept which furnishes the text to this Sermon, *Eph. iv. 29*, "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth; but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister Grace unto the

hearer," a caution against some of the prevalent sins to which the heathen converts might be exposed unless they put off "the old man,"—i. e.—their ancient habits, could never have been referred to discourse and verbal communication between man and man, had it not been for the mere *English* reader's mistake of the equivocal word "conversation," employed in the 21st verse. We need scarcely remark that the Greek, *ἀναστροφή*, of which the new Christians are to divest themselves, is not their *talk*—but their *conduct*, their former *vita genus*—their *συνμιλία* with the profane. So far as oral communication is included, it is an injunction against ever permitting impurity to escape the lips, not a command to avoid "an agreeable interchange of thoughts and information, unless we can twist and distort them into a kind of Religious Lecture.

The remainder of this Sermon goes on to prove, that as topics connected with the things, persons, and events of the visible world around us, are not forbidden by Scripture, so neither is that melancholy prohibition advanced by Reason or Common Sense, "our appointed guides where Revelation is silent." The conclusion is admirably calculated to prevent any designed misrepresentation of the whole argument.

"I have now, then, endeavoured to show, that neither Scripture nor reason requires of us that restraint upon our daily intercourse, which some modern religionists would wish to prescribe. Bound as we are, by a thousand powerful and necessary ties, to things and human beings around us, we may, and must, make them the frequent subjects of our conversation. Yet, after all, let me not be misunderstood. A man's religion, it is true, is chiefly an affair of individual interest: it is between himself and his God; and consists not in discussion and display, in texts and much talking. Yet, it must not be forgotten, that he is to consider his neighbour also, and the effect of his example upon others, to confess Christ before men; to "offend not in word;" to lose no fair opportunity of edifying, comforting, and instructing. 'A word in due season,' observes the wise man, 'how good is it!' and 'how forcible are right words!' And in this respect, too, many amongst us 'walk not worthy of their high vocation.' There is not, in many men, a sufficient care and circumspection as to the import and effects of what they say: too little caution with respect to profane, and indecent, and licentious language; too sparing an intermixture of devotional gratitude, religious inference, persuasive piety. Yet these are, and ever must be, the effusions of a truly Christian heart: the necessary fruits of right religious principles. They flow naturally from the fulness of a renewed mind and fervent spirit; prove that we are pervaded by the Gospel we profess; and make us 'an example of the believers in word,' as well as in those other essentials 'in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity.'"—pp. 200, 201.

The Sermon on Family Prayer should be read without mutilation. It not only recommends the Duty, but it contains some most useful directions for the manner of performing it. A short abstract of its general effects is concentrated in the following very pleasing extract.

“ Again, the necessity and importance of the duty of family religion are evident from their effects on every branch and member of the family. The head of the family is himself strengthened by it in habits of piety. He doubles by it the effects of his own private prayers. He gives a kind of public pledge of his own good conduct. He establishes an example, which his children and servants will follow after him; and he keeps alive a spirit of religion around him, of which he shares himself the benefits. His children love, and honour, and respect him the more. They are trained in the way they should go. They bear their duty so frequently, as to leave none of the blame of neglecting it on their parent. They become early used to heavenly things; and with all their spirits, health, and gaiety of heart, they do not find, upon experience, the commandments of God to be grievous, nor his service bondage. They daily “acquaint themselves with God,” and go out into the world with his strength, and under his blessing.—Upon the domestics, also, the benefits are neither few nor doubtful. By a regular practice of family devotion, the thoughts of those, who, perhaps, do not even pray in private, *must* be cast upwards daily: they *must*, in a manner, come before their Almighty Judge and Saviour every day. The profligate are thus compelled, as it were, to kneel down before their Lord and Maker daily. They cannot long persist in wickedness, while they come thus every day to confession, and prayer and praise. They *must*, we may hope, at length, under the blessing of God, catch some little of the devotion around them. Their hearts will probably at last soften: they will finally cease to do wrong, and learn to do right: they will “in all things obey their masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God.”—p. 290, 291.

So many passages of almost equal merit suggest themselves for citation, that we are perplexed in assigning any preference. We will take one on Man's Fall and Justification; because we think it marked not less by peculiar happiness of expression, than by correct disentanglement of a subject which has occasionally proved a *crux* to expositors.

“ For, in the next place, it must be observed, that at the fall, —as it has been most emphatically called,—or degradation of our whole nature by disobedience, the state of man became entirely changed. Having once postponed the will of God, an obedience to which was, as it were, the very title-deed of his felicity, to the gratification of an impious desire of forbidden knowledge, or, at least, of some flattering prospect of it, the former happy relation between man and his indulgent Maker was lamentably violated. He stood no longer in the same elevated position



towards any one thing around him. His immunities, blessings, and privileges, in a manner escheated to the beneficent Donor. But this was not all: the nice adjustment between the judgment and the affections was deranged; the senses acquired an undue preponderance; and the will took a bias, an obliquity, from the body and its appetites. The desires turned upon grovelling objects; and 'a law in the members' was discovered, not only at variance with the law of God in the mind, but ever receiving a willing and ready obedience. The 'things of the Spirit of God' were no longer the welcome inmates of the heart; but the thoughts and imagination turned with eagerness upon some favourite, but illicit propensity or indulgence, somewhat more beloved, perhaps, because forbidden. The feelings became selfish; and passions, which, in that happy dispensation of unsinning obedience, were under the regulation of unwarped and unwavering reason, and, actuated by that highest of all impulses, the love of God, never strayed beyond their pure and proper objects, now rushed impetuously into excess, and violence, and extravagant licentiousness. Henceforth, then, instead of applying every energy of body, soul, and strength, and understanding, to working the will of God, man's whole nature became corrupted. He obeyed what is called, in Scriptural language, 'the flesh,' 'the body of sin,' 'the carnal mind,' 'the sin dwelling in us,' 'the law of sin and death.' In such a state, then, where shall we look for his *righteousness*? that righteousness, in which he may stand blameless before his God? 'Who can say,' exclaims the wise man, 'I have made my heart clean; I am pure from sin?' (Prov. xx. 9.) Where shall we find in his obedience the very shadow of a claim to the recompence of reward?

"Now, that which man thus lost by disobedience, and which, of himself he never could have recovered, God, who is rich in mercy, has, in a later dispensation of grace and redemption, vouchsafed to give us in his Son Jesus Christ. 'As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous:' 'that as sin reigned unto death, even so grace might reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.' 'God hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses and sins.' Thus, then, we perceive, that, in our forlorn condition, 'Christ is of God made unto us' not merely 'wisdom, and sanctification, and redemption;' but,—let the whole world hear it with ceaseless and unbounded gratitude,—'*righteousness*' also; 'even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe.'"—pp. 39—42.

Our next extract shall be taken from one of those searching passages which speak home to every man's bosom. The preacher is speaking of the numberless subjects for gratitude which we receive thanklessly.

"The first are those general, daily mercies, which we are all accustomed to receive too much as a matter of course, and for which we are none of us sufficiently thankful. They come to us so directly, and are

so common, that we receive them, if not as our due, at least like things which require no acknowledgment to the great and bountiful Giver. Who, for instance, thinks of expressing gratitude for the roof that shelters him, for the clothing that warms him, for the food that supports him? Who offers 'thanks always,' according to the Apostle's direction, for the invaluable blessings of health, and strength, good spirits, and a sound mind! Who looks farther than to *his own* efforts and abilities, for his beneficial and uninterrupted employment in his vocation? Who, even in his prayers, remembers to be grateful for his daily advance in business, his usual crops, and regular increase of stock in farming, his ordinary receipts and custom in trade? These forsooth, are all the effects of *his own* talent, *his own* foresight, *his own* economy and industry. The God, that made him, has nothing to do with such every-day things, which are considered almost as too common, too universal, too certain and secure, to be looked upon as blessings, or to require any particular thanks. The past has supplied these usual fruits of attention and diligence: they have descended, perhaps, from father to son: they are the consequence of the individual's character and labour; flow on in an appointed channel, and regular course; and 'tomorrow is either as this day,' or, perhaps, 'much more abundant.' What needs there, then, any formal gratitude for things, that proceed like the succession of day and night? Let the heart that so little regards the hand that gives them, *reflect* awhile before it concludes so presumptuously. Let it see that there be, in the hands of this benefactor, no means of taking away, as well as of conferring. Let it ask of affliction and adversity, if they never visit these regularly prosperous men! Let it ascertain that failures, reverses, and misfortunes, cannot reach them! Let it enquire of the floods, and the tempest, the fire, and the drought, the pestilence, fever, and murrain, if they cannot come nigh them! Let them ask the King of Terrors, if he cannot strike them! And then, if they dare, and not till then, let them forget God. Having thus examined the tenure of these blessings, let them say to their souls,—if they can summon sufficient audacity,—'Soul! thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.'—pp. 341, 342.

The concluding Sermon was preached on the day appointed for a General Fast in consequence of the ravages of the Cholera Morbus; and it is well worth close attention. It presents a fearful and by no means an overcharged account of the causes which may bring down National Judgments. One note which is appended to it, contains the writer's too just views of the evil generation upon which we are cast.

"If we ask for signs of such a fall among ourselves, I fear that they abound at this very time. We have only, amongst others, to note well the dislocated state of society; the morbid thirst of change; the supineness, timidity, and compromise of even the right-thinking and well-disposed; the scoffing spirit of the age; the contempt of present blessings; the audacity of political sciolism; the disdain of high intellec-

tual attainments; the defiance of established truths of history and experience; the factious exaltation of the populace, and their consequent impatience of restraint; the un-English and republican hatred of dignities; the epidemic mental conceit; the restless and malignant struggles of the Dissenters, leagued with the champions of a levelling devastation, against the Church; and, last of all, the continued and unrepressed virulence, sedition, treason, anarchy, blasphemy, of a schismatic, revolutionary, and deistical press. These, alone, may suffice to chill our inmost hearts with the conviction, that God's heaviest judgments are hanging over us. Oh! that we may, even now, late as it is, 'learn righteousness.'"—p. 422.

With conviction thus strong of the dangers by which we are surrounded, Dr. Evans cannot but feel that it is the bounden duty of every man, according to his abilities, to be girt and ready. The specimen now before us, is a sufficient proof that no niggardly measure of gifts has been bestowed on *him*; and we ardently hope to see him again very early at his post, as a watchful and a constant sentinel.

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ART. X.—*A Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation in August and September, 1832.* By William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Rivingtons. 1832. pp. 50.

It is our practice to present the reader with summaries of Episcopal and other Charges, and we have now to call his attention to four very important documents of this description. The first place, on every account, is due to the Primary Charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But before we proceed to state its contents, we must advert to the treatment which his Grace has experienced from certain reformers of the Church.

Notice has been taken already of Mr. Riland's work, but something more is required from those who profess to speak the feelings of a great majority of the clergy, respecting that compound of profound ignorance and contemptible slander which he has given to the world. To accuse the Archbishop of Canterbury of grasping at power, or of coveting wealth, must make a man the laughing-stock of all who are acquainted with the conduct or character of that prelate. He has filled a conspicuous station in the Church for nearly twenty years, and the absence of all ground, real or plausible, for such a charge, is notorious even to the lowest description of radicals, and is admitted by them on many occasions. In the enforcement of discipline, in the exercise of patronage, in the administration of public and private charity, in every relation of life, the Archbishop of Canterbury is universally known to be one of the most unassuming, liberal, disinterested and amiable of men. And while we are not astonished

that such a person should at times be exposed to the insults of a wretched mob, we are astonished and grieved that there should exist a single clergyman capable of speaking as Mr. Ritland and some others have spoken. For our own parts, we hesitate not to declare our full conviction, that the very peculiar character of the present primate, his mildness and resolution, his long experience and sound discretion, and, above all, that bright assemblage of Christian graces and virtues which are to be found in his character, unite in rendering him a most effectual instrument for the preservation of the Church in this her day of danger and rebuke.

The Charge commences with a tribute to the memory of Archbishop Sutton.

“ Whatever may be my qualifications for the eminent station to which I have been called, however unworthy, by the Supreme Disposer of all things, I had the advantage, and it was not inconsiderable, of long confidential intercourse with my venerated and lamented Predecessor. I thus had frequent opportunities of observing the subjects which occupied his thoughts, and the principles on which he acted ; and in particular, his steadiness in pursuing the course which his judgment approved, without turning to the right hand or the left, through fear of unmerited censure, or vain desire of popularity. If his mind was ever disquieted, it was by solicitude for the Church. The interest which he felt in the concerns of his Clergy, his regard for their comfort, his sympathy in their distresses, could only be exceeded by his desire that they should approve themselves faithful in the work of the Lord, should do honour to their profession by their virtues, and justice to the public by the effective discharge of all their duties. These feelings prevailed in his mind to the latest moments of his life. Under the pressure of sufferings which might have warranted the indulgence of repose, he regarded the growth of the fatal disease, and its distressing accompaniments, as a warning to set his house in order, for this was the expression he used, and to prepare for his approaching departure. Among those whom I am now addressing, there are few who must not remember his last Visitation, and the impression then made on their minds by the sight of their aged Diocesan, collecting the remains of his strength for an exertion to which he was hardly equal, and bestowing his farewell advice, his valedictory blessing, on his Clergy. When such was the energy displayed in his conduct to the last, there was little reason to apprehend the existence of any abuses remediable by ecclesiastical authority, with the exception of such as might occasionally escape attention, or be tolerated for a season through fear of greater inconveniencies. I speak in the hearing of many, who will correct me, if my judgment is wrong, but who, I believe, would agree with me in opinion that full justice was not done to my Predecessor, if I passed without notice the improvements which took place in the Diocese under his auspices, the building of Churches, the establishment of schools, and other charities, and the assistance afforded by his wisdom, zeal, and liberality, in the accomplishment of these useful works. I have the greater satisfaction in adverting

to facts of this nature, believing that, if duly considered in reference not to this Diocese only, but to every Diocese in the Kingdom, they would go far in refutation of the charges assiduously circulated, and in many quarters received with avidity, of indifference on the part of the Clergy to the duties of their calling, and exclusive devotion to their worldly interests. I am persuaded, indeed, that a general survey of the beneficial agency of the National Church, on the fair principle of comparison, not with models of ideal perfection, which have no existence in reality, but with the same Church at former periods, when it was the pride and boast of the country, would produce a result very greatly in favour of the present Clergy. An inquiry on so extensive a scale, and embracing so many details, would be altogether unsuitable to this occasion : I must therefore be contented to support my assertion by one out of many proofs, the increase, both in number and efficiency, of institutions for pious and charitable purposes under the more immediate patronage of the Church. And thus while I do justice to the late metropolitan, and the Clergy at large, I shall have the farther advantage of showing the claims of these important establishments to the good wishes of all, who are friendly to the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, and the religious education of the poor—of all, who desire the advancement of piety among their countrymen, or the conversion of the heathen to the faith of Christ.” pp. 5—9.

Attention is then directed to the principal religious societies in connection with the Church of England, and the account of them is summed up by the following observations :—

“In this brief and imperfect sketch of the exertions made by the Church in the single department of religious and charitable establishments, to which must in justice be added the numerous branches of these institutions, in the form of Diocesan and District Committees, in different parts of the kingdom, I am contented to rest our defence as a body against the imputations of selfishness and apineness. Where such are the fruits of a beneficence beyond the strict obligations of professional duty, there is surely no reason to accuse any class of her Ministers, of indifference to the spiritual welfare of the people at home, or the diffusion of the Gospel abroad, or of want of compassion for the widows and orphans of their poorer brethren. I may, indeed, without fear of contradiction, assert, that no period of twenty, or five times twenty years of our history, exhibits an equal number of similar monuments of pious charity. Let me not, however, be understood to ascribe the creation or enlargement of these useful establishments exclusively to the exertions of the Clergy : it would be highly unjust and ungenerous not to acknowledge, that the merit is extensively shared by individual laymen, and by the public at large. But after all the deductions which truth and gratitude demand, so great a proportion of the charge, so much of the labour, will be found to have fallen on the Clergy, so much of the success to be attributable to their instrumentality, that they may in all fairness appeal from unmerited censure to the testimony of these facts. If, indeed, we look at the state

of the country towards the close of the last century, the progress of principles subversive of religion and order, and the very inadequate means at that time possessed by the Church for repressing or remedying the evil, and compare them with the powers now placed in our hands, of training up the rising generation in the profession of a pure faith, and diffusing spiritual instruction through the land, we must surely acknowledge the providential goodness of God, in raising these barriers against the overflowings of ungodliness, which, if not thus checked in their course, might have burst like a torrent upon our establishments, and broken up the foundations of society. And this consideration will show the necessity of persevering in our labours of charity, in no instance abandoning the ground which has already been gained, and neglecting no opportunity of extending our services in our several spheres of action. If we recede from our present position, if the energy which carries us forward in the career of improvement is relaxed, the fruits of our past exertions may be irrecoverably lost." pp. 15—17.

Perhaps the most striking passage in the Charge is the description, and, at the same time, the vindication of cathedrals and cathedral service.

"I must not, however, forget that I am now speaking to those, who, though in another capacity they may be charged with the cure of souls, appear in this place not as parochial ministers, but as the members of an ecclesiastical body, which, from its connection with the Church, the highest in rank, as it is the first in antiquity, in this kingdom, is eminently distinguished among those corporations which add much to the dignity, and, I may venture to say, to the usefulness of our national establishment. Our forefathers, though they well understood the nature and value of a simple and spiritual worship, were of this opinion; and while they abolished useless foundations, and expelled from their Churches the gaudy decorations and ceremonial pageantry, which diverted the attention of the people from the proper objects of devotion, they deemed it conducive to the honour of God, to preserve many Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with ample endowments, under the keeping of bodies of Clergy, to whom, from their qualifications and circumstances, the due performance of the service, and the care of the fabric might be safely trusted. Regardless of the opposition which they had to encounter on this head, the monarchs and statesmen of those days were not to be moved from their purpose. In a later age, when these sacred edifices had been profaned and defaced, the Clergy dispersed, and the property alienated, by fanatical fury and rapacity, the Government, though under strong temptations of avarice, and having little to fear from resistance, continued to act on the same principle. It would indeed have been little to the credit of a nation so highly favoured by Providence with temporal blessings, to have seized on revenues, which had been appropriated to the service of God by the piety of less opulent ages. And I trust the time will never arrive, when either religious prejudice, or philosophical theory, or avidity concealing its baseness under pretences of public good, will be suffered to



triumph in the destruction of these establishments. But the members of such bodies must never forget the duties attached to their station, or the relation in which they are placed to the Church at large. The objects to which you are particularly bound to attend might be collected from the nature of the establishment, if they were not specially determined by the statutes. The general purpose is to exalt the honour of God, and show forth his majesty with all the impressive solemnity which can be imparted to prayer and praise, by voices and instruments in sublime and harmonious unison, assisted by the effect of an architecture as far above ordinary buildings in style and dimensions, as the simple greatness of nature is beyond the works of art. In the first place, then, it is required, that the service should answer in all points to the highest conceptions of a fervent devotion, that the incense of prayer, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, should daily be offered in the temple, that in the celebration of worship there should be nothing unsatisfactory to the eye or the ear of the most sensitive piety, and no lack of solid argument, of scriptural doctrine, or Christian morality, in the pulpit. The next point which requires your care, is the sustentation of the fabric, which, notwithstanding the massiveness of its construction, being exposed to the action of weather and time, can neither be maintained in its beauty, nor preserved from decay, without repair. But the awful solemnities of religious worship, and the magnificence of the structure, by no means complete the idea of an establishment designed to be worthy in every respect of the Divine Majesty. Your constitution embodies a number of persons, of different ranks and with different duties, entitled to benefits in various proportions, and of diverse kinds. Whilst some are invested with dignity, and charged with the responsibilities of government, the rest have their several functions, subordinate indeed, yet not without honour, in the service of God. Nor can we overlook the appendant foundations for the relief and comfort of the aged, and for the education of the young. An establishment so constituted, if rightly conducted in all its parts, will present a picture of order cemented by charity, of authority administered with gentleness, and obedience yielded with pleasure, without pride on the one part, or discontent on the other, the highest providing for the good of the whole, and all in gradation contributing their proportion of service, till the measure of duty is full. Another object of such foundations is the exercise of hospitality and bounty, remote alike from illiberal parsimony, and wasteful extravagance, promoting the charities of life by social intercourse, and ministering to the comforts of the poor, as well by immediate relief of their wants, as by regular support of the institutions, by which provision is made for their spiritual or temporal necessities. Let it not be imagined that, in touching on these several heads, I mean to insinuate that any duty has been neglected, or that any admonition is necessary. I have mentioned them partly with a view of describing the benefits expected, and in great measure obtained, from these splendid establishments, and partly in compliance with the useful and laudable custom of calling our duties to remembrance on these solemn occasions. If there has been ever a time when a suggestion was needed from the visitor, I cannot suppose it to be

the present, when I have before me the testimony of this venerable pile\* to the liberality and piety of those, who, regardless of personal interests, have planned and conducted the work of restoring it to its original beauty. May the hymn and the anthem never cease to resound through its clustering columns and vaulted roofs, whilst its lofty towers proclaim to the stranger who visits the land, that the present generation are no less sincere than their fathers in their veneration for the national religion! May it never again be polluted by the invasion of sacrilege, nor yield up to the spoiler the treasures which afford the means of its preservation!"—p. 24.

The length to which our extracts have already extended, prevents us from transcribing the Archbishop's Address to the Parochial Clergy; but his Grace's sentiments upon Church Reform, and his observations upon the different plans which have been suggested for carrying it into effect, have a paramount claim to attention.

"At the same time I am far from insensible to the dangers which threaten our Establishment, not can I view the position in which we are placed without serious concern and apprehension. In the Sister Island a plan has been organized for the subversion of the Irish branch of our Church by the general spoliation of its property; and, humanly speaking, nothing short of determined support on the part of the Government can preserve it from utter ruin. That support has been given, and will, I trust, be continued, for the sake of the Protestant Faith, for the sake of a Clergy pre-eminent in learning and piety, for the sake of the population of Ireland, who are benefited, without distinction of creeds, by the light of their example and the aid of their bounty, and who, when they are swept away, will at once be consigned to a perpetuity of ignorance and error. I will not enter at length on this distressing subject; but I could not pass without notice the cruel and unmerited sufferings of a great body of Christian Ministers, with whom we are connected as brethren, by unity of faith, by sympathy of feeling, and by identity of interests. How soon the spirit of persecution and rapine which has seized upon them as its first victims, will avow its designs in this Island, it is not perhaps easy to determine: but when we are sure that our enemies are employed with unwearied activity in collecting means and concerting plans of attack, we shall grossly fail in our duty, if with a conviction on our minds that the interests of religion, morality, and social order are deeply concerned in the preservation of our Church Establishment, we make no preparations for defence. I am aware that in respect to the measures best calculated to meet the present emergency, and settle the Church on a secure footing, there is great

\* The amount of expenditure on the repairs and decorations of the Cathedral since the year 1822, when the larger works were begun, exceeds 29000*l*. To this must be added the expense of rebuilding the Arundel Tower, for which purpose the Chapter is empowered by Act of Parliament to raise 25,600*l*. by way of loan. Of this sum, 20,000*l*. has already been borrowed, and the remainder will probably be required for the completion of the work.

diversity of sentiment. On a question of so much importance, and opening so many considerations both of principle and detail, it will not be expected that I should give my opinions at length on this occasion. Nor am I disposed to examine the merits of the various plans, which have been proposed for the reform of the Church, the improvement of its constitution, the renovation of its discipline, or the regulation of its property. But I can truly aver, that from the hour in which I was called to an office, at all times of most awful responsibility, and more especially in these days of rebuke and peril, my attention has been fixed on the subject, with an earnest desire for the correction of abuses, and the removal of blemishes, yet with an anxious sense of the dangers attending a single false step. The Church, like all institutions under the direction of man; has unquestionably defects and imperfections. But that which at first sight offends, is not always wrong. Parts, which singly considered are pronounced to be faulty, may be found on a larger survey to possess a relative excellence, and to contribute by their bearings on the whole of the system to a beneficial result. A system again, far short of theoretic perfection, may be exquisitely adapted to the combinations of circumstances in this mixed state of things. In respect to the conduct of affairs more especially some allowance is necessary; and things really objectionable may possibly be altered for the worse, if we forget that perfection in wisdom and virtue is not the lot of man. With these reflections present to my mind, and looking to the claims of our Church to just veneration, from the character of its Clergy, and the services they have rendered to religion, to liberty, and to literature; from the beneficial influence of its principles on the institutions, the laws, and the manners of the Country; and from its prominent station as the bulwark of Protestantism in the Christian world, I am unwilling to hazard its safety by rash innovation, nor could I venture to act without full consideration of the probable consequences of any given change. These feelings have rendered me cautious, but, I trust, not inactive. Availing myself of useful suggestions from every quarter, I have made it my object not only to devise effectual remedies for real and acknowledged evils, but to remove all grounds of a dissatisfaction, which, whether founded in reason or not, has a tendency to defeat the success of our spiritual labours. And though my progress has met with obstructions from various causes, and especially from political excitement absorbing all other interests, I have seen nothing as yet to deter me from continuing my exertions in pursuit of the greatest attainable good, by the least violent methods. Whatever course I may take, I anticipate strong opposition, amidst the conflict of opinions which no man can have failed to observe, who has paid the slightest attention to the various projects which have issued from the press in regard to the concerns of the Church.

“ Among the friends of the Establishment, who wish to proceed on safe and constitutional ground, there are persons, highly respectable in talents and principle, who look to the removal of every difficulty through the medium of a Convocation, empowered to enter on the consideration of all Ecclesiastical matters, and to submit the result of their consultations to the Legislature. Most cordially should I assent to this propo-

sal, if, under the circumstances of the present crisis, I could anticipate any real advantage from such a measure. Among the works of Archbishop Secker is a speech composed for the opening of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in the year 1761, in which that eminent Prelate has treated the subject at some length, with his usual fairness and judgment, with cautious respect to what might be the feelings of his hearers, but with an evident bias to the negative side of the question. His arguments, which are chiefly derived from the probability that various parties, disagreeing in other respects, would unite their endeavours to discredit that venerable Assembly, and render its deliberations abortive, if conclusive at that period, are certainly more so at present, when the adversaries of the Church are multiplied in every direction—when they have the command of a far more powerful and far less scrupulous press—and much greater influence on the decisions of a body, whose sanction is requisite to give to the resolutions of the Synod the force of laws.” pp.—36—41.

The Archbishop observes,

“ The question of Pluralities, especially in their relation to non-residence, is of much greater real importance, and, if considered abstractedly, must undoubtedly be determined against the Pluralist; but the holding of more Benefices than one by the same individual has been always allowed under certain restrictions in our Church, with a view to the more liberal maintenance of its ministers, the encouragement of sacred learning, and the remuneration of professional merit. On no subject connected with ecclesiastical matters have the friends of the Church been more divided, while some persons object to the least alteration in the present system, and others contend for the entire abolition of Pluralities. After much consideration, I still retain the opinion, that the law, as it stands, allows an unjustifiable latitude, and yet I am persuaded that great inconvenience would be occasioned by falling into the opposite extreme. The measure, which has twice received the approbation of one branch of the Legislature, was framed on this view of the case, and, though dropped for the present, I still entertain the expectation that it will pass, with some modifications, in a future Session.”—pp. 42, 43.

A word of caution is added, respecting the line of conduct which it becomes the clergy to pursue in all matters connected with Church Reform.

“ Having trespassed long on your time, I shall trouble you with very few more words. But at a season when the Church is assailed by so many enemies, I cannot conclude without reminding you of the necessity of maintaining peace among ourselves, and good will one towards another. If the sense of the dangers which threaten us has the effect of extinguishing animosities, and uniting us more closely together in brotherly love, in the defence of the faith, and in the advancement of all good works, we shall thus far have reason to acknowledge that adversity and evil report are not without their blessings. But if the spirit of dis-

cord should prevail among the members of our profession, if groundless suspicions and jealousies should alienate the affections and withdraw the confidence of one part of our body from another, an advantage will be given to our adversaries, of which they will not be slow in availing themselves to our disgrace and ruin. To myself and those to whom I must look for advice and assistance, it is but justice to say, that having no interest apart from that of our fellow labourers in the Vineyard of Christ, we never have been, and, I trust, never shall be withheld by any selfish considerations, from acting to the best of our ability for the common good: being conscious of the purity of our motives, and the rectitude of our intentions, we conceive ourselves entitled in equity to a charitable interpretation of our proceedings, on the part of our Brethren whom we are anxious to serve; and we may reasonably expect that some deference should be paid to our judgment, by those who have less opportunity of determining what may best be attempted or forborne, who are imperfectly acquainted with the extent of our means and our powers, and who have not learned by experience the difficulties which almost always retard, and not seldom prevent the adoption of useful measures. With charity, patience, and prudence, with hearty desire to fill up the measure of our duty in our several stations, and humble supplication for grace, to give effect to our ministry, and to sanctify our lives, we have every reason to hope, that God will not abandon a Church, which, under the protection of his gracious Providence, has dispensed to so many generations the bread of life, and diffused the light of the Gospel to the most distant nations."—pp. 47—49.

In deference to this recommendation we abstain from discussing the various plans for Church Reform, which are now before the public. Ample opportunity will be given us hereafter for adverting to the subject. And we take leave of it for the present with two observations. In the first place, we trust that the Bishops will never consent to the vesting of Cathedral or any other Ecclesiastical property in the hands of lay commissioners. Such a measure, however well meant, must end in spoliation and robbery. In the second place, if the House of Commons pass a bill, putting an end to the Bishops seats in Parliament, had they not better add a clause abolishing the Church of England at once? If, which is barely possible, the House of Lords shall consent to such a measure, they will avoid a useless struggle, and give some eclat to the movement, by sending in their own resignations on the same day.

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**ART. XI.—A Charge addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, at his Third Visitation, August, 1832. By Henry Lord Bishop of that Diocese. London. Hatchard and Son. 8vo. 1832.**

**THE** principal objects of this Charge, as described by the prelate who delivered it, are, first, “the tenor and spirit of the parliamentary proceedings respecting the Church, the result of the survey of the statistics of the diocese, and the remedies calculated to remove palpable defects and urgent mischiefs, and to promote improvement;” and, secondly, the bestowing of “such personal animadversion or encouragement” as may be warranted and required.

Under the former of these heads, his Lordship adverts to the Tithe and Plurality Bills, but without giving any decided opinion upon their merits, or probable effects, and dwells subsequently, at some length, upon those portions of the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which have reference to Peculiars, and to Church Discipline, and speaks of the measures recommended by the Commissioners as well calculated to promote the ends of substantial justice, and vindicate the honour of the Church.

A melancholy picture is given of the effects of the Beer Bill; and the *Truck* Bill and *Factory* Bill are mentioned as being calculated to do much good in the manufacturing districts. The result of the Bishop’s statistical enquiries is contained in the following passage :—

“The next point of importance to which I have to draw your attention, as members of the ecclesiastical body, is one which comes still closer to our own feelings and immediate interests, and naturally awakens a still livelier sympathy and solicitude. It relates to the *statistical survey of the diocese*—that is, to the result of the series of questions with which I lately troubled you. I desire to acknowledge with thanks the apparent accuracy and fulness with which the answers have been generally made. And I am anxious, most especially, to seize this natural opportunity for expressing my obligations to the Arch-deacons of my diocese for the abundant labour and judicious care which they have bestowed upon the important and burthensome duties of their office. The scrutinizing personal inspection which they have exercised—the accurate and comprehensive inquiries which they have instituted—and the prudent and useful orders which they have issued, will, I am convinced, produce essential improvements in the various objects to which they have had to direct their attention. The clear and full epitome of particulars in their respective spheres of jurisdiction, in union with some admirable Charges, will as amply fulfil the part of the *oculus episcopi*, as their suggestions will discharge the office of his council in matters of local difficulty and trial. I have indeed found them such as they are described in the ancient writers—

συμβουλοι και συμπονοι.



“ The primary object that demands our notice, is the amount of the population, of which we have just obtained an account upon parliamentary authority. The ratio of the increase in England at large has been about fifteen and a half per cent. In my diocese, however, it has rather exceeded that amount. The number for which we, with our brethren of the Peculiars, are responsible to God, appear by the parliamentary returns to be 1,065,090 souls. An awful charge ! if we adequately appreciate the infinite value of one immortal soul, and the degree to which its bliss or woe eternal may depend upon ministerial faithfulness and devotedness, or ministerial error and neglect.

“ If we look to the average, perhaps it would give little more than one thousand six hundred to each minister—a number, however, in itself forming almost too weighty a cure of souls. But, in practice, the extreme and unfortunate irregularity in the distribution of the population lays upon some a burthen, under which even the most zealous and devoted minister might be tempted to despair ; while the comparatively light task assigned to others, might seem to afford the careless pastor an excuse for inactivity and worldliness. The number of parishes and districts, with their appropriate churches and chapels, having a population exceeding one thousand five hundred within the diocese, amounts to one hundred and sixty-six : and if the whole mass of their inhabitants be divided by that number, it gives an average of about four thousand seven hundred to each church.

“ The scanty income of many such benefices is too often in the inverse proportion to the duty required ; and therefore the pastoral work cannot but be sometimes inefficiently performed, to the serious injury of the church and people, or vainly attempted to the ruin of the health of the minister. On the other hand, the remaining districts, which have upon the average only about five hundred and eighty, are many of them too small to give scope to the exertions of an active clergyman.

“ Among the many causes of the grievous deficiency in the effects of an established ministry, which produces so much surprise, complaint, and even reviling, is this deplorable difference and disproportion in the amount and extent of our charges. A cause, however, it is, for which the parochial minister is not responsible, and which, with other unfavourable circumstances, elucidated by the survey under contemplation, cannot but go far to account for much that falls short of expectation, and to mitigate the severity of censure, where prejudice has not wholly blinded, or envy (Oh how ill-grounded envy !) perverted, the judgment. But further—the souls committed to our care are not only too often out of our reach in consequence of their *numbers*, but also in consequence of the *very inadequate degree of access afforded to them in the only place where our public ministrations can gain their attention*. The answers to my queries assign a capacity for about three hundred and twenty thousand to the places of worship connected with the establishment. This would afford accommodation for considerably less than one-third of our population, *if equally distributed*. But, under the very different circumstances which the large towns and populous districts of my diocese present, the deficiency is far more than that which has been stated. In

*Birmingham*, in spite of all that has been accomplished by successive most liberal grants of public money, not one-seventh of the population can be accommodated in our churches and chapels. In *Derby*, rather more than one-fifth; the same in *Coventry*, and in *Wolverhampton* not more. What numerous families, what densely-peopled alleys, what extensive quarters must too probably remain ignorant of their appointed minister, unconscious of his desires, and inaccessible to his efforts, for their salvation, and even almost unacquainted with his name!"—p. 26—31.

With regard to weekly and Sunday schools, the Bishop has to lament that the number of children falls much below its proper average; and he urges his clergy to increased exertions in this all-important work. The progress of his diocese in some other respects is encouraging.

"In the course of eight years, the number of non-resident incumbents is reduced in the proportion of about *one-ninth*, and yet the number of curates is somewhat increased. On the whole, there has been an increase of upwards of forty resident clergymen in the diocese. The number of churches and chapels, in which double duty was performed in 1823, was two hundred and sixty-three; in 1831 it was three hundred and fifty-four. This very essential benefit of double duty is therefore conferred upon ninety-one additional districts. Within that period twenty new churches have been consecrated, two entirely rebuilt, ten more have been built or are building; (of which five will be consecrated during this Visitation, and I hope two more, at least, during this year;) so that altogether, including the various enlargements which have been made with the aid of the *Society for Building and Enlarging Churches*, since the year 1823, additional room will have been afforded for nearly forty-five thousand, which is deemed a fair proportion for at least one hundred and thirty-thousand individuals.

"Two churches alluded to in my last charge, in the populous mining district of Shropshire, are still, I grieve to say, in suspense, but not, I hope, quite abandoned; and a new church, for one of the most destitute parts of the outskirts of Birmingham, is in progress, and will, I trust, be consecrated next year."—pp. 35, 36.

To this succeeds a strong recommendation of Visiting Societies, and of efforts for securing a better observance of the Lord's Day. The "individual exhortation" alluded to in the commencement of the charge, forms an animated and appropriate conclusion.

"The general system of doctrinal views, which appeared to me to be alone consistent with the voice of Scripture and with the sentiments and language of the ancient formularies of our Church, I have on former occasions laid before you with all the precision and with all the force of which I was capable. I have only now to recal to your minds, and that but for a few moments, the state of heart and the practical feelings which those views should produce. With what degree of well-grounded, sober, but heartfelt conviction, each of you made answer, at your ordination, to the solemn question of the Bishop, 'Do you trust that you are inwardly

moved by the Holy Ghost to take this office upon you?' With what sincerity and strength of purpose you have since devoted, and are now devoting, yourself to the faithful discharge of your office, I cannot venture to judge and pronounce. I only know, and earnestly warn you, that God judges not only by the outward appearance, but by the inward man; and that, as is the heart, the principle, the motive, so will the work be found, 'Gold, silver, precious stones, or wood, hay, stubble.' However, as far as outward evidences can warrant an opinion, I feel, thank God, that I have only 'to stir up the pure minds' of no inconsiderable proportion of my bearers, 'by way of remembrance.' The thoughts, the desires, the objects, the cares, the hopes, and the joys of the genuine pastor of Christ's flock are not unknown—are even familiar, dear, and precious to such men. You know in whom you place all your own trust, and through whom and to whom you have to draw all men for yours and their salvation. To you I have only to say, persevere in humble faith, in fervent prayer, in cautious watchfulness, and in strenuous exertion, and be then assured that 'your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.'"

To others, in various measures and degrees, I may have to address a more awakening stimulus, a more urgent call. Are any of you halting between two opinions, and striving to serve two masters? Are your public ministrations of a dubious cast and an uncertain sound? Are you preaching Christ, but with reserves of self-complacency and self-confidence—or exalting him alone, but without pressing the indispensable necessity of holy evidences of an interest in Him, his atonement, his sanctification? Do any of you lean in the week to a conformity with that world against which you protest on the Sabbath? Is your name in the list of frequenters of public dissipation, or does even social intercourse of a less questionable nature encroach upon the time due to your study or to your people? Do agricultural occupations engage more hours than can fairly be required by them, even as assistant to your support, or as an innocent and healthful exercise? Suffer the word of pressing but friendly admonition. I stand in doubt of such men. Look well lest your piety be too like the early dew. Your dawn begins to be overcast—your sun to be clouded. Beware lest it set in gloom. Awake from your sleep of supineness and false security, and call upon your God in Christ for pardon and grace. Strive in hearty prayer to begin a new, or (should there be a Demas amongst us) to resume a forsaken, course of real consistency and devoted obedience. Oh lose not the things which you have wrought, but secure even yet a full reward! Thus only may you still save yourselves, and them that hear you."

"May I not be addressing some one, who has wandered still further from the path of pastoral character and duty, and who is now—if not in the gall of bitterness, in the bond of iniquity—slave to some besetting sin, which paralyzes his ministry; and, if escaping as yet the animadversion of his superiors, owing his escape only to that utter thoughtlessness about religion, which his own conduct has produced in his flock, but which will only aggravate his everlasting damnation.

"I would gladly hope that I have no such character within the sphere of my jurisdiction; but, if I have, I would enjoin, I would conjure, I

would beseech him to pause in his downward road—to pray, while it is yet time, for repentance, reformation, conversion, as if he had never prayed before; to act, without one day's delay, upon his prayer; at one stroke to sever himself from his evil habits and evil company; to cut off the right hand and pluck out the right eye; lest, as he is, he descend into that place of torment, which awaits, above all men, the unworthy minister of the gospel of Christ. But if determined to rush forward in his broad road, oh let him deliver the Church by his retirement from the scandal of his example, and himself from every day's additional weight of ruined souls—to be required at his hands.”—pp. 42—45.

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*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester, delivered in July, 1832, at the Primary Visitation of the Right Rev. James Henry, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. Rivington. 1832.*

THE first portion of this charge is devoted to a subject at all times of great importance, and more especially interesting at the present moment,—an account, namely, of the number of resident incumbents in the Diocese over which the Prelate presides, and of the causes and cure of non-residence.

“ The residence of a minister among the people committed to his care is so obviously essential to the effectual and edifying performance of his various pastoral duties, that it would be waste of time to enter into any argument to prove what no reasonable person can dispute. The non-residence of a considerable portion of our parochial clergy has been termed the opprobrium of the Church of England: in this Diocese, as well as in some others, it ought rather to be called its misfortune; for, in nearly every case where a parish does not enjoy the benefit of a resident Pastor, the cause is to be found in the want of a parsonage-house. I observe that there are no less than seventy-five parishes which have no glebe-house whatever; and that there are forty-five others in which the house belonging to the living is not inhabited either by the incumbent or by the curate. In some of the latter cases indeed the evil might be, and ought to be, removed by the enlargement and improvement of the mansion; but in the greater part, the building termed the glebe-house, is a mere cottage, affording accommodation to the family of a day-labourer. After all deductions have been made, there remain above a hundred benefices in the Diocese entirely destitute of a residence, or any thing which can be converted into a residence, for the Pastor. In some of them, indeed, either the incumbent or the curate does find an abode in a hired house, or in lodgings within the limits of the parish; but in far the greater part of the cases to which I refer, not even this precarious accommodation is afforded to the Minister: he is in consequence compelled to live at a distance, and sometimes a considerable distance, from those among whom his duties require his constant presence, and who have, in fact, an undoubted claim upon his uninter-

rupted services and attention. I shall not dwell upon the hardship inflicted upon the parish, and the discredit brought upon the establishment, by a state of things which separates so many of the ministers from their parishioners, and makes their ministration much less effectual to the benefit of their cures than under other circumstances it might and would have proved. For an evil of so great magnitude there is no practicable remedy except the building or purchasing parsonage-houses. This has already been done in many instances, and in several parishes which have hitherto wanted a resident Pastor, the erection of suitable mansions is at this moment in progress, through the facilities afforded by the Gilbert Act, and the assistance of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. In all cases where the value of the living will bear the expense of building a residence for the incumbent, it is obviously my duty to require that recourse should be had to similar means with as little delay as possible. But here a difficulty of a serious nature interposes in the way of a measure so conducive to the benefit of the community: the income of far the greater part of the livings of which we are speaking does not amount to the annual sum of 150*l*. so unequal are they to bear the expense of building a dwelling house for the incumbent! This poverty of a large proportion of the benefices in my Diocese is the circumstance that has occasioned me more painful reflections than any other, ever since I was placed in this seat; it gives me concern to see so many of my brethren worse provided for than their station in society, their education, and their merits demand; while the same cause renders them less useful and efficient labourers in Christ's vineyard than it is their duty, and I believe their wish, to prove themselves: but I lament it above all, because it is difficult to discover any means by which this unhappy deficiency may be speedily and effectually removed.

“ In a matter however, of so much importance it would be wrong to admit despondency. I cannot despair of seeing those measures, which have been successful in some parishes, adopted in all where circumstances admit of no other remedy for the unquestionable evils of non-residence. Although the benefices themselves may be unable to bear the charge of building parsonages, yet it is to be hoped that the Patrons will in some cases be induced to contribute to that object; such contribution will be met with corresponding benefactions from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, whenever their regulations and their means will permit; and by these combined methods a suitable residence may be obtained for the minister even in the poorest benefices, and the never-failing consequences will be witnessed in the improved moral and religious condition of the parishioners. At all events, this state of deficiency must not be suffered to continue in perpetuity. Where no other resource can be found, and where the incumbent of one of these poor livings possesses other preferment, a small annual sum must be set apart from the income, to be invested as an accumulating fund for the erection of a parsonage-house at a future period. And when applications are made to me for licences of non-residence upon the ground of there being no glebe-house, I shall

feel it right to be satisfied that all practicable methods are adopted to obtain, either immediately or prospectively, a residence for the clergyman."—pp. 8—12.

Respecting pluralities his Lordship observes :

“ The subject of plurality of livings held by the same incumbent, is one which occupies, at the present time, a large share of public attention ; and is represented by those who are ill-informed respecting the real condition of the church, as an abuse of enormous magnitude. Whatever abuse may have any where existed in this practice will, I hope, be remedied for the future by the measures of the legislature. But in this Diocese we should look in vain for instances of pluralists enjoying excessive revenues, or such as are described to be unfitting the condition of a churchman. There are certainly many cases of two benefices being held by the same person ; but they are in most instances very small ones, and such as are singly inadequate to the decent maintenance of a clergyman. The poverty of so many preferments is the real evil which draws other bad consequences in its train : and it is to their improvement, up to a moderate amount, that we must look for the reformation of our Church in respect to pluralities. An Act of Parliament, which passed in the Session of 1831, has materially facilitated the improvement of livings in the patronage of Ecclesiastical persons or corporations, by enabling them to charge upon their estates an augmentation of the benefices with which they are respectively connected ; an enactment of which several Ecclesiastical patrons have already availed themselves. The property of the See of Gloucester is for the most part leased in such a manner that I could hardly effect any improvement in small livings by those methods, except such an one as would commence at a very distant period, and probably not till the present generation had passed away. It is my intention not to satisfy myself with prospective improvement, but to devote, from the present time, a tenth part of the revenue of my See to the augmentation of small benefices ; employing the sums so allotted in the manner most required by the circumstance of livings, and most likely to produce other improvements in their condition. The smallness of the endowment of my bishoprick occasions me regret only because the assistance which it is in my power to extend to this object, as well as to the building of churches, chapels, and school-rooms, and other matters essential to the cause of religion, cannot correspond with my own wishes, or with the real wants of the Diocese. But even my example may perhaps not be without effect : I entertain a strong hope that all Ecclesiastical corporations will adopt such measures as are within their reach for improving the smaller livings in their gift, either immediately or prospectively. I may here mention that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster have recently come to a resolution to augment, without any delay, all their livings which are below 200*l.* a-year in value, so as to raise them at least to that amount. In this Diocese indeed the greater part of the small benefices are in the patronage of laymen, who likewise possess the impropriations of the respective parishes. But it would be injustice to doubt the willingness of these persons, who enjoy so much of the original



endowment of the church, to do something towards the better support of the minister, upon whom the whole spiritual care of the parish rests. They cannot surely feel indifferent to the proper maintenance of the individual whose time and abilities are devoted to the moral and religious instruction of their families, their neighbours, and their tenantry. If we regard an advowson merely in the light of property, the patronage even of a small living, upon which there is a suitable residence for the incumbent, is a desirable object to the proprietor of the neighbouring estates; while the value of a neglected and houseless benefice is no more than the small difference between the amount of its income and the stipend of an officiating curate."—pp. 14—16.

The bishop proceeds to state that he shall require double duty to be performed every Sunday, in all cases where a clergyman has the care of only one parish—whether the population be great or small—and cautions his clergy against inattention and irregularity respecting the licenses of curate, testimonials, copies of registers, and bonds of resignation. The rules which his lordship proposes to observe respecting examinations for orders are thus explained.

"Having my mind deeply impressed with the importance of clergymen being themselves well versed in the Holy Scriptures, as well as in the writings which best elucidate their language and meaning, before they attempt to explain them to others, I shall consider it my duty to require a more extensive as well as a more exact description of knowledge than has usually been deemed sufficient to obtain admittance into our profession. In particular, a familiarity with the historical and doctrinal matters comprised in the whole of the Bible, an accurate and scholar-like acquaintance with the New Testament in the original language, with the evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, and with the Articles and some portion of the History of the Church, as well as such a knowledge of the Latin tongue as will enable its possessor to write or to translate correctly and classically, will be considered indispensable: nor can any person after this notice have the slightest ground to complain of hardship, if he offers himself while deficient in any one of these requisites, and experiences a rejection. To raise the standard of intellectual qualification among the clergy is not only expedient, but necessary, with a view to the present condition of our country. A great and manifest advance has been made in the acquirements of all degrees in society; the avenues to knowledge are now much wider than formerly; one of the requisite qualifications which I have just mentioned, a thorough acquaintance with the historical parts of the Scriptures, is no more than is found among the senior scholars in every well-taught National School. If, therefore, the clergy wish to maintain their relative station, and to possess the general respect and reverence as the public instructors, upon which, in truth, their usefulness greatly depends, it is necessary for them to make a corresponding advance in intellectual acquisition: their superiority in this respect over those whom they have undertaken to teach must be so conspicuous as to be generally acknowledged. In another

point of view, it is most desirable that every candidate for holy orders should have devoted a large portion of time to the studies proper to his profession. Such an employment of his talents and thoughts will furnish the best security that he does not embrace the clerical occupation lightly or hastily, or with views of worldly convenience and emolument: and the certainty that his mind has been long bent to the studies of religion, forms in itself a pledge that his heart and conduct cannot be uninfluenced by its principles. The increased facilities furnished by recent publications, which now smooth the course of the theological student, and the regulations of our universities, which serve to introduce him to the elementary studies of the profession during the course of his academical education, are additional reasons for insisting upon an improved standard of knowledge when he comes to his examination for the ministry. Should any diminution in the number of candidates be the consequence, it may be remarked that there are at present more who solicit admission into the Church than she can supply with occupation: but my long experience in the University has shown me that the demand for an enlarged sphere of information has not the effect of lessening the number of competitors at an examination. Upon the subject of candidates for orders, it may be convenient to add, that I shall henceforth expect all who mean to offer themselves at my half-yearly ordinations, to communicate to me their intention at least two months before Christmas-day or Trinity Sunday."—pp. 23—26.

The easiest, not to say the only method of defending the Church and her ministers against the assaults to which they are now exposed, is distinctly pointed out in the following passage:—

"Nor let any one imagine that the effect of his single efforts will be small or insignificant in averting the threatened calamity. The present is a crisis at which it is in the power of each parochial clergyman, by his individual conduct, to render signal service, or signal injury, to our Church establishment. Wherever a parish experiences the benefit of a serious and sedulous pastor, who preaches not himself, but *Christ crucified*; who spares not his labours that he may rescue the sinner from his evil ways; who, while he keeps himself unspotted from the world, exhibits in his own person the effect of pure and undefiled religion, *in visiting the fatherless and the widow in their affliction*; who shares his income with the poor, and gives to the public charities of his parish the still more valuable contribution of his assiduous care and attention; who superintends the education of his younger parishioners with a parental eye, and is the general friend and peace-maker of his flock: in a parish so circumstanced the adversaries of our church will find all their efforts baffled; the people, who behold among themselves the good effects of our apostolical religion in the improved morality and happiness of all classes, will turn a deaf ear to representations which malign and traduce her ministers. On the other hand, if a clergyman either procures the duty of his parish to be performed by another at a stipend perhaps scarcely greater than the wages of a menial, or serves it himself in such a fashion as though he regarded the Sunday as his day of work, and felt

at liberty for his amusements on the other days of the week; if he seizes upon, or invents excuses for absence; if he entertains no further regard for his cure than as the source from whence his income is drawn; if, when admonished by his superior to attend to his bounden duty, he considers neither the tenor of his promise made before God at his ordination, nor his solemn oath to pay obedience to his diocesan in all lawful and honest commands, but consults the opinion of some lawyer, whether or not there may be any summary means of obliging him to the discharge of his duty, and what are the penalties of his disobedience—such a person may be assured, that were any considerable portion of the clergy to be actuated by feelings like his own, the establishment of our church would not survive another year; and that he owes the preservation of the only part of it which he values, I mean his own revenues, to the very different principles and conduct of the majority of his brethren. On this point let us not deceive ourselves. The real and effectual safeguard of the Church of England is founded on the attachment of the people, which attachment will continue so long as they are convinced by experience of its usefulness and efficiency in promoting the true ends of its establishment. It is my sincere conviction that there never was a period at which the ministers of our church were more generally attentive to their duties, correct in their lives, ardent in their piety, and zealous in their spiritual labours than at the present moment. And this is, in truth, the consoling and encouraging circumstance which makes me look without dismay at the prospect, however it may be clouded, which now lies before us.”—pp. 30—33.

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ART. XIII.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean of Chichester, at the visitation holden in the Cathedral, June 13, 1832, by George Chandler, D.C.L. Dean of Chichester. Published at the request of the Clergy. London: Rivington. 1832. 8vo.*

THE chief subject of this address appears to us to have been selected with great judgment and good taste. In a primary charge delivered to the Clergy of a peculiar jurisdiction, Dean Chandler has taken occasion to describe the origin, and inconveniences, and to announce the approaching downfall of this and all such anomalous encroachments upon the regular course of Ecclesiastical Authority. Of the Ecclesiastical Courts in general we have the following brief but comprehensive history.

“I know not why we should hesitate to avow that our Ecclesiastical Courts have long seemed to require examination and revision;—and the historical and constitutional causes, which have rendered them imperfect, cannot but be familiarly known to you.

“With us, the Reformation of the 16th century took a very peculiar turn: in most other countries of Christendom, the opposition to the See of Rome was generated among the lower classes of community; and, as the rising spirit was weaker or stronger, it was either crushed by the superincumbent pressure from above, or was able to

shiver in pieces all the resisting force of ancient authority and usage. On the contrary, in this country, the Reformation took its rise in the highest regions of society ;—and, in its course, it visited a people, who rather followed than led it ;—who, in some instances, were even opposed to its progress and diffusion. This is a process, which had its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, a Reformation, so conducted, was never likely to be too violent and precipitate in its changes ;—it would naturally pursue its course with prudence and circumspection, and would desire, while it rectified some defects and introduced some improvements, to retain the main body and substance of the order of things previously established. On the other hand, it was liable to the danger of proceeding to work with a faulty timidity ;—of attacking corruptions and errors with too delicate a hand ; and (for we cannot expect human passions to be banished even from the work of religious improvement) of retaining some of the former abuses and corruptions, for the sake of the benefit thence accruing to the prevailing power.

We know, and, knowing also that God may direct the evil passions of men to useful purposes, we are not ashamed to confess, that our Reformation received its principal impulse from a Monarch, not only singularly selfish and heartless in his general disposition, but instigated even to this goodly work by the fermentation of a guilty passion. Desirous of avenging himself on the Pope, our Eighth Henry was resolute in his design to abolish every vestige of the papal authority in this country. At the same time, vain of his theological acquirements, he was unwilling that the nation should cast off more of the doctrinal errors of Popery, than he himself chose to renounce ; and, jealous of power and rapacious of wealth, he wished to transfer to himself as much as possible both of the prerogatives and of the revenues, which had belonged to the Bishop of Rome. Under these circumstances, it could not, perhaps, have been expected that any very sweeping changes should have been introduced into the general system of our ecclesiastical polity and discipline by the King.—And, to look to the other leaders of our Reformation,—more especially to Cranmer,—while we know him to have been singularly fitted for the peculiar and trying circumstances in which he was placed ; we also know that he was cautious and timid by nature, and was, moreover, taught circumspection by the conviction, painfully forced upon his mind, that he trod upon a narrow line, where the slightest deviation to the right or to the left would have plunged both himself, and the cause which he maintained, into irretrievable ruin. The short and unsettled reign of Edward afforded little opportunity for the complete adjustment of all the important questions, that required consideration. When the supremacy of the Church devolved upon Elizabeth, it devolved on one, not without a certain leaning toward the rights and ceremonies, if not to some of the doctrines, of the papal system ;—certainly opposed, with the most decided hostility, to the excesses and extravagancies of the Reformation. In the reign of her successor, when the redress of certain alleged faults in our ecclesiastical system began to be seriously canvassed, it was seen how widely the two parties were

separated from each other ; and, immoderate demand on the one side producing, on the other side, its sure effect of disinclination to make any concession, nothing was then done. And, with the exception of two or three abortive attempts at remedying some of the supposed evils, as little has been accomplished since that time. From these circumstances, it has been said, and said truly, that our Reformation never has been completed. Nor can it be denied that some anomalies mark and disfigure our ecclesiastical institutions. We have the singular spectacle of a body of Canons, binding upon the Clergy, but, because they have never obtained the sanction of parliament, possessed of no weight or obligation on the community at large. We have Courts claiming a right of cognizance over many important points, but proceeding to enforce their authority by processes, that are little suited to the temper of the present day, and that would be altogether impotent, were it not that the Civil Courts, although for the most part jealous of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, come in charitably to their aid, and give a certain validity and efficacy to their penalties. The same circumstances which prevented our whole ecclesiastical system from being thoroughly revised and reconsidered at the time of the Reformation, have left it also marked by some other peculiarities more or less inconvenient and hurtful. Thus, the antiquated theory that the goods of all intestate persons devolve to the Bishop of the Diocese, to be distributed for the use of the poor, has given to the episcopal courts the task of examining and authenticating wills ; a department of the law, I believe, in every other country left under the temporal jurisdiction ; and, with us, rendered still more intricate by the different rules that regulate the disposition of real and of personal property, and by the varying claims of the civil courts to interfere according to the nature of the property devised or bequeathed. Thus, to mention also a point, which claims our especial attention at this moment,—we have numerous instances of imperia in imperiis,—exempt and peculiar jurisdictions in the midst of regularly appointed authorities,—which, having originated in times of less accurate and strictly defined law, subsist to the present moment, and still continue to mar and interrupt the regular administration of any settled system of discipline. On the other hand, in consequence of the intermixture of our church with the state, and from the jealous vigilance of our courts of common law over any attempt to invade the right of property, spiritual persons, once possessed of benefices, are in great measure withdrawn from the control of their ecclesiastical rulers, and offences, which in every other church are easily punishable, may with us almost defy censure and correction.”—pp. 9—11.

The subject of *Peculiars* is subsequently resumed and disposed of, and this, as well as the observations upon the *Pluralities Bill*, are worthy of general consideration.

“Of these two points, I have indeed already alluded to one ; and it is one, which, from its very nature, I could never think of passing by in silence on an occasion like this. It is the decided recommendation of the Commissioners that all ecclesiastical places and persons, now subject

to any Peculiar Jurisdiction, should be brought under the superintendence and control of the Bishop and of the Archdeacon within whose sphere of authority they are locally situated. I cannot conceal from you that I think this a most wholesome provision. The present system of exemptions is full of inconvenience. Where the Peculiar belongs to an Archbishop, or another Bishop, some of the inconveniences of the system are avoided; but the parties still are withdrawn from the supervision of the person, whose proximity of situation is most likely to make him acquainted with their circumstances and their exigencies. When the jurisdiction belongs to any authority less than episcopal, the inconveniences become greater;—since the parties must often have recourse to an authority different from that of their own Ordinary for services, that can be performed only by a Bishop. And, as a more particular inconvenience, and one that has been rendered more glaring by some recent Acts of Parliament, passed with a view to improve the discipline of the Church, I may mention that, while the incumbent is still under the authority of the local Ordinary, the licensing and the whole superintendence of the Curate (within the same parish) belongs to the Bishop of the Diocese. In general also I believe it may be added, that, the smaller the local jurisdiction (and many are almost ludicrously small), the more objectionable they are. On all these accounts, I cannot bring myself to lament the proposed change, even by the recollection that it will affect myself, and that I shall be called on to relinquish a station, which, with some little influence, and some little emolument, is yet less pleasing to me on those accounts, than for the manner in which it connects me with the friends whom I see around me. Still, when I consider, not only the great and general advantages which are likely to accrue from this measure, but also the much more serious sacrifices that are cheerfully made by persons higher and worthier than myself;—in particular when I see the vast patronage that will be spontaneously surrendered by our excellent Primate;—I cannot offer any resistance or even feel any objection to the plan; and in retiring into comparative insignificance, I shall cheerfully say for myself—

‘*Explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris.*’

“The other point in the recommendations of the Commissioners to which I would call your especial attention, is, the greater facility which is intended to be given for the correction of delinquent Clerks. In a body so numerous as our Clergy, it is a gratifying consideration to observe how generally correct and unexceptionable is their conduct; and how seldom they are subject to the penal visitations of the law. Still, human nature forbids us to hope that, among so many, there should not be found some, whom even the obligation of their strict and sacred engagements does not restrain from wandering into heterodoxy, or even from lapsing into delinquency. In every other Christian Church there are some arrangements, by which such offenders may be punished, not only as trespassing against the general good order of society, but also against their own body, of which they are unworthy members. With us, however, it may almost be said that no such correctional power exists;—so onerous is the expense of proceeding legally against even the



most flagrant offender;—so numerous are the shifts and turns, by which he may evade, and the series of appeals and other delays by which he may protract, justice. At length, some very aggravated instances of this defective system have forced the matter upon the attention of the public; and among the most important of all the recommendations of the Commissioners, is, a facility proposed to be given for prosecuting clerical offences, both by remodelling the appellate jurisdiction, and also by giving to the Diocesan (a due regard to the fair liberties of the accused being still retained) a much more summary course of proceeding to correction and punishment. When these things are effected, I think we are likely to see the removal of some scandals, which now are seriously injurious to our Church; and these, added to some other measures, either in progress or intended to be taken, for the improvement of our system, may have the effect, if any thing can have the effect, of averting the fearful storms, that seem to gather over our heads and to threaten us with destruction.

“ Among the measures of improvement already in progress, I surely may venture to mention the bill, termed the ‘ Plurality Bill,’ now before parliament. In the case of so material an alteration in the practice of our church, it hardly can be expected that all opinions should agree. While some think that the changes go too far, others contend that they do not go far enough. If I might offer my own sentiments, I should say the measure steers a happy medium between rash innovation and a morose retention of ancient usage. And, to the latter class of objectors more especially, I would point out that the changes are by no means confined, as some would seem to suppose, to a new regulation respecting the distance at which two livings may be held. It is a very important change for the better, that, by the proposed law, not more than two livings can, under any circumstance, be held by the same person;—nor two, except by especial dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is also important that all livings will now be valued according to their real worth; and thus will be abolished that ancient and most fallacious standard of value, which, having been taken in the reign of Henry VIII., has been handed down to the present day, regardless of the change of circumstances which has since taken place in the same benefice, and even entirely omitting from its account all benefices that have been created since that time. At all events the measure should be taken, as it has been intended, as the commencement of a system by which the revenues of our church will be more nearly equalized; though never, I fervently hope, so equalized as to reduce them all to one low level, and thus to afford little inducement to dignified birth, to eminent talent, or to profound scholarship, to enter into the sacred profession.”—pp. 12—16.

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# STATE OF THE DIOCESES

## IN

# ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

### PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Canterbury.</b>			
Preacherships in Cath. } Church of . . . }	Canterbury .	{ J. E. N. Moles- worth and T. Bartlett . . }	The Lord Bishop.
St. Alphage, R. and } Northgate, V. . . }	Kent . .	— Sicklemore .	The Archbishop.
<b>York.</b>			
North Atterington, V. } and Thornton-le- Street, V. . . }	N. York .	F. Alex. Sterkey	Ch. Ch. Oxford.
Thornton in Craven, R.	W. York .	A. L. Lister Kaye	Sir J. L. L. Kaye, Bt.
<b>London.</b>			
Great Wigborough, R.	Essex . .	Godfrey Bird .	H. Bewes, Esq.
Highwood Hill, C. .	Middlesex .	Jos. Brown . .	W. Wilberforce, Esq.
Langford, R. . . .	Essex . .	C. Matthew . .	Mrs. Westcombe.
Wormley, R. . . .	Herts . .	Tho. Pickthall .	Sir A. Hume, Bart.
<b>Durham.</b>			
Bellingham, R. . . .	Northumb. .	R. Beatty . .	Govs. of Greenwich H.
Kimshaugh, P. C. . .	Northumb. .	Edward Brice .	V. of Simonbourn.
Stockton, V. . . .	Durham .	G. Newby . .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Bramshot, R. . . .	Hants . .	Lancelot Bellas .	Queen's Coll. Oxford.
Nutfield, R. . . .	Surrey . .	Edward Hughes	Jesus Coll. Oxford.

Preferment	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Chillington, P. C. } and Scavington, St. Mary, P. C. }	Somerset .	W. J. Bussell .	Earl Poulett.
Cutcombe, V. with Luxborough, C. . }	Somerset .	J. M. King . .	Lord Chancellor.
Chelwood, R. . . . }	Somerset .	Rich. Warner .	Lord Bishop.
Corston, V. . . . }		J. Morgan .	
Othery, V. . . . }		J. N. Shipton .	
Penselwood, R. . . }		J. Keal Biging .	
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Wells . .	Charles Crook .	
<b>Bristol.</b>			
Gillingham, V. . . .	Dorset . .	H. Deane . .	Bishop of Salisbury.
Iwerne Minster, V. .	Dorset . .	W. Blennerhasset	Dn. & Cans. of Wind.
Litton Cheney, R. . .	Dorset . .	James Cox, D.D.	Sir E. Kerrison, Bart.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Heapy, C. . . . .	Lancaster .	John Fisher . .	V. of Leyland.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Brighton, St. Margaret, C.	Sussex . .	J. R. Roper . .	V. of Brighton.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Chichester .	Wm. Turner .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Elp.</b>			
Arrington, V. . . .	Cambridge	St. John W. Lucas	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Boconnock, R. with Broad oak, R. . . }	Cornwall .	Arthur Tatham .	Lord Grenville.
Creacombe, R. and Mesham, R. . . }	Devon . .	W. H. Karslake	Rev. W. Karslake.
Exeter, Bedford Cir- cus, R. . . . }	Exeter . .	Wm. Scoresby . }	The Lord Bishop.
Leland Uny, V. . . .	Cornwall	Uriah Tonkin . }	
Plymouth, Charles, V.	Devon . .	Sept. Courtney }	Mayor & Commonalty of Plymouth.
Prec. and Preb. in Cath. Ch. of . . . }	Exeter . .	Tho. Hill Lowe .	The Lord Bishop.
Starcross, C. . . . .	Devon . .	W. Powley . .	D. & C. of Salisbury.
Stoke Canon, D. . . .	Devon . .	W. D. Napleton	Dean and Chapter.
<b>Gloucester.</b>			
Bicknor, English, R. .	Gloucester .	Edw. Feild . . }	Visitors of the Michel Found. Uni. of Oxf.
Lower Swell, V. . . .	Gloucester .	John Perkins .	
Newland, V. . . . .	Gloucester .	G. Ridout . .	Bishop of Llandaff.
<b>Hereford.</b>			
Brimfield, P. C. . . .	Hereford .	Geo. Pinhorn .	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Richfield &amp; Cobentry.</b>			
Birmingham, Ch. Ch. C.	Warwick .	J. G. Breay .	The Lord Bishop.
Hayfield, V. . . . .	Derby .	Samuel Wasse .	Resid. Freeholders.
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Bletsoe, R. . . . .	Beds. .	John T. Day .	Lord St. John.
Bygrave, R. . . . .	Herts .	Thos. Blackburne	Marq. of Salisbury.
Fleet Marston, R. . .	Bucks .	Israel Bull .	Lord Visc. Dillon.
Root, R. . . . .	Lincoln .	William Warren	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Mlandaff.</b>			
Eglwysbrewis, R. . .	Glamorg. .	Richard Bassett	J. D. Llewelyn, Esq.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Aldborough, R. . . .	Norfolk .	Rob. Shuckburgh	Lord Suffield.
Bagthorpe, R. . . . .	Norfolk .	R. Cattley . . }	The King.
Bradfield V. . . . .	Suffolk .	S. H. Alderson }	
Bradfield Combust, R. }	Suffolk .	H. J. Asted . }	Rev. Henry Hasted.
and Little Whelnet-			Marquis of Bristol.
ham, R. . . . . }	Norfolk .	T. S. Norgate .	Richard Reeve, Esq.
Brinningham, C. . . .	Suffolk .	W. W. Weddall	Earl of Stradbroke.
Darsham, V. . . . .	Suffolk .	James Cox, D.D.	Sir E. Kerrison, Bart.
Denham, V. with }			
Hoxne, V. . . . . }	Norwich .	Rob. Howlett }	Lord Huntingfield and
Dunwich, St. James, P.C.	Norfolk .	Samuel Barker .	Mich. Barne, Esq.
East Carlton, St. Peter, R.	Norfolk .	William Pratt .	Lord Chancellor.
Great Bircham, R. and }	Norfolk .	John Evans . .	A. Hamond, Esq.
Harpley, R. . . . . }	Norfolk .	Edward Wilkins	Clare Hall, Camb.
Hardingham, R. . . .	Norfolk .	Lord A. H. Hervey	King's Coll. Camb.
Hempstead, with }	Suffolk .	Thomas Currie .	Marquis of Bristol.
Leasingham, R. . . }	Norfolk .	C. B. Cooper .	Emmanuel Col. Camb.
Ickworth, with }	Norfolk .	Charles Smith .	R. Brans. Cooper, Esq.
Chedburg, R. . . . }	Suffolk .	C. M. Torlesse .	St. Peter's Coll. Camb.
Melton Parva, V. . . .	Suffolk .	N. J. Stubbin, jun.	Sir W. Rowley, Bt.
Morley, St. Botolph, R. }	Suffolk .	Robert Grier .	J. G. Sparrow, Esq.
with St. Peter, C. . }	Norfolk .	J. Deacon . .	Rev. Ben. Philpot.
Newton, R. . . . .			Corp. of Norwich.
Stoke-by-Nayland, V. .			
Ofston, R. with }			
Bricet, C. . . . . }			
Walpole, C. . . . .			
Walsham, St. Marg. V.			
<b>Oxford.</b>			
Elsfield, V. . . . .	Oxford .	Richard Gordon	Earl of Guildford.
Shireborne, V. . . . .	Oxford .	James Beauchamp	Earl of Macclesfield.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Peterborough.</b>			
Eye, P. C. . . . .	Northampton	James H. Stone	The Lord Bishop.
Fotheringhay, V. . . .	Northampton	Thomas Linton .	Miss Mary Belsey.
Northampton, All Saints, R. . . . .	Northampton	W. Wales . . .	The Corporation.
Southwick, V. . . . .	Northampton	R. J. L. Maydwell.	Walter Lynn, Esq.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Biddestone, St. Nich. } and St. Peter, R. . . }	Wilts . . .	Andrew Quicke .	Winchester College.
Helmerton, V. . . . .	Wilts . . .	John Guthrie .	The King.
Trowbridge, R. . . . .	Wilts . . .	Francis Fulford .	Duke of Rutland.
Prebend in Cath. Ch. of	Salisbury .	C. B. Pearson .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>St. David's.</b>			
Crickhowel, V. . . . .	Brecon . . .	Henry Vaughan .	R. of Crickhowel.
Llanrian, V. . . . .	St. David's	William Jones .	The Lord Bishop.
Pwllcrochon, R. . . . .	Pembroke .	John Smith . . .	The King.
Walton, East, P. C. . .	Pembroke .	Thos. Summers .	J. P. L. Phillips, Esq.
<b>Worcester.</b>			
Great Hampton, P. C. .	Worcester .	W. P. Powell .	Christ Church, Oxf.
Grimley, V. with } Hallow, C. . . . . }	Worcester .	J. Wm. Phillpots	Lord Bishop.
Shelsey Beauchamp, R.	Worcester .	Thomas Price .	Lord Foley.

## PREACHERSHIPS.

Chapman, Rev. Charles, to be Under-Minister of St. Peter's, Mancroft, Norwich.

Scobell, Edward, to the Chapel of St. Peter, in Vere Street, Patron, Earl Grey.

## CHAPLAINCIES.

Adlington, J. to be Chaplain to the Infirmary, Worcester.

Brown, George Augustus, to be Chaplain to the Gaol, Oxford.

Galton, J. L. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Roden.

Glennie, J. D. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Darnley.

Hood, Samuel, to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Panmure.

James, C. R. H., to be Chaplain to the House of Industry, Oxford.

Jennings, T. F., to be Chaplain to the Gaol, Bristol.

Wood, J. R. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Cambridge.

### SCHOOLS.

Aldrit, W., to the Headmastership of the Collegiate Grammar School, Wells, on the appointment of the Rev. F. Bradon, Chancellor of the Cathedral.

Birt, John, D.D., to the Mastership of the Free Grammar School at Feversham, Kent.

Bussell, W. J., to the Mastership of the Grammar School at Chard.

Dobson, W. Stephen, to the Head-

mastership of the Free Grammar School, Kirkby Lonsdale.

Hele, Fitz-Henry, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, to the Mastership of the Ashburton Free Grammar School.

Mornington, George, to the Mastership of the Grammar School, Monmouth.

Notley, Charles, to the Mastership of the Free Grammar School at Brandon, Suffolk.

### SCOTLAND.

#### PREFERRMENTS.

Donald Cameron to the Parish of Laggan, Presbytery of Aberlarp—Patron, the Duke of Gordon.

Robert Crawford, to the Parish of Irongray, (Assistant), Presbytery of Dumfries—Patron, R. A. Oswald, Esq.

Alexander Mc Kenzie, to the Parish of Oban Chapel, Presbytery of Lorn.

M. Campbell Mc Kenzie, to the Parish of Lasswale, (Assistant), Presbytery of Dalkeith—Patron, Sir George Clerk.

A. Cairns, to the Parish of Dunboig, Presbytery of Cupar.

P. Fahy, to the Parish of Simple and Minnagh.

T. Loftus, to the Parish of Shruel.

—Leitch to the third Parish of Stirling.

John Innes to the Parish of Fordyce.

John Paton to the Parish of Ancrum.

Dr. Fleming to the Parish of Clackmannan.

John Hunter, to be one of the Ministers of Tron Church, Edinburgh.

Adam Cauns, to the Parish of Dunboig, Presbytery of Cupar—Patron, the King.

Peter Jolly to the Parish of Cannisby, Presbytery of Caithness.

The Rev. Dr. Dewar has resigned the Tron Parish of Glasgow, on being appointed Principal of the Mareschal College, Aberdeen.

#### EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Rev. David Thomas Kerr Drummond, B.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, and late Curate of Compton, near Bristol, has been appointed Minister of St. Paul, Car-rubber's Close, Edinburgh.

Rev. Michael Russell, D.C.L. to the Deanery of the United Diocese of Edinburgh, Fife and Glasgow.

The Scotch Episcopal Church has recently received particular remarks of attention and respect from the Church of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury having desired copies of the different forms of prayer, composed by order of his Grace, to be sent to the respective Bishops in Scotland, for distribution among their clergy.

### IRELAND.

His Grace the Archbishop of Cashel has been pleased to make the following appointments in his diocese:—The Rev. Mungo N. Thompson to succeed to the Prebend of Kilbragh, vacant by the death of the Rev. George Forster; the Rev. W. E. Lloyd to the Prebend of Fennor, vacant by the promotion of the Rev. M. N. Thompson; the Rev. A. Edwards to the Vicarage of Ballysheehan, vice Rev. J. M. Poole, promoted to Athapell; the Rev. H. Armstrong to the Rectory of Erry; the Rev. G. Peacock to the Perpetual Curacy of Holy Cross, vice W. E. Lloyd, promoted. The Rev. Arthur Herbert is in-

stituted to the valuable Union of Castle Island, held by the late Lord Brandon. Mr. Herbert has appointed Messrs. Weir, Drew, and Beatty, Curates, with £500 a-year each.

The Lord Lieutenant has appointed the Rev. Thomas Houston Barton to the Rectory of Feighcullen, in the diocese of Kildare, vacant by the melancholy death of the Rev. George Houston.

The Archbishop of Cashel has given to the Rev. Mungo Lord the Living of Templetoohy, County Tipperary, held by the late Rev. G. Forster.



## ORDAINED.

## DURHAM.

By the Lord Bishop of Bristol.—Oct. 7.

## DEACONS.

Thomas Albert, Catharine Hall, Camb.  
Robert Belaney, St. Bees College.  
R. G. L. Blenkinsopp, B. A. Trinity  
College, Cambridge.

R. Collinson, B. A. Queen's Coll. Camb.  
C. Rapier, B. A. Trinity Coll. Dublin.  
H. Vane Russell, B. A. Corpus Christi  
College, Oxford.

Isaac Spooner, B. A. Clare Hall, Camb.  
Edm. Wills, B. A. Queen's Coll. Camb.

## PRIESTS.

F. Bainbridge, B. A. Cath. Hall, Camb.  
P. Barlow, B. A. Queen's Coll. Oxford.  
John Fox, B. A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.  
J. W. Harman, B. A. Caius Coll. Camb.  
M. Plummer, B. A. Jesus Coll. Camb.  
John Rogers, Catharine Hall, Camb.  
Wm. Smith, B. A. Trinity College, Oxf.

## BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop.—Dec. 9.

## DEACONS.

J. Burnett, B. A. St. Edm. Hall, Oxf.  
R. R. Campbell, S. C. L. Trin. Hall, Camb.  
W. J. Fussell Edwards, B. A. Queen's  
College, Cambridge.

R. Palainet, B. A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.  
C. Penny, B. A. Pembroke Coll. Oxf.  
J. R. Bogue, B. A. Christ Coll. Camb.  
T. G. Griffith, B. A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.

## PRIESTS.

Sir Wm. Dumbard, Bart. S. C. L. Mag-  
dalen Hall, Oxford.

Chas. Wm. Henry Evered, B. A. Corpus  
Christi College, Cambridge.

T. Garrett, B. A. Queen's College, Oxf.  
John Gaskin, B. A. St. Edm. Hall, Oxf.  
Harry Jehy, B. A. St. Alban Hall, Oxf.  
H. D. Wickham, M. A. Exet. Coll. Oxf.

## CARLISLE.

By the Lord Bishop.—Sept. 23.

## DEACONS.

Chris. Benson, B. A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.  
Mich. David, B. A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.

## PRIESTS.

William Sandford, Lit. St. Bees.  
Jos. H. Whitelock, Lit. St. Bees.

## EXETER.

By the Lord Bishop.—Oct. 28.

## DEACONS.

Antony Buller, B. A. Oriel Coll. Oxf.  
J. B. Clyde, B. A. St. John's Coll. Camb.

Thomas Bennett Edwards.

N. J. B. Hole, B. A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.  
W. Nattle, B. A. St. Peter's Coll. Camb.  
S. Lowthrop, B. A. Queen's Coll. Camb.  
Philip Somerville.  
W. M. Stracy, B. A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.  
S. Whiddon, B. A. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.

## PRIESTS.

William Barker.

Edward Carlyon.

Wm. Davy, B. A. Exeter College, Oxf.

C. B. Gould, B. A. Magd. Coll. Camb.

John White Johns.

W. H. Karslake.

Henry Whittington Landon, M. A.  
Worcester College, Oxford.

Frederick Grueber Lugard, B. A. St.  
John's College, Cambridge.

T. W. Martyn, M. A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.

F. J. Newall, B. A. Trinity Coll. Camb.

F. W. Pye, B. A. Queen's Coll. Camb.

H. B. Snooke, B. A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.

A. Tatham, B. A. Magd. Coll. Camb.

F. Vidal, B. A. Caius College, Camb.

## HEREFORD.

By the Lord Bishop.—Sept. 23.

## DEACONS.

R. Fawcett, B. A. Peterhouse, Camb.

T. Green, B. A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.

O. Phillpotts, B. A. St. John's Coll. Oxf.

J. Steward, B. A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.

J. F. Turner, B. A. Christ Coll. Camb.

Geo. Thos. Whitfield, B. A. St. John's  
College, Oxford.

Thomas Woodward, B. A. St. John's  
College, Cambridge.

## PRIESTS.

Jas. R. Brown, B. A. Emm. Coll. Camb.

David Jones, B. A. Jesus Coll. Oxford.

Nathaniel Levett, B. A. Jesus Coll. Oxf.

G. F. Lewis, B. A. Magd. Coll. Camb.

H. F. Mogridge, B. A. St. John's Col-  
lege, Cambridge.

Wm. Moore, B. A. Chr. Ch. Coll. Oxf.

G. Pinhorn, B. A. St. Edm. Hall, Oxf.

Alex. Stewart, M. A. St. Alban Hall, Oxf.

P. H. Symonds, B. A. St. Edmund  
Hall, Oxford.

J. P. Taylor, B. A. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.

Wm. Williams, B. A. Jesus Coll. Oxf.

## LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

By the Lord Bishop.—Nov. 11.

## DEACONS.

Edw. Bagnall, B. A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.

Geo. Barton, M. A. Brasenose Coll. Oxf.

J. S. Broad, B.A. St. Edm. Hall, Oxf.  
C. F. Broadbent, B.A. Bras. Coll. Oxf.  
H. Hogarth, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxf.  
John Little, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxf.  
Jas. Ralph, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxf.

PRIESTS.

Geo. Bird, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxf.  
A. De la Mere, Caius College, Camb.  
J. R. Drake, B.A. Christ Col. Oxf.  
C. Smith, B.A. Trinity College, Camb.  
H. G. Walsh, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop.—Sept. 23.

DEACONS.

W. Acworth, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.  
John Ball, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.  
T. T. Champres, B.A. Mert. Coll. Oxf.  
T. L. Clarkson, B.A. Ch. Coll. Camb.  
Geo. Cotton, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.  
E. Durnford, B.A. King's Coll. Camb.  
John Fisher, B.A. Brasenose Coll. Oxf.  
J. E. Golding, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.  
H. Hastings Harrington, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.  
T. N. Jackson, B.A. Ch. Coll. Camb.  
Joshua Laycock.  
T. M'Calmont, B.A. Worc. Coll. Oxf.  
W. E. Partridge, B.A. Bras. Coll. Oxf.  
G. E. Prescott, M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.  
Wm. Rogers, Catharine Hall, Camb.  
John Taylor, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.  
W. Tyrrell, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.  
John Weighell, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.  
John P. Wilson, B.A. Magd. Coll. Oxf.  
F. J. W. Woodyear, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS,

W. H. Apthorpe, B.A. Chr. Coll. Camb.  
H. Battiscombe, M.A. King's College, Cambridge.  
C. C. Beatty, M.A. Clare Hall, Camb.  
W. J. P. Bedford, B.A. St. John's Coll. Cambridge.  
W. Bromehead, B.A. Linc. Coll. Oxf.  
Alfred Cox, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxf.  
W. Druke, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.  
H. W. Hockin, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.  
John Kay, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxf.  
W. G. Moore, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.  
J. C. Morphew, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.  
F. Reade, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.  
J. H. Stuart, B.A. Trinity College, Oxf.  
J. H. Talbot, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.  
Edward Thomas.

LLANDAFF.

By the Lord Bishop.—Oct. 14.

DEACONS.

James Sydney Darvell, Lit.  
R. Evans, B.A. Jesus Coll. Oxf.  
James Frederic Secretan Gabb, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.  
Edw. Dodderidge Knight, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.  
J. Llewellyn, B.A. Jesus Coll. Oxf.  
William Leigh Morgan, Lit.  
Thomas Gosselyn Smythies, Lit.  
John Tighe Wells, B.A. University College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

George Neale Barrow, (*let. dim.*) B.A. University College, Oxford.  
Edw. Stanley Bosanquet, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.  
David James, Lit.  
Edward Price, Lit.  
Arthur Williams, Lit.  
Wm. Williams, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

By the Lord Bishop.—Oct. 7.

DEACONS.

Thomas Jennings Ball, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.  
Richard Bond, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.  
Joseph William Charlesworth, B.A. Peterhouse College, Cambridge.  
B. L. Cubitt, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.  
William Duck Daniel, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.  
Edward Thomas Daniell, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.  
Edmund Saul Dixon, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.  
N. R. Drake, B.A. Trinity Coll. Camb.  
Lord A. C. Hervey, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.  
Robert Kemp.  
Henry Edward Knatchbull, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.  
Henry Tho. Lumsden, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.  
Edward Thurlow Minty, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.  
George Henry Porter, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.  
Charles Johnson Snape, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.  
J. Snelgar, St. John's College, Camb.

Charles Sparke, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Richard Chevenix Trench, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

George Edwards Cooper Walker, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

William Wayman, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

T. D. Holt Wilson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Yelloly, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

#### PRIESTS.

Wm. Wayte Andrew, B.A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Charles Chapman, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

J. Comyns, B.A. Trinity Coll. Dub.

Wm. Corbould, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

H. Corles, B.A. Trinity Coll. Camb.

Samuel Fisher, B.A. Trinity Col. Dub.

William French, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

Robert Gorton, M.A. Jesus Col. Camb.

T. W. Greaves, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

J. Jackson, B.A. Catharine Hall, Cam.

R. Jackson, B.A. Queen's Col. Camb.

W. Littlehales, B.A. Exeter Col. Oxf.

Thomas Lloyd, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

R. Mann, B.A. St. John's Col. Camb.

T. S. Norgate, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

Joseph Potter, M.A. Trinity Col. Dub.

T. H. Say, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

Henry Sims, B.A. Pembroke Col. Oxf.

J. M. Williams, B.A. Christ Col. Cam.

R. Wilson, B.A. Emmanuel Coll. Camb.

#### PETERBOROUGH.

By the Lord Bishop.—Oct. 28.

#### DEACONS.

D. Brent, B.A. University Col. Oxf.

D. T. Knight, B.A. Lincoln Col. Oxf.

E. Rolles, B.A. Pembroke Col. Oxf.

T. M. Wetherell, B.A. Trinity Col. Dublin.

#### PRIESTS.

Charles Clark, B.A. Queen's Col. Cam.

E. S. Greville, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

Lord A. C. Harvey, M.A. (*let. dim.*) Trinity College, Cambridge.

H. J. Hasted, B.A. (*let. dim.*) Magdalen College, Cambridge.

W. H. Hughes, B.A. Lincoln Col. Oxf.

T. F. Layng, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

C. H. Swaun, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

#### ROCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop.—Nov. 4.

#### DEACONS.

W. W. Ellis, M.A. Brasenose Coll. Oxf.

W. Marsh, B.A. Pembroke Coll. Camb.

#### PRIESTS.

Edwin Hotham, B.A. New Coll. Oxf.

T. W. Meller, (*by let. dim.*) B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

#### SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop.—Oct. 21.

#### DEACONS.

W. A. Bathurst, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

T. T. Carter, B.A. Christ Church College, Oxford.

C. W. Everett, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

R. Leigh, B.A. Brasenose Coll. Camb.

John Marriott, B.A. Oriel Coll. Oxf.

J. T. Toye, B.A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.

J. F. Witty, Lit.

#### PRIESTS.

F. T. J. Bayly, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

William Dyer, B.A. Jesus Coll. Oxf.

T. V. Fosbery, B.A. Trinity Coll. Dub.

T. A. Honblon, B.A. Oriel Coll. Oxf.

W. Maskelyne, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

T. Maurice, B.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.

S. R. Spicer, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.

D. H. T. G. Williams, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

#### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

On Sunday, September 9, in virtue of a special commission issued by the Bishop of London, the two following gentlemen were admitted into the Holy Order of Priesthood, by the Right Rev. the Bishop of CALCUTTA.

H. G. Pauncesote Cooke, B.A. of Exeter College, Oxford.

E. Judge, M.A. Trinity Coll. Camb.

The ceremony took place in the Dutch Reformed Church, which was kindly lent by the Synod for the occasion.

## DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Canterbury.</b>			
Rochester, St. Marg. V. } and Hinxhill near } Ashford, R. . . }	Kent . .	J. Griffiths, D.D. }	Sir J. C. Honeywood, Bt.
<b>York.</b>			
Barton-in-the-Street, R.	N. York .	Thomas Lund .	
Boynton, P. C. and } Carnaby, V. . . }	E. York .	Thomas Simpson	Sir W. Strickland, Bt.
Filey, C. . . . .	E. York .	Evan Williams .	H. Osbaldeston, Esq.
Kirkby Misperton, R.	N. York .	Hon. H. Duncombe	Lord Feversham.
<b>London.</b>			
Chignall, St. James, } and St. Mary, R. } with Mashbury, R. }	Essex . .	Jas. Shinglewood	Mr. Shinglewood.
St. Olave's, V. and } St. Martin's, R. . }	London . .	R. Hamilton, D.D.	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Chelwood, R. and } Corston, V. . . }	Somerset .	W. Henry Quicke	The Lord Bishop.
Cutcombe, V. with } Luxborough, C. . }	Somerset .	George Nibbs .	Lord Chancellor.
Huish Champflower, R.	Somerset .	William Darch .	Sir J. Trevelyan, Bt.
Queen Charlton, C. } Keynsham, R. . . }	Gloucester .	Keyword Tusker }	T. Harris, Esq. &c. D. of Buckingham.
<b>Bristol.</b>			
Bristol, St. Philip and } Jacob, V. and } Chaplain of the } Gaols of Bristol . }	Bristol . .	William Day .	Corporation of Bristol.
Lydlinch, R. and } Pentridge, R. . . }	Dorset . .	Thos. Hobson . }	John Fane, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Heapy, C. . . . .	Lancaster .	Thomas Rebanks	Vicar of Leyland.
Wath, C. . . . .	York . .	John Richardson	Marq. of Ailesbury.
Wigan, R. . . . .	Lancaster .	Hon. G. Bridgeman	Earl of Bradford.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Chalvington, R. and } Hooe, V. . . . . }	Sussex . .	Thos. Fuller . }	J. T. Fuller, Esq. Sir G. Webster, Bart.
Finden, V. . . . .	Sussex . .	John Hind, D.D.	Magd. Coll. Oxford.
Peasemars, V. . . . .	Sussex . .	John Lettice, D.D.	Sidney Coll. Camb.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Brixham . . . . .	Devon . .	J. B. Goodwin .	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Gloucester.</b>			
Bicknor English, R. .	Gloucester .	Tho. Marwood .	Queen's Coll. Oxford.
North Nibley, P. C. .	Gloucester .	Tho. Jones . .	Ch. Church Oxford.
<b>Hereford.</b>			
Rateinghope, C. . .	Salop . .	J. Hawkins . .	Rev. J. Hawkins.
<b>Lichfield &amp; Coventry.</b>			
Chaddesden, C. } Spondon, V. with } Locker, C. and } Standley, C. . . . }	Derby . .	J. F. S. F. St. John }	H. Gilbert, Esq. W. D. Lowe, Esq.
Loppington, V. . . .	Salop . .	Richard Parker .	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Baldock, R. . . . .	Herts . .	J. Simpson, D.C.L.	Lord Chancellor.
Bletsoe, R. . . . .	Beds. . .	John Leete . .	Lord St. John.
<b>Llandaff.</b>			
Bryngwyn, R. . . .	Monmouth	William Gray .	Earl of Abergavenny.
Eglwysbrewis, R. . .	Glamorg. .	Edward Morgan	J. D. Llewelyn, Esq.
Eglwysland, V. . . .	Glamorg. .	Howell Williams	Arch. & C. of Llandaff.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Aldeburgh . . . . .	Norfolk . .	David Reid . }	Duke of Norfolk to a Fell. of St. John's Coll. Camb.
Ashbocking, V. . . .	Suffolk . .	Henry Lawton .	Lord Chancellor.
Morley, St. Botolph & } St. Peter, R. and } Talconeston, R. . . }	Norfolk . .	John Howard . }	Mrs. Warren.
Newton, R. . . . .	Suffolk . .	John Whitehurst	Peterhouse, Camb.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Hermitage, V. . . . .	Dorset . . . . .	Thomas Hobson	Lord Chancellor.
Hilmarton, V. . . . .	Wilts . . . . .	Thomas Jones .	The King.
<b>St. David's.</b>			
Llanrian, V. . . . .	Pembroke . . . . .	William Roberts	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Peterborough.</b>			
Fotheringhay, V. . . . .	Northampton . . . . .	Robert Linton .	Thomas Belsey, Esq.
<b>Rochester.</b>			
Hinckshill, R. . . . .	Kent . . . . .	J. Griffiths, D.D.	Dn. & Ch. of Rochest.
<b>Worcester.</b>			
Powick, V. and Severnstoke, R. } Preb. in Cath. Ch. of }	Worcester . . . . .	J.F.S. F. St. John }	Earl of Coventry. The Lord Bishop.

On Thursday, Nov. 15, the Hon. and Right Rev. RICHARD BOURKE, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, D.D. of Christ Church, Oxford. His Lordship was born April 22, 1767 ; took his Degree of M.A. July 10th, 1790, and D.D. by Diploma, Nov. 10, 1813.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Addison, Joseph . . . . .	Rodwell, near Plymouth.
Berthomier, Robert . . . . .	Professor of French at Eton College.
Burston, Francis . . . . .	Scale Bar Hall, near Otley.
Cochrane, John . . . . .	Minister of Hawick, Scotland.
Gibbs, Henry . . . . .	Late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.
Godfrey, Henry, D.D. . . . .	Pres. of Queen's College, Cambridge.
Grey, Hugh Wade . . . . .	Bushmead Priory, Herts.
Howels, William . . . . .	Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Long Acre, London.
Keyden, J. . . . .	Minister of Dunborg, Scotland.
M'Morine, Dr. Wm. . . . .	At the Manse of Carlaverock.
Panter, Philip . . . . .	Nettlecombe.
Percival, John . . . . .	Minister of St. Peter's Chapel, Mary-le-bone, and Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.
Richardson, John . . . . .	Master of the Endowed Grammar School at Wath, Yorkshire.
Veysey, Hon. and Rev. Arthur, Incumbent of the Parishes of Abbeyleix and Ballymahay, Ireland.	



PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITIES.

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OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

Oct. 31.

Rev. W. Jackson, late Fellow of Queen's College.

Edward Parker, Oriel College.  
Rev. R. Morgan, Scholar of Jesus Coll.  
Rev. William Bowling, Jesus College.  
George Bland, M. A. of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*.

Oct. 31.

Daniel Fawdrey, Fellow of Brasenose College.  
Rev. Frederick F. Beadon, Oriel Coll.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Oct. 11.

Rev. Jas. Chas. Stafford, Fellow of Magdalen College.

Dec. 13.

Rev. Joseph Loscombe Richards, Fellow of Exeter College.

Nov. 15.

Rev. E. Rion Berens, St. Mary Hall.  
Rev. John Bell, University College.  
Rev. Edward Ashe, Balliol College.  
Rev. Robert Martyn Ashe, Trinity Coll.  
Rev. Thomas Patteson, Exeter College.  
Rev. Edward Meade, Wadham College.  
Rev. Henry Flesher, Lincoln College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 11.

Rev. Kyrle Ernle Money, Oriel College, Prebendary of Hereford.

Nov. 22.

T. Shaw, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.  
Rev. Henry Purrier, Worcester College.  
R. W. Goodenough, Student of Christ Church

Oct. 17.

Rev. William Hunt, Wadham College.  
Thomas Halton, Brasenose College.  
Frederick Biscoe, Student of Christ Church.

Rev. H. Partington, Student of Christ Church.

Nov. 29.

John Spink, Wadham College, Grand Compounder.  
Rev. John James Vaughan, Merton College.  
Albert Mangles, Merton College.

Oct. 25.

Chris. William Puller, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.  
Rev. John Duncombe Shafto, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.  
J. R. Hall, Student of Christ Church.  
Atkinson Alex. Holden, Christ Church.  
Rev. C. Baring, Christ Church.  
Travers Twiss, Fellow of University College.

Dec. 6.

Rev. David J. George, Scholar of Jesus College.  
Rev. Ernest Adolphus Waller, Brasenose College.

Rev. George D. Grundy, Brasenose College.

Rev. William Drake, Lincoln College.

Rev. John Perry, Balliol College.

Rev. Andrew Douglas Stacpoole, Fellow of New College.

*Dec. 13.*

Thomas Clutton, Fellow of New College.

Rev. George Taylor, Exeter College.

**BACHELORS OF ARTS.**

*Oct. 10.*

George White, Exeter College, Grand Compounder.

Francis Henry Talman, Magdalen Hall.

*Oct. 25.*

Hon. J. T. Pelham, Christ Church.

William Reed, Queen's College.

T. F. Barker, Brasenose College.

W. F. White, Trinity College.

Alfred Menzies, Scholar of Trinity College.

*Oct. 31.*

John Niblett, Exeter College.

John Hale Murray, Worcester College.

*Nov. 7.*

The Earl of Lincoln, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.

William Hamilton Howley, New Coll.

H. Blackall, Student of Christ Church.

Charles Blakely Brown, Trinity Coll.

*Nov. 15.*

G. Scott, Exeter College, Grand Compounder.

T. Hughan, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

Nicholas Ford Chudleigh, Magdalen Hall.

William de Pipe Belcher, Magdalen Hall.

Granville Wheler S. Menteth, Magdalen Hall.

Edward Golding, Brasenose College.

William Robert Grove, Brasenose Coll.

G. Brewster Twining, University Coll.

The Marquis of Douglas, Christ Church.

James Robert Hope, Christ Church.

A. H. Dyke Ackland, Christ Church.

Henry Glynne, Christ Church.

Thos. Astley Maberley, Christ Church.

Edward Samuel Lewis, Christ Church.

James D'Affleck, Christ Church.

John L. Popham, Wadham College.

Thomas Garrett Bussel, Wadham Coll.

John Wills, Wadham College.

John Davis, Jesus College.

Richard Henry Goolden, Queen's Coll.

James Buller Kitson, Exeter College.

Nicholas Fras. Lightfoot, Exeter Coll.

John Bramall, Exeter College.

Walter Sheppard, Exeter College.

James F. E. B. Pollock, Exeter Coll.

William Baker Trower, Exeter College.

Thomas Yard, Exeter College.

Thomas L. Trotter, Lincoln College.

F. W. Wykeham Martin, Balliol Coll.

Thomas Simkinson, Balliol College.

R. F. Bute Richards, Balliol College.

Edward Frederic Smith, Balliol College.

G. Grove Waddington, Fellow of New College.

Herbert Hill, Fellow of New College.

George Benjamin Caffin, St. John's College.

Thomas Ratcliffe Barnes, Worcester College.

Thomas Carter, Worcester College.

Francis P. Sockett, Pembroke College.

Robert William James, Pembroke Coll.

William Hooker, Pembroke College.

William Pridden, Pembroke College.

*Nov. 22.*

Richard John Uniacke, St. Alban Hall.  
W. Hastings Martin Atkins, University College.

Muirhead Mitchell, University College.

Augustus E. C. Strickland, University College.

G. Garbett, Scholar of Brasenose Coll.

Edward Jones, Scholar of Brasenose College.

Edmund Smith Ensor, Brasenose Coll.

A. Bedford Orlebar, Scholar of Lincoln College.

Samuel Henry Walker, Fellow of Balliol College.

Charles Marriott, Scholar of Balliol College.

Thomas Batchelor, Magdalen Hall.

W. Bathurst Bradford, Magdalen Hall.

Thomas William Carr, Merton College.

George Cardew, Exeter College.

*Nov. 29.*

Charles Boys, Scholar of Merton Coll.  
William Harrison, Scholar of Brasenose College.

Thomas William Allies, Scholar of Wadham College.

James Philip Keigwin, Scholar of Wadham College.

Henry Freeman Cheshire, Wadham College.

George Thomas Clare, Fellow of St. John's College.

William Fronde, Oriel College.

*Dec. 6.*

John Ridout Harvey, St. Alban Hall.

George Henry Somerset, St. Mary Hall.

John Douglas Giles, Exhibitioner of Corpus.

Richard Gill Macmullen, Scholar of Corpus.

William Pearson, Scholar of University College.

James William Middleton Berry, Brasenose College.

James William Macdonald, Christ Church College.

Alfred James Peter Lutwyche, Queen's College.

Ellis Mere, Queen's College.

Stephen Charles Denison, Scholar of Balliol College.

William Hurdis Lushington, Oriel Coll.

William Spooner, Oriel College.

#### MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

##### ELECTIONS.

*Dec. 12.*

In a Convocation, holden for the purpose of choosing two Burgesses to represent the University in Parliament, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. D.C.L. of Christ Church, and Thomas Grimston Bucknall Estcourt, Esq. D.C.L. of Corpus Christi College, were unanimously elected. The former was nominated by the Very Rev. the Dean of Christ Church, the latter by the Rev. the President of Corpus.

*Oct. 8.*

In Convocation, by letters from Lord Grenville, Chancellor of the University, the Rev. George Rowley, D.D. and Master of University College, was appointed Vice-Chancellor for the ensuing year in the room of the Rev. Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, who retires, after having filled that office for four years.

The new Vice-Chancellor nominated the following Heads of Houses as Pro-Vice-Chancellors for the ensuing year.—

Dr. Jenkins, Master of Balliol College.

Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College.

Dr. Gilbert, Principal of Brasenose College.

Dr. Bridges, President of Corpus Christi College.

*Oct. 17.*

The Rev. Wm. Goddard, M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, was nominated a Pro-Proctor for the current year, in the room of Wm. Falconer, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College.

*Oct. 11.*

The Rev. E. C. Quicke, B.C.L. Founder's Kin Fellow of New College, was elected a Fellow of Winchester College, in the room of Dr. Berkeley, deceased.

*Nov. 3.*

The names of the following gentlemen were proposed in Convocation as Select Preachers, commencing at Michaelmas next, and unanimously approved:—

Rev. Charles Wm. Stocker, D.D. Vice-Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

Rev. William Parker, M.A. Fellow of New College.

Rev. Charles Atmore Ogilvie, M. A. Fellow of Balliol College.

Rev. Henry Jenkyns, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College.

Rev. William Palmer, M.A. Worcester College.

The name of the Rev. Henry Reynolds, M.A. of Jesus College, recently nominated a Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, was submitted to the House, and unanimously approved.

*Nov. 20.*

The Rev. John Allen Giles, M. A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, was admitted Fellow of that Society.

The following gentlemen were elected Fellows of All Souls' College:—Frederick Anson (Student) and Arthur Isham, B.A. Christ Church, and Folliott Baugh, B.A. of Exeter College.

*Nov. 22.*

Joseph Walker, Esq. Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, was elected Probationary Fellow of Brasenose College.

*Oct. 15.*

Charles Wadham Diggle (being of kin to the Founder), and Edward Whitehead (of the county of Somerset), were admitted Scholars of Wadham College.

Oct. 30.

Mr. James Hill was admitted Scholar of New College.

Mr. Henry Jones and Mr. Joseph Martin, of Jesus College, were elected Scholars of that Society.

Nov. 27.

William Steward Richards, A.B. was elected Scholar of Jesus College.

Nov. 29.

Messrs. John Wickers and Henry Holder were elected Scholars, and Messrs. L. S. Barnwell, A. O. Fitzgerald, and T. B. Morrell, were elected Exhibitioners of Balliol College.

Dec. 4.

Mr. Bennett Williams, of Trinity College, was elected an Exhibitioner on the Fitzgerald foundation in Queen's College; and on the same day Mr. Edwin Meyrick was elected an Exhibitioner on the foundation of Sir Francis Bridgman.

Dec. 7.

Mr. George Markham Giffard was admitted Scholar of New College.

Dec. 10.

Mr. Henry Fawcett, of University College, was elected to an open Scholarship in that Society, on the foundation of Mr. Browne; and Mr. John Brenchley to a Scholarship attached to Maidstone Grammar School, on the foundation of Mr. Gunsley.

Oct. 17.

In Convocation the sum of £50 was granted from the University chest, in aid of the subscription towards defraying the expenses of the Board of Health during the late prevalence of cholera in the city and suburbs of Oxford.

*Magdalen Hall.—Lusby Scholarships.*

The late Mr. Henry Lushy, of Narestock, Essex, having left some estates to the University in trust for the promotion of sound and religious learning in Magdalen Hall, in such manner as the President of Magdalen College and the Principal of Magdalen Hall, for the time being shall direct, the President and the Principal have determined to found in Magdalen Hall Three Scholarships, open to all Undergraduate Members of the University of Oxford, who are not under four or

above eight terms standing from their matriculation. The election of the first Scholar will take place next term.

About Midsummer last Sir Wm. Heathcote made a proposition to give a prize of £30 in books to the Scholars and Commoners of Winchester College, of the præpositors and the senior part of fifth, to be awarded the first week in December, after an examination in Theology, the Greek and Latin languages, Ancient History, and Mathematics. It was understood to be the wish of the Hon. Baronet that Theology should have the precedence. In compliance with the arrangement of the liberal donor, the competition for the prize commenced on Tuesday. The Examiners, who came from Oxford expressly for the occasion, were the Rev.C. Awdry, of New College, and the Rev.G. Moberly, of Balliol. Previous to the examination, Mr. Head, Tutor of Merton, intimated that he had at his disposal a Post-Mastership, which he would present to the successful candidate. The number of competitors was thirty, and after three days of anxious perseverance in the Election Chamber, the prize was awarded to Mr. Hickley, a Commoner Prefect, son of Mr. Hickley, of Portsmouth. Honourable mention was made by the Examiners of the great merits of Messrs. Baker and Turner, both of whom are likewise Commoners.

Mr. B. L. Watson, a scholar of Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester, has been elected to the Townsend Exhibition at Pembroke College; also Mr. Arthur Morgan, son of the Rev. M. W. Morgan, Curate of Icomb, Worcestershire, has been elected an Exhibitioner from Campden School to Pembroke College on the same foundation.

The names of the candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in this Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the Four Classes of *Literæ Humaniores*, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each class, prescribed by the Statute, are as follow:—

*First Class.*

Allies, Thomas, Wadham College.  
Boscawen, Lord, Christ Church Coll.  
Bruce, Hon. James, Christ Church College.

Denison, Stephen, Balliol College.  
 Giles, J., Corpus Christi College.  
 Lushington, William, Oriel College.  
 Marriott, Charles, Balliol College.  
 Maule, George, Christ Church College.  
 Osnam, Nutcomb, Exeter College.  
 Wall, Henry, St. Mary Hall.

*Second Class.*

Berry, James, Brasenose College.  
 Gardner, George, Exeter College.  
 Laxton, William, Trinity College.  
 Lutwyche, Alfred J. P. Queen's Coll.  
 Macmullen, Richard Gill, Corpus Christi College.  
 Somerset, George, St. Mary Hall.  
 Spooner, William, Oriel College.  
 Thornton, Charles, Christ Church Coll.  
 Walker, Samuel H. Balliol College.  
 Were, Ellis, Queen's College.

*Third Class.*

Barnes, Rodolph, Christ Church Coll.  
 Cheshire, Henry, Wadham College.  
 Clare, George, St. John's College.  
 Elwell, William, University College.  
 Froud, William, Oriel College.  
 Harrison, William, Balliol College.  
 Larkin, Edward, Trinity College.  
 Macdonald, James, Christ Church Coll.  
 Monck, J. Brasenose College.  
 Orlebar, Arthur, Lincoln College.  
 Pearson, William, University College.

*Fourth Class.*

Acland, Arthur, Christ Church Coll.  
 Barrow, Thomas, Albion Hall.  
 Bramhall, John, Exeter College.  
 Carter, Thomas, Worcester College.  
 Douglas, Hon. Marquis, Christ Church College.  
 Ensor, Edmund S. Brasenose College.  
 Garrick, George, University College.  
 Geary, Francis, Christ Church College.  
 Hilton, Henry, Worcester College.  
 Hinkman, Edward, Exeter College.  
 Hodson, George, Magdalen Hall.  
 Hooper, William, Pembroke College.  
 Hope, James R. Christ Church College.  
 Hornby, William, Christ Church Coll.  
 Hughan, Thomas, Balliol College.  
 Leslie, Charles, Christ Church College.  
 Pulteney, Richard, Balliol College.

Rickards, Robert F. Balliol College.  
 Rushout, George, Christ Church Coll.  
 Sarjeant, Robert, Magdalen Hall.  
 Spencer, John L. Worcester College.  
 Stanley, George, Christ Church Coll.  
 Uniacke, Richard, St. Mary Hall.  
 Whorwood, Thomas H. Magdalen Coll.  
 Williams, Robert, Oriel College.

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 The names of the Candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in this Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the four Classes of *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each Class, prescribed by the Statute, are as follow:—

*First Class.*

Cardew, George, Exeter College.  
 Froude, William, Oriel College.  
 Maberley, Thomas A. Christ Church College.  
 Maule, George B. Christ Church Coll.  
 Orlebar, Arthur, Lincoln College.  
 Rickards, Robert F. Balliol College.

*Second Class.*

Acland, Arthur, H. D. Christ Church College.  
 Hughan, Thomas, Balliol College.  
 Marriott, Charles, Balliol College.  
 Walker, Samuel, Balliol College.

*Third Class.*

None.

*Fourth Class.*

Martin, Francis Wykham, Balliol Coll.  
 Williams, Robert, Oriel College.

—  
 In pursuance of the will of the late Keane Fitzgerald, Esq. an exhibition of 60*l.* a year, open to natives of Middlesex, and tenable, under certain conditions, for seven years, has been founded in Queen's College.

Lord Viscount Folkestone, eldest son of the Earl of Radnor, Lord Viscount Maidstone, Lord Viscount Loftus, and the Hon. Granville George Leveson Gower, have been admitted as noblemen of Christ Church College.

## CAMBRIDGE.

### DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

#### DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

Nov. 28.

James Johnstone, Trinity College.

#### BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Nov. 14.

The Rev. Thomas Webster, of Queen's College, vicar of Oakington, in this county.  
Rev. Charles Davies, St. John's Coll.

Nov. 28.

Rev. Geo. Wilkinson, St. John's Coll.

#### HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Nov. 2.

Thomas Spring Rice, Trinity College.

Nov. 14.

Hon. Robert Devereux, Downing Coll.

Nov. 28.

Hon. W. C. Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Trinity College.

#### MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 10.

Charles Lestourgeon, Trinity College.  
A. A. Barker, St. Peter's Coll. (Comp.)  
The Rev. Henry Parsons, M.A. of Balliol College, was admitted *ad eundem* of this University.

Nov. 2.

Rev. Rich. Bond, Corpus Christi Coll.  
Rev. Weedon Butler, Trinity College.  
Robert Buckley, St. Peter's College.  
Rev. W. Sidgwick, Trinity College.

Nov. 14.

Rev. James Wollen, St. John's College.  
Rev. Wm. J. Dampier, St. John's Coll.

Nov. 28.

John W. Lubbock, Trin. Coll. (Comp.)  
Leonard Thompson, Trin. Coll. (Comp.)  
Samuel Marindin, Trinity College.  
Philip W. Ray, Clare Hall.  
William Preston Hulton, Downing Coll.

#### BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Oct. 10.

Richard John St. Aubyn, Trinity Coll.  
John George Bellingham, Trinity Coll.  
Charles John Stock, Trinity College.  
Thomas Nattle Grigg, St. Peter's Coll.  
Frederick A. Glover, St. Peter's Coll.  
John Richard Bogue, Christ's College.  
James Barry, Queen's College.  
John Hibbert, Fellow of King's Coll.  
Robert H. Wilkinson, Fellow of King's College.  
George William Barron, St. John's Coll.  
George Peter Bennet, Catharine Hall.  
The Rev. Henry Parsons, M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, was incorporated a member of this University.

Nov. 2.

William Hodgson, Queen's College.  
John Crosby Umpleby, Queen's Coll.

Nov. 14.

Arthur Brooking, Trinity College.  
Gregory Bateman, Trinity College.  
William Purdon, St. John's College.  
Robert Thorley Bolton, Clare Hall.  
Donatus L. Hotchkin, St. John's Coll.  
Edward Nettleship, Corpus Christi Coll.  
Thomas Allbut, Catharine Hall.  
William Rogers, Catharine Hall.  
Thomas Penruddocke Michell, of Merton College, Oxford, was incorporated Master of Arts of Downing College in this University.

Nov. 28.

William J. Hawart, St. John's College.

#### BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.

Nov. 2.

Rev. H. J. Williams, St. John's Coll.

#### BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.

Nov. 2.

George Shann, Trinity College.

Nov. 28.

William Lowndes, Trin. Hall. (Comp.)  
Rev. R. Mellor Hope, Trinity Hall.



Rev. Henry Banks Hall, Trinity Hall.  
Theodore Wirgman, Trinity College.

and Douglas Denon Heath, B.A. of Trinity College, were elected Fellows of that society.

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**MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY  
INTELLIGENCE.**

**ELECTIONS.**

*Dec. 12.*

The Right Hon. Henry Goulburn and the Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, of Trinity College, were elected representatives in Parliament for this University.

*Oct. 12.*

The Caput for the ensuing year:  
The Vice-Chancellor, (Dr. Webb, Clare Hall.

William Chafy, D.D., Sidney Sussex College, Divinity.

James Geldart, D.C.L., Trin. Hall, Law

J. Cope, M.D., St. John's Coll., Physic.

Edward John Ash, M.A., Christ's College, Sen. Non Regent.

J. Graham, M.A., Queen's Coll. Sen. Reg.

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**PROCTORS.**

*Oct. 10.*

Rev. George Skinner, M.A. Jesus Coll.  
Rev. Henry Howarth, M.A. St. John's College.

**MODERATORS.**

H. Philpott, Esq., M.A. Catharine Hall.  
J. Hymers, Esq. M.A. St. John's Coll.

**SCRUTATORS.**

Rev. Littleton Charles Powys, B.D. Corpus Christi College.  
Rev. John Harding, M.A. King's Coll.

**TAXORS.**

Rev. J. A. Barnes, M.A. Trinity Coll  
Rev. C. Currie, M.A. Pembroke Coll

**PRO-PROCTORS.**

*Oct. 12.*

Rev. John Graham, B.D. Jesus Coll.  
Rev. H. J. Rose, B.D. St. John's Coll.  
Joshua King, Esq. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, has been, by virtue of a royal dispensation, elected President of that society.

*Oct. 1.*

Joseph Mann, B.A., Thomas Borrow Burchan, B.A., Thomas Wilkinson, B.A.,

*Nov. 4.*

The Rev. William Webb, D.D. Master of Clare Hall, was elected Vice-Chancellor for the year ensuing.

The Rev. Humphry Senhouse Pinder, M.A. Junior Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, was elected a Senior Fellow of that society.

*Nov. 14.*

John Mills, jun. Esq. B.A. of Pembroke College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that society.

*Nov. 21.*

Robert Birkett, M.A. of Emmanuel College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that society.

The following gentlemen have been elected Scholars of St. John's College:—

T. Radcliffe.	Saunders.
Crewze.	Quirk.
Langdon.	Bullock.
J. Taylor.	Gipps.
E. Huxtable.	Bryer.
Pound.	G. W. Marsh.
Andras.	Cooke.
J. Thompson.	W. Jendwine.
Chambers.	G. Jendwine.
Massey.	Walmesley.

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**GRACES.**

Graces to the following effect have passed the senate:—

*Nov. 2.*

To appoint Mr. Graham of Jesus College, and Mr. Jackson of St. John's College, Classical Examiners of the Questionists who are not Candidates for Honours.

*Nov. 14.*

To appoint Mr. Gibson of Sidney, Mr. Martin of St. John's, Mr. Soames of Trinity, and Mr. Field of Trinity, Examiners for the Classical Tripos in 1833.

To appoint Mr. Fendall of Jesus, Mr. Keeling of St. John's, Mr. Joseph Watkins Barnes of Trinity, and Mr. Currie of Pembroke, Examiners of the Previous Examination in Lent Term, 1833.

To appoint Mr. Martin of Trinity, Mr. Murphy of Caius, Mr. Garnons of Sidney, Mr. Tinkler of Corpus Christi, Professor Henslow of St. John's, and Mr. Yate of St. John's, Examiners of the Questionists in January, 1833.

The Vice-Chancellor having received from the solicitor of Geo. Buxton Browne, Esq. a proposal to appropriate £2,000, free of legacy duty, part of a bequest left to the said George Buxton Browne, in trust, by the Rev. John Crosse, late of Bradford in Yorkshire, "for promoting the cause of true religion," and to transfer the said sum to the University for the purpose of founding Three Theological Scholarships to be under the following regulations:—

1. That they be called "The Crosse Scholarships."

2. That the candidates for the same be Bachelors of Arts, in the first year from their degree; and that such scholarships be tenable till the scholars attain the standing of the Masters of Arts, viz. for three years.

3. That the first elections be so arranged as to make one of them vacant yearly for ever; and for this purpose, that at the first election the persons elected be a Junior, a Middle, and a Senior Bachelor.

4. That the annual examination and election take place in the Michaelmas term after the division of the said term.

5. That in case of any vacancy of a scholarship before the person is of Master of Arts standing, that at the next annual election a Bachelor of Arts of the same year with the scholar so vacating be elected into his room.

6. That the sum of £2,000, proposed to be transferred to the University be vested in Government Securities, in the name of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, the annual interest arising from the same to be divided equally among the three scholars.

7. That electors to be the Vice-Chancellor, the Margerate Professor of Divinity, the Regius Professor of Divinity, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, the Regius Professor of Greek, the Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and the Professor of Arabic.

8. The examination to turn upon a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in their Original Tongues, Hebrew and Greek, of Ecclesiastical History, of the earlier and later Heresies, and such other subjects of useful inquiry as may be thought most likely to assist in the formation of valuable characters, fitted to sustain and adorn "the cause of true religion."

At a congregation on Tuesday, Dec. 4, a grace passed the Senate, agreeing to ac-

cept the aforesaid proposal, subject to the above regulations. —

At a meeting of the Observatory Syndicate it was stated, that at a sale of certain property at Balsham, a short time previous, a lot, consisting of two inclosures of arable land, was purchased by Mr. E. M. Smith, who found it to be situate very near the Plumian Homestall, and nearly surrounded by the land belonging to that estate. Mr. Smith, therefore, purchased the lot, under an impression that the University might deem it a desirable addition to the Plumian estate. The Syndicate agreed that it was highly desirable that the lot should be purchased as a permanent addition to the Plumian estate, and a grace has passed the Senate, agreeing to grant the necessary sum to the Plumian Trustees from the common chest.

The Marquis of Granby; the Viscount Melgand; the Hon. Geo. Murray, eldest son of Lord Glenlyon; the Hon. Charles Maynard, eldest son of Lord Maynard; Lord Claud Hamilton; Lord John Beresford; the Hon. Orlando Forrester; and Sir John Nelthorpe, have been admitted members of Trinity College.

## PRIZES.

The Seatonian Prize (for the best poem on *The Plague Stayed*) has been awarded to the Rev. T. E. Hankinson, M.A. of Corpus Christi College.

The subject of the Norrisian prize essay for the ensuing year is, "*The conduct and preaching of the Apostles an evidence of the Truth of Christianity.*"

### *Chancellor's Gold Medal.*

[For the encouragement of English Poetry, to such resident Under-graduates as shall compose the best Ode or the best Poem in heroic verse.]

Subject for the present year:—

"Delphi."

### *Members' Prizes.*

Subjects for the present year:—

#### *For the Bachelors.*

"Quænam præcipue sint labentis imperii indicia?"

#### *For the Under-graduates.*

"Utrum Servorum manumissio in Insulis Indorum Occidentalium confestim facta plus boni aut mali secum afferat?"

*Sir Wm. Brown's Medallists.*

Subjects for the present year:—  
 For the Greek Ode, "Thermopylæ."  
 For the Latin Ode, "Romanorum mon-  
 umenta in Britannia reperta."  
 For the Epigrams, "Prope ad summum  
 prope ad exitum."

*Person Prize.*

Subject for the present year:—  
 Shakspeare, King Richard II. Act iii.  
 Scene 2, beginning—  
*K. Rich.* "—— Know'st thou not,  
 That when the searching eye of heaven is  
 bid."  
 And ending—  
 "For heaven still guards the right."

The following is a list of the resident  
 Members of Cambridge University be-  
 longing to each College:—

	In Commons.	In Lodgings.
Trinity .....	465	241
St. John's .....	331	107
Queen's .....	123	74
Caius .....	91	36
Christ .....	80	8
St. Peter's .....	79	17
Emmanuel .....	77	7
Corpus Christi .....	69	8
Jesus .....	64	4
Catherine Hall ..	59	27
Magdalen .....	59	5
Clare Hall .....	54	2
Pembroke .....	43	—
King's .....	34	—

Sidney .....	31	12
Trinity Hall .....	24	2
Downing .....	14	3
	1697	553
In College, 1,144. In Lodgings, 553.		
Matriculations (Mich. Term), 283.		

**SCOTLAND.**

*University of Glasgow.*—On Thursday,  
 November 15th, Henry Cockburn, Esq.,  
 his Majesty's Solicitor-General for Scot-  
 land, was unanimously re-elected Lord  
 Rector for the ensuing year. The Lord  
 Rector of this University is not appointed  
 by the Senatus Academicus, but by the  
 whole body of Matriculated Students.

*University of Edinburgh.*—The Chair of  
 Natural Philosophy is vacant by the death  
 of Sir John Leslie, who expired on the 3d  
 November, at his seat of Coats in Fife; it  
 is in the gift of the Town Council.

*University of St. Andrew's.*—The Rev.  
 David Scot, M.D. Minister of Corstor-  
 phine, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh,  
 has been appointed Professor of Oriental  
 Languages.

*University of Aberdeen.*—The Lord Vis-  
 count Arbutnot has been re-elected Lord  
 Rector of King's College for the ensuing  
 year; and R. W. Duff, Esq., James  
 Urquhart, Esq., and Charles Baunerman,  
 Esq., Assessors.

THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
Quarterly Theological Review,  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1833.

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ART. I.—*Theological Library, No. III.—History of the Reformed Religion in France.* By Edward Smedley, M.A., Late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Vol. I. London. Rivingtons. 1832.

ALL vegetable substances, it is well known, are liable to four distinct processes, previously to their final decomposition. There is, first, the saccharine fermentation; then there is the vinous fermentation; next follows the acetous fermentation; and, lastly, comes the putrefactive fermentation; the issue of which is the dissolution of the material into its primitive elements. It is possible that human societies may be subject to a series of processes, somewhat analogous to those which occur in the vegetable kingdom: and, without attempting to trace out this analogy, we shall be content to remark, that some sort of fermentation—(we know not exactly what—but certainly not the *saccharine*)—seems, at this moment, to be going on throughout the whole mass of the great European community. Most assuredly, whether for good or evil, the principles of change are, in this country, manifesting themselves with an activity, which portends a new and untried combination of the social ingredients. And tremendous is the bubbling of the cauldron, produced by their operation: and prodigious is the “double, double, toil and trouble” of the wise men who are assembled round it: and whimsical and fantastic, beyond all former example, both in colour and in shape, are the sprites, which are perpetually rising up out of the mystic “gruel,” as it works, and are mingling, while they may, in antic dance, and wanton evolution. Such is their number, that their name, of course, might properly be called Legion. In this, however, the imps rejoice not, so much as in another character, wherein they glorify themselves, and which they seek, as it would appear, to

impress upon the period which gives them birth. We have all heard of the Age of Gold—and the Age of Silver—and the Ages of Brass and Iron. But the present may more fitly be called the “Penny” Age: for this is the very title which is, most generally, written on the forehead of these swarming familiars. In the strength and virtue of this sign, they go forth to conquer: and, in this, they hope to bear down the ponderous attributes, which, hitherto, have been vulgarly ascribed to the successive eras of mankind. And the language of their triumph is—

Id,'—ὡς σθένουσι πανταχοῦ δὲ ὠβόλω!

We are not, however, inclined to look with absolute dismay and despair upon this “small infantry” of the powers of the air: partly, because there are, among them, forms which wear no sinister or malicious aspect, and which even seem, by their countenance and bearing, to speak of peace on earth, and good will towards men;—and, partly, because there occasionally rises up, with them, out of the “charmed pot,” a shape of superior dimension, dignity, and substance, prepared, as it would seem, “deftly to show its office,” and ministry, in behalf of all that is venerable, and honest, and lovely, and of good report. From the presence of these brighter and more noble apparitions, we would willingly gather, that other powers, besides the principalities of evil, may have their part and lot in conducting these ominous preparations. If the magicians of Babylon the Great had it all their own way, it is to be feared that the air might either be darkened with the legions of their swarthy and unclean spirits; or else that it might be haunted with false and treacherous phantoms arrayed like angels of light. As it is, however, we are ready to hope and trust that an antagonist agency of good is likewise at work upon the busy alchymy of the times; and that, after all, they who are for us shall, eventually, turn out to be more than they who are against us. Only, let it be always remembered, that the wizards and cunning men, with whom we have to do, are not given to slumber; and that nothing but watchfulness, and diligence, and, we must add, prayer, will avail, on our part, to counterwork and neutralize their enchantments.

To talk somewhat more prosaically of this matter;—among the encouraging phenomena to be found, in this day of compendious publications, we may very justly reckon the volume now before us. Mr. Blunt has recently furnished us with a masterly sketch of the History of the Reformation in England: and we are now indebted to Mr. Smedley for a similar good office towards the same cause in France. If the whole of his undertaking shall be executed with the talent and the spirit which have presided over this first part, it may be doubted whether the

task could, by possibility, be committed to better hands. In the first place, the style of Mr. Smedley is remarkable for its terseness and perspicuity,—qualities of signal importance in historical composition. He, moreover, appears to have a complete mastery over his materials. Extensive and various as they are, he surveys them without perplexity or confusion, and marshals them into orderly, compact, and luminous narrative. It requires no ordinary strength of judgment, and felicity of execution, thus to extract their essence from the vast accumulations of former annalists and compilers, and to present it in a form that shall be acceptable both to the profound student, and the more general reader. One grand secret of Mr. Smedley's success we take to be, that he has been engaged upon a favourite region of research. It is very easy to perceive that he has been animated, throughout, by a spirit of warm devotion to his work. He writes, indeed, apparently without much effort, and with perfect composure and self-possession. But it is impossible to peruse a single chapter without discerning proofs of that familiarity with every department of his subject, which is to be acquired by none but those who are enamoured of their task. There has, evidently, been no need for him to lash himself up to an encounter with his business; and the result has been a clear, attractive, and interesting account of French Protestantism, such as may be said to supply a *desideratum* in our national literature. We are aware of no publication which comprises so much valuable and connected information, relative to this department of history, within so manageable a compass.

Mr. Smedley says truly, that no part of Christendom has undergone severer trials for the sake of truth, than Protestant France; and that none, therefore, may reward our inquiries with a richer harvest of varied and attractive interest. It is true that in France, as elsewhere, the *protest* was, at first, not so much against the abominations and sorceries of the spiritual Babylon, as against her crown of pride,—her purple and fine linen,—her rapacity, which fattened on the marrow of kings,—and her impudent monopoly in the gainful traffic of priestcraft. But the assault upon these outworks of the Papacy effected, in time, a *breach in the wall*, through which men began to look into the interior *chambers of imagery*, and to gaze, with indignation and astonishment, at *the still greater abominations* that were done therein. We find, accordingly, that the same authorities, which had condemned, as false and scandalous, the pretences by which Tetzel was replenishing the treasury of the Vatican, denounced the opinions of Luther as calling for refutation, not by process of argument, but only by the “infallible artillery” of bonds and fire. But then, we also

find, that the *new learning*, whose attack went, direct, to the spiritual strong-hold of Romish corruption, soon after found its way to the diocese of Meaux. The persecution which followed, in 1525, drove Faber to Navarre, and Farel to Geneva, (where he became the friend and colleague of Calvin,) and was further rendered memorable by the martyrdom of Jacques Povent, who was burned alive on the Grève, and may, perhaps, be considered as the Protomartyr of the French Reformation.

In the course of the next four years from that time, the new opinions continued to advance from strength to strength. The rage and alarm of the parliament at Paris was testified by the execution of Louis Berquin; whose firmness and composure in his last hour was such that, according to the report of a spectator, "you would have said that he was meditating in his library upon his studies, or in the Church upon his God." Still it was hoped by the reformers that the king, Francis I., at least was tolerant: and it was not till late, 1534, that they were most fearfully undeceived. In that year a number of Sacramentarians were arrested in Paris; and the 19th. of January, 1535, was fixed for the first grand *auto-da-fe* in France. It was celebrated with unprecedented solemnity, and most odious splendour. The king himself, at a banquet held at the palace of the archbishop, exclaimed—"If my right arm were gangrened, I would cheerfully cut it off, and cast it from me. If my own sons were unhappy enough to be seduced by these detestable novelties, I myself would be the first to furnish proofs of their guilt." The execrable and fiend-like mummeries of the day were concluded by a spectacle of unparalleled horror.

"Francis, the most chivalrous knight, and accomplished prince of his days—(fertile as those days were in valour and magnificence)—stopped at six different places of execution, in which an equal number of victims of fanaticism were tarrying his arrival, in all the bitterness of preparation for an agonizing death. As if the ordinary terrors of the stake were inadequate for the punishment now required, these martyrs, bound to the extremity of long poles, were alternately lowered to, and withdrawn from, the blazing pile; till the ropes by which they were fastened caught fire, snapped asunder, and plunged their already half-burned limbs into the devouring flame."—p. 31.

From this hour of infamy, there was evidently an end of all hope of toleration or indulgence towards the heresies of Luther. And—(if we may reverently venture to scan the dealings of Providence)—we might almost be tempted to surmise that the burning curse of infidelity and atheism has since fallen upon France, in righteous retribution for the abominable orgies of that dreadful night, followed up, as they were, by a long succession of similar enormities.



The next event of any marked importance in the history of French Protestantism, is the substitution of Calvin's name and influence for that of Luther. The brutal cruelty of Francis drove the Germans out of his dominions, and thus destroyed the predominance of their great reformer, only to make way for that of the pastor—it might truly be added, the pontiff—of Geneva. It was in the year 1536 that this wonderful man put forth his “Institution of the Christian Religion,” containing a most elaborate exposition of the principles of the Reformation, and prefaced by an intrepid remonstrance to Francis I., who, at that very time, had merited the execration of mankind by the sanguinary *act of faith* to which we have just adverted. This work had been composed by Calvin when he was a concealed fugitive at Angoulême, whither he had fled to avoid the penal consequences of certain expressions which occurred in a speech delivered, on one occasion, by the rector of a college in Paris, but which had been traced to the pen of the reformer himself. By this achievement he was marked out for the commanding post which, after various vicissitudes, he subsequently occupied, and which gave him such prodigious influence over the destinies of the Reformation. His final settlement at Geneva took place in 1541. In consequence of the flight of their bishop, the episcopal form of government had been lost to the Genevan Church; and, by that event, Calvin was elevated to a popedom, scarcely less absolute, though less extensive and magnificent, than that of the successor of St. Peter.

“Never,” says Mr. Smedley, “was more despotic sway established over mens’ wills and consciences than that which he erected; and, although he failed to introduce his scheme as the dominant religion of France, it became the real model, as himself was the virtual high-priest, of every separate reformed congregation within the limits of the kingdom.”

From this time forward, the cause of the Reformation continued to be pleaded by fire and by blood. The elements of civil strife were soon cast in, to aggravate the horror and the confusion of the time. The unhallowed flames of secular ambition imparted something of an infernal fury to those of religious discord, and, for a long series of years, the whole kingdom was ravaged by the conflagration. By the death of Francis I. indeed, in 1547, the hopes of the reformers were faintly revived: for his successor, Henry II., if not more distinguished by humanity, was less gifted with energy, than his royal father, and might, on that account at least, be somewhat less formidable as a persecutor of *heresy*. The public entry of the king into Paris, two years after his accession, soon scattered to the winds this pleasing anticipation. The Notables were assembled, on that occasion, at the palace, to

take cognizance of religion; and the result of their counsels was a general *gaol-delivery*, which swept the Conciergerie clear that very night. Four scaffolds were erected in different public places of the city. Among these, the long-imprisoned victims were distributed. As darkness fell, the city was illumined by the glare of the blazing piles. The king visited these altars of Moloch in succession; and "distinguished, not without compunction, among the cries of the wretched sufferers expiring in agony, the voice of a favourite attendant of his bed-chamber."—p. 56.

Such are the scenes for which the student of this portion of history must resolutely prepare himself. He must literally make up his mind to become conversant with atrocities, which would seem to indicate that all the powers of hell were let loose upon mankind. He must actually *sup full* with such a prodigality of horrors, as may almost bring on a dangerous loathing for his species. And yet, if we would have a right understanding as to the prodigious heroism and energy which religion can breathe into the human soul, it is absolutely needful that we should become familiar with these frightful manifestations of inhuman bigotry; for how otherwise shall we justly estimate the glorious quality of those who, *through faith, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, and out of weakness were made strong*? In spite of these *works of the devil*, the Protestant cause held on its course. Nay,

— "per damna, per cædes, ab ipso  
Duxit opes animumque ferro."

"In vain," says Mr. Smedley, "was the scaffold deluged with the blood of unnumbered martyrs. It became, as has been powerfully said elsewhere, 'the seed of the Church,' springing up to an abundant harvest, and bearing a return, some sixty, some an hundred-fold. In vain were the tongues of confessors torn out, before they were dragged to execution, in order to prevent their dying words from awakening sympathy. They, being dead, yet spake; and their speech was as the voice of a trumpet. Day by day the Reformation embedded itself more firmly in France, and, secretly or openly, a very large proportion of the population embraced its doctrines."—p. 62.

It was not, however, till 1555 that the scattered elements of Protestantism collected themselves into the form and substance of a regular church. But in that year the process of organization commenced. A fraternity of proselytes, who had been accustomed to assemble for worship in an obscure quarter of the suburbs of Paris, then formed themselves into a visible professing community, on the avowed principles of the Reformation. The example was rapidly followed in other parts of the kingdom. Churches were established, which, though independent of each

other, were yet closely connected by the bond of Christian fellowship. Religious ministrations were performed, no longer by missionaries from Geneva, but by stationary ministers appointed for each congregation. A constant and cordial communication was maintained between these religious societies; and the effect was, that the Protestant interest began to assume an imposing appearance of stability, and to grow into the strength of an integral and national institution.

It, further, speedily became manifest that the spirit of the Reformation had not, all this while, been creeping about the humbler regions of society. It was now seen to rear its head in the high places also. The princes and the nobles of the land began to look more closely into the things that pertained to their salvation; and the consequence was, that questions of religious faith produced an agitation, even in the precincts of court, extremely ominous to the stability of the ancient order of things. From this period it is that we are, more particularly, to date that combination of political enterprize with spiritual zeal, which was eventually so fatal to the peace of France, and which desecrated, in some degree, the grand struggle of the reformers for the purification of the Church. Thenceforward the history of the Reformation in France is, in fact, the history of a tremendous civil war, rendered more fearfully and variously interesting by the frequent atrocities of religious bigotry. And such, perhaps, might have been the history of the Reformation in England, if the previous civil wars of the two Roses had not well nigh broken down the wealth and grandeur of her ancient feudal aristocracy.

The series of barbarities by which the patience of the Sacramentarians was exhausted, is related by Mr. Smedley with conspicuous ability and spirit. It was in 1559 that they started up from the posture of mere religious dissidents, to the more formidable attitude of a powerful political party. Antony, Duke of Vendôme and titular King of Navarre, as first prince of the blood, was the person marked out, by his rank and station, as the natural head and leader of the Protestants. But the feeble, indolent, and double-minded voluptuary was soon found to be utterly unworthy of so arduous and so illustrious a post. The office accordingly devolved on one who, *in many respects*, was admirably qualified to sustain it, Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, whose character we shall give as presented to us by Mr. Smedley.

“ Under a person but scantily indebted to nature for external advantages, and an appearance of carelessness and frivolity, Louis Prince of Condé nourished an ardent, intrepid, lofty, and indomitable spirit. Schooled in war, although hitherto confined to subaltern appointments,

he had exhibited talents for military combination not less brilliant than his personal courage ; and without private revenues, and excluded from the favours of the court, he had learned those lessons of self-denial and active exertion, of which necessity is ever the great teacher. One cruel mortification to which the Guises had exposed him, was a mission on an expensive embassy without adequate appointments ; a second was the refusal of the government of Picardy, resigned by the Admiral Coligny, with the express object of obtaining the succession for his friend and kinsman. These and many other affronts, the hopelessness of success in any public career, while the Guises retained power, the zealous urgency of his princess and her mother the Dame de Roye, the stings of disappointment, the hopes of ambition, the desire of revenge, decided him to embrace communion with a sect actuated, indeed, by motives widely different from his own, yet desirous, like himself, to effect a change in the government. Rapid in all his movements, resolute when he had decided, impatient of disguise, and prompt to action, he at once avowed his conversion to Protestantism ; and named a place and day for conference with some of the chief delegates of the reformed, in order that he might offer himself for that supremacy among them which his brother had thrown away."—pp. 107, 108.

The reader, on perusing this passage, will instantly perceive our reason for describing this celebrated person as signally adapted, *in many respects*, for the office of representing and conducting the interests of the reformers, or, as they are most usually denominated, the Huguenots. He was richly endowed with all the qualities which are requisite for the leader of a great political faction ; but there was wanting that singleness of heart and eye, which alone can make any man worthy to lay his hand upon the ark of a cause so sacred as that of religious truth. Defeated hopes, vindictive passions, and the yearnings of an ambitious temper, are elements which are only fitted to intercept the influx of blessing from above ; and consequently they may be fatal, though secret, sources of weakness and discomfiture, where the struggle is for all that is dear to man's immortal spirit. But this is not all. The Prince of Condé, it is to be feared, was, in other essential respects, but a man of this world. He was notoriously addicted to courtly pleasures, and, it must in truth be added, to courtly vices. And so sensible of this were that very party to whom his services appeared to be as the breath of life, that they were under the frequent necessity of representing to him the discredit which his irregularities were continually bringing down upon their name and cause. His temptations, indeed, to these unseemly courses, were more than usually formidable. Though far from eminently gifted with the advantages of personal appearance, he was one of the most brilliant and captivating individuals of the age. " Whether in court or camp, he appears to

have won all the affections of which he sought the mastery. His courtesy, liberality, affability, readiness of speech, and chivalrous courage, are subjects of unbounded admiration, even among the most hostile to his opinions;" and those very endowments must have exposed him to snares which have often been fatal to the sternest philosophy and virtue.

" ' This prince,' says a contemporary (Pasquier), ' was generous and magnanimous; his actions sprang immediately from the heart.' ' He left to posterity the reputation of being the most generous prince of his time,' is the character given by another, who had frequent opportunities of close observation, and who served the opposite party. His faults were those of an ardent temper, unrestrained by early discipline, and encouraged by the contagion of a most licentious court. His services to the cause which he adopted were beyond all price; and that the Huguenots were able to make the glorious stand against oppression which we are now narrating, must principally be ascribed to the illustrious rank and the conciliating temper—to the wisdom, the energy, the vigilance, the activity and the constancy which belonged to their great chieftain. It has been said, indeed, that his sole motive for embracing the reformed doctrine was the hope of personal aggrandizement; that the Huguenots were the ladder by which he thought to scale the throne; and the calumny invented by the Jesuits relative to a coinage bearing the legend '*Lodovicus XIII. Dei gratia Francorum Rex primus Christianus*,' has been cited in corroboration of this design. How far his motives may have been ambiguous; in what proportions ambition mingled with religious conviction when he announced that he was converted, was a problem unresolved, perhaps, by even the prince himself, and one which must be decided by a judgment more unerring than that of man. But it should be remembered that a follower who was long and intimately acquainted with his habits, and whose own strictness of life and of devotion afford a strong assurance that he would not deliberately misrepresent the character of another on those points, after joining in the universal eulogy of Condé's obvious merits, concludes by stating—' He bore himself better in adversity than in prosperity; his greatest commendation of all was his steadfastness in religion.' "—pp. 325—327.

A leader, such as Condé, would have been quite invaluable to the Romish cause! Had he been the director and controller of the papal resources in France, he would have found himself moving in an element abundantly congenial with all his splendid faults. There would have been admiration for his heroic and gallant bearing; and there would have been absolution both for his worldly thoughts and aspirations, and for his unfaithfulness to the pure morality of the Gospel. But no such flexibility of judgment could reasonably be endured in a community of which Calvin was the life and soul. And on this account it is that we must look with feelings of sorrow and confusion at this strange alliance between the spiritual

and the secular arm, in the cause of religious reformation;—the spiritual arm directed by a zeal which was not of this world,—the secular arm nerved and braced for action by motives which ought to have no place in the hearts of them that stand forward as champions of the kingdom of heaven! But thus, alas! it is in all human enterprizes and confederacies, even those which have for their object the most sacred interests of man! The materials of which they are compacted, are such as will not always coalesce into a durable and goodly fabric. There will be clay in the work, which refuses to cleave permanently unto the silver or the gold. And then, too, if the servants of God build up a wall with massive and costly stones, others there will be who daub it with untempered mortar, forgetting that One hath said, *I will even rend it with a stormy wind in my fury; and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger; and great hail-stones in my fury to consume it!*\* How all this is to be remedied, in the present state of the world, it may surpass human integrity or penetration to devise. It seems as if the greatest benefactors to mankind were often left to make the best of the miscellaneous agency at their disposal, and to say, in bitterness of spirit, *the Lord pardon his servants in this thing!* But the thought of such trials and conflicts may well extort from us the cry—How long, O Lord! holy, and just, and true, dost thou not redeem thine heritage from this confusion! How long are the ranks of thy warfare to be swelled with them that hold a doubtful allegiance to thy name! How long are they that seek thy glory to be well nigh forced into league and union with the poorest vices and infirmities of man!

These mournful reflections on the “half-faced fellowship” which is so frequently found to exist between the highest and the lowest motives of action—on the unhappy attempt at concord between Christ and those who, by their lives, are enemies of his cross—are by no means prompted by any uncharitable disposition towards the memory of an illustrious man, who, in spite of the frailties of the flesh, may possibly have been, all the while, what Pope calls “a sad good Christian at his heart.” With all his failings, Condé was one of those whose names shed brightness over the annals of our race; and it is not in human nature to contemplate his death, without exulting emotion. The last scene of his glory was the disastrous field of Jarnac, which was fought in 1569. He entered that field with one arm entirely disabled by a previous wound. As he approached the lines, his leg was severely injured, if not positively shattered, by a kick from an unmanageable horse. Without betraying the slightest symptom of pain, he turned, with unaltered countenance and manner, to his

\* *Ezek. xiii. 10. 13.*



companions in arms, and uttered a good-humoured rebuke on the folly and ostentation of caracoling on fiery steeds, in action; adding—"You may here see an unlucky proof of my doctrine, which, however, will not hinder me from fighting." Then, waving his sword, he exclaimed, with heroic animation—"Nobles of France, know that the Prince of Condé, with a broken leg, and his arm in a scarf, has yet courage to give battle." On this, he instantly charged, at the head of only 300 men at arms. His horse was soon killed under him; he himself was speedily surrounded; and, being utterly disabled for resistance, he was under the necessity of surrendering. He was immediately raised from the ground and seated under a tree, when a Gascon gentleman, the Baron Montesquieu, captain of the Duke of Anjou's Swiss guards, rode up to the group, and on learning that Condé was their prisoner, savagely cried out—"Sdeath; kill him, kill him!" The word was instantly followed by action. The cowardly ruffian approached, and planting himself closely behind the prince's back, discharged a pistol through his head, by which he was dispatched in a moment. It was thought that the assassin was prompted to this atrocious deed by the persuasion that it would be agreeable to his master; a suspicion which was strongly confirmed by the brutally ignominious treatment with which the Duke of Anjou insulted the remains of the princely warrior. From that time the youthful Prince Henry of Bearne became the protector of the Huguenots, the chief command remaining with the Admiral Coligny, under the title of Lieutenant-General.

But, to return, for a moment, from the character and story of Condé, to the commencement of those great movements over which he was chosen to preside. The crisis is eminently, but mournfully, instructive; since it shows into what a labyrinth of tortuous casuistry the virtue of man must almost inevitably be betrayed by one slight divergency from the line of rectitude. When the reformed felt themselves powerful enough to rise against insult and oppression, there seemed to stand, as it were, *an angel of God in the way, for an adversary against them*. They were resolved on winning their liberty; but liberty could only be won by forcible resistance to the government; and the oracle of Geneva had taught them expressly, that as the authority of magistrates was sanctioned by the Deity, under the most awful penalties, it was on no account to be despised or violated, even though their power should be disgraced and contaminated by the unworthiness and the wickedness of the individuals who held it. If the Prince of Condé had been entrusted with the office of *Ductor Dubitantium* to the party, he would undoubtedly have drawn his sword, and have cut his way, at once, through the im-



pediment of these formidable scruples. And if he had done this, and had been followed by the rest of the host, the mode of extrication would, at least, have been manly and dignified. It might then have been pleaded, (whether legitimately or not,) that the *general* rule of Scripture was designed to secure the peace of human society, and not to surrender any portion of it to the wanton outrages of merciless and incorrigible tyranny. The exigency, it might be said, was so urgent as to furnish, of itself, a dispensation from the great, and, *generally speaking*, inviolable maxim, which condemns resistance to the powers that be. And the sufferers might thus have assumed the bearing of men, who were driven, by the desperate extremity of their wrongs, to an appeal to the God of Battles. This course, though undoubtedly most dangerous, would, at all events, have been guileless and direct. But, instead of violently rending the net which enclosed them, the reformed confederates sat them down to a solemn nibbling at certain of the meshes of it! And after plying their teeth with many a painful and weary effort, they at last contrived to gnaw a hole of sufficient dimensions for their release. They agreed unanimously that it was quite impossible to oppose their king. But, then, they fortunately discovered that, in effect, there was no king upon the throne. The reigning prince was still in his minority. His extreme youth deprived him of the semblance of free agency. His whole power was, in fact, transferred to the family of the Guises, who exercised it solely for the advancement of their own interest and grandeur. And who could deny that the laws of religion and humanity, not only tolerate, but absolutely enjoin, a recourse to arms, when the object is to deliver the sovereign from oppression, the law from violation, and the country from ruin? It was vain to urge that Francis II. had entered his seventeenth year, and had therefore passed the limit of minority as fixed by the law and custom of France; and that, even if he were still a minor, the queen-mother and the uncles of his consort formed the most natural regency for the administration of the realm. These considerations were quite insufficient to confine that spirit of subtlety, which, rather than manfully cut the knot with the unsheathed blade, preferred unravelling it by the implements of a poor and fallacious casuistry—a casuistry which, in after times, might well have become the work-shop of Loyola himself. “Upright, honest, and single-minded men,” (for such, in spite of the obliquity of their present counsels, is undoubtedly the character they generally deserved,) were seen emerging from their difficulties by an obscure and crooked path, instead of bursting forth into action by the short and open road. The result was, that though their cause was essentially good, they made it to be most bitterly evil-

spoken of; and incurred the contempt which is due to feeble and dishonest reasoning, in addition to the hostility provoked by barefaced rebellion. The first fruits of their policy were seen in the inauspicious and abortive conspiracy of Amboise.

It cannot escape remark, that the principle adopted at this crisis by the French reformed, was precisely of the same stamp as that with which the Roman Catholics of England had fortified themselves in opposition to the regency, during the reign of Edward VI. Like the French Huguenots, Bishop Gardiner and his party acknowledged that they had sworn obedience to *the king*, but they denied that they had ever sworn obedience to *the council*. And by virtue of this notable distinction, they felt themselves at liberty to offer the most factious resistance to the progress of the Reformation, and even to give encouragement to the spirit of open sedition. No one ever thinks of defending *their* attempt to abuse the minority of Edward, by converting it into a season of disobedience. It would, therefore, be a gross violation of historical integrity to apply a different measure to the proceedings of the Huguenot party, during the alleged minority of Francis II.

Among the various characters developed in the course of this terrific struggle, it would, perhaps, be difficult to fix on one more deeply interesting than that of the celebrated Theodore Beza. He was a native of Vezelai in Burgundy, and was of noble parentage by both descents. The principles of the Reformation, in which he was educated, did not repress his ardour in the pursuit of classical literature, or entirely extinguish his taste for the pleasures of the voluptuous capital. A dangerous malady, however, came seasonably for his deliverance from a life of comparative frivolity and uselessness. The hours of bodily suffering were, to him, hours of meditation and repentance; and he rose from his sick-bed in all respects a sadder and a better man. In the midst of his indisposition, he had formed a resolution to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of God, if life should be spared him; and most honestly and abundantly did he redeem the pledge. With a settled design to embrace the ministry, he retired to Lausanne, and afterwards to Geneva, where he became the friend, the colleague, and almost the worshipper of Calvin. A temporary residence at Nerac, in the court of Navarre, gave him the opportunity of forming an intimate acquaintance with the Bourbon princes, and of making himself known to the leaders of the Huguenot interest; "and whether we regard his piety, his learning, his eloquence, his ready presence of mind, his many personal accomplishments, or his accurate knowledge of mankind, no more powerful advocate of their cause could have been

selected."—p. 165. We know not whether the portrait prefixed to this volume exhibits a faithful resemblance of the man; but, assuredly, we have seldom looked upon a countenance more indicative of vivacity, acuteness, penetration, and firmness of purpose, than that which is here given as a representation of Theodore Beza.

It was the famous conference at Poissy which furnished Beza with the grandest opportunity for the display of his manifold endowments. The whole scene is exhibited to us by Mr. Smedley with admirable spirit and clearness. The occasion of this debate, it will be remembered, was a challenge thrown out by the Cardinal Lorraine, who had proclaimed, immediately after the *sacré* of the youthful king, Francis II., that the Catholics should no longer be exposed to the taunt that they had but one argument—the stake; for that he himself, though less accomplished in polemical theology than the professors of divinity, would readily measure himself with any antagonist whom the Huguenots might produce, *were it even Calvin himself!* Calvin himself, however, did not stand forward. The two great leaders of the controversy on the part of the reformers were Peter Martyr and Theodore Beza; and the band they conducted consisted of twelve ministers, each accompanied by two lay deputies, the most distinguished gentlemen of their respective provinces. Nothing could be more happy than the selection of the two champions. Peter Martyr had undergone a course of very effectual training for the theological *Palastra*, during his residence in England; and the Florentine, who could maintain so admirably his firmness and self-possession, in the midst of the unmannerly turbulence of the schools at Oxford, might look with little confusion or dismay upon a courtly synod of prelates and doctors, assembled in the presence of the French king. As for Theodore Beza, we have already seen that his earlier pursuits had invested him with all the qualities of a man of the world; and that his later occupations were such as thoroughly to furnish him with the still more essential requisites for his present office.

The French clergy, it seems, were rather shy on this memorable occasion. Out of 180 bishops who had been summoned, scarcely 50 made their appearance when the sessions were opened by the king. At length the polemical parties were assembled; and Catherine de Medicis (whose policy on this, as on all other occasions, was a bottomless pit) lost no time in setting them at each other. But previously to the public theological tournament, something like a sort of private exercise or rehearsal was held at St. Germain en Laye; for Beza was there admitted to a familiar conversation, in the palace, at which were present the Queen-

mother, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinals Bourbon and Lorraine, the Duke d'Estampes, and Madame de Crussol. We cannot here repeat the details of this most curious and interesting colloquy, all of which are minutely given in a letter from Beza himself to Calvin, and which, as Mr. Smedley remarks, admits us, more intimately than history often does, into the privacy of the great actors on the theatre of public life. The chief subject of discussion was the inexhaustible Sacramental question. And Beza acquitted himself with such incomparable address, and such consummate knowledge of the subject, that at the termination of the colloquy, the Cardinal Lorraine turned to him with a most gracious and captivating air, and said—"I am delighted to have seen and heard you, and I call on you, in God's name, to confer with me, in order that we may mutually acquaint ourselves with each other's reasonings; and you will find that *I am not so black as I am painted!*" Whatever effect these winning professions may have produced on Theodore Beza, there was one present who knew the man rather too well to be, for one moment, deceived by them, and who seems to have been quite aware that his Eminence's moral complexion might very fitly be likened to that of the chameleon; for Madame de Crussol, who had been present at the whole conversation, with her well known and customary freedom, took the cardinal by the hand, as she was withdrawing, and said to him—"You have been a good man to-day, but what will you be to-morrow?" The event entitled this sagacious person to the honours of prophecy; for, on the very next morning, the whole court and neighbourhood rung with reports of the cardinal's victory, and of the utter confusion and discomfiture—nay, the conversion and recantation—of his Calvinistic antagonist! It is, however, remarkable that Catherine de Medicis did not join in this chorus of triumph. She openly and pointedly declared that they who thus ventured to boast of success, were very ill informed as to the result of the contest.\*

On the 9th September, 1561, the public conference or disputation was opened; not, however, without a protest against it on the part of the faculty of Paris. Their objections to the proceedings were—first, that it was an intolerable thing to hold discussion with heretics, who denied the authority of bishops and prelates; secondly, that the presence of the king would be highly inexpedient, since the dispute might infest his youthful mind with a swarm of idle doubts and difficulties. In spite of this protestation, however, his majesty took his seat, and was surrounded by an assemblage, the very appearance of which might have over-

\* The letter of Beza, containing an account of this colloquy, may be seen in Calv. Op. Epist. tom. ix. pp. 154—156; ed. Amst. It is dated August, 1561.

powered the self-possession of advocates less courageous and accomplished than Theodore Beza and his Florentine colleague. The King of France, the Duke of Orleans and the King of Navarre, the Queen-mother and the Queen of Navarre, a crowd of princes and *princesses*, of lords and knights, of gentlemen and their *ladies*, six-and-thirty archbishops and bishops, besides a vast concourse of ecclesiastics, doctors, and deputies of the clergy—such was the company before whom the two champions of the Reformation were to carry on their momentous pleading. For further details of the debate we must refer to the pages of Mr. Smedley.\* It must suffice to state, that one grand topic of disputation was, as usual, the doctrine of the Eucharist; and that the other great question discussed related to the discipline of the Church. With regard to the latter point, it must have appeared manifest to every unprejudiced hearer, that the ground sunk under the disputant at every step; and it is curious enough to observe the struggles with which, in spite of the unsteadiness of his footing, he laboured to maintain his position. The necessity of Apostolical succession he does not appear to have denied. But then he had the intrepidity to aver, that what he was pleased to denominate *doctrinal* succession, was a much surer sign of a true church than *personal* succession. And as for a legitimate vocation to the ministry, he was hardy enough to maintain, that, besides the *ordinary* calling, another ought to be admitted, which is *extra-ordinary*. It is absolutely astonishing that Beza did not perceive that by this line of argument he was, in effect, surrendering the very life and virtue of his own cause. For if Apostolic purity of doctrine is the grand test of a true church, all debates on the form of ecclesiastical government are manifestly nugatory. It becomes at once a matter profoundly indifferent whether an Episcopal, a Presbyterian, or an Independent Regimen shall be adopted. Under each of these forms the main doctrines of Christianity *may*, possibly, be preserved; and if so, what becomes of the supremacy of the Holy Discipline, which all rigid Presbyterians hold to be of the same authority as *the Pattern on the Mount*? And besides, Beza must surely have been aware that there never yet was a society of professing Christians, be their doctrine what it might, which did not claim for itself the character of Apostolic purity. The allowance of extraordinary calls to the Christian ministry was equally fatal to the Calvinistic scheme; for, in its tendency, it was obviously just as subversive of Presbyterian as of Episcopal ordination, and opened a wide and *effectual door* to the inroads of ignorant fanaticism.

\* There are three letters of Beza to Calvin, containing particulars of this disputation. *Calv. Epist. ut supra*, pp. 157—159. 164, 165.

The truth is, that the constitution of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church is, itself, no unimportant point of Christian doctrine. And the question to be debated was, whether episcopal government, or some other form, were agreeable to the will of Him by whom that church was founded? And if it could be shown that episcopacy was that form, it was to no purpose to show that the institution had been abused,—that bishops had often been secular and depraved,—and that discipline had fallen into contempt. These might be admirable reasons for an honest and unsparing *reformation*, but could furnish no legitimate ground for an abolition of the existing orders. But, instead of manfully grappling with this question, Beza sought refuge in statements, which manifestly involved the grossest *petitio principii*. He affirmed that the builders of the Calvinistic structure might, if they had chosen, have claimed what was called Apostolical Succession, but that they preferred a voluntary renunciation of *that mark of the Romish Church*. They were no despisers of ecclesiastical order and discipline; but, truly, they found the Romish Church a prey to confusion and distraction, in which neither order or discipline were to be found. He therefore deprecated all reference to *this ceremony* in estimating their claims to true pastorship; and intreated that every thing might be dismissed from consideration but the substantial and *weighty matters* of Christian doctrine. A more prodigious instance of false logic has seldom been witnessed in the annals of controversy. The disputant begins by *assuming* that the claim of Apostolical succession is the mark of a corrupt church—that the episcopal imposition of hands is nothing more than an *empty form*—that discipline and doctrine have nothing to do with each other,—and then fancies himself in a condition to march off the field, with the glory of having immoveably established the authority of the Calvinistic institution!

With regard to the sacramental question—the debate terminated in the agreement of the Romanists to the following article. “We confess that Jesus Christ, in his Holy Supper, truly presents, gives, and exhibits to us, the substance of his body and blood, by the operation of his Holy Spirit; and that we receive and eat, *sacramentally, spiritually, and through faith*, that very body which died for us, that we may be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, to the end that we may be vivified by it, and perceive through it all things necessary for our salvation. And since faith, established on the word of God, renders present to us things which are promised,—and since, through that faith, we receive truly and indeed the true and natural body and blood of our Lord, by virtue of the Holy Spirit,—in that manner we confess



the presence of the body and blood of the same our Lord in the Holy Supper." This declaration was accepted by the joint deputies; the queen mother testified the most unbounded satisfaction at so happy an issue of the controversy; and the Cardinal Lorraine affirmed that it contained what had always been his belief. So that here was a bright prospect of peace and union upon one important matter in debate. Whether all this harmony and gratulation was sincere,—or whether they were assumed for the occasion, in the certain knowledge that others were prepared to re-open the breach,—is a question very difficult of decision for any one who is at all familiar with the characters of these two illustrious personages. But, be that as it may, the serenity was *but* for a moment. When the Declaration was submitted to the Faculty of Divines, that learned Body pronounced that it contained three heresies, one fallacy, and one insufficiency; and must therefore be rejected. Despence, one of the Romish delegates, was struck mute at this decision; the cardinal was compelled to admit that the doctors were more keen-sighted in such matters than himself, and that consequently he had nothing to do but to submit to their judgment; and all these laborious and solemn preparations for the establishment of concord left the controversy bleeding as mortally as ever!

In the concluding part of the present portion of the work, are related the incidents immediately preceding that hideous *massacre* which has condemned the court of Charles IX. to everlasting infamy; and the volume finishes with the words—"the bell of midnight tolled the commencement of St. Bartholomew"! If this sentence related to an event less generally known, the suspense in which it leaves us would have been intolerable; and even as it is, we can hardly forgive Mr. Smedley for breaking off just at this point; for the merit of his preceding narrative has made us anxious to hear the calamitous story, as related by himself. He has, however, very judiciously thought it proper so far to anticipate the catastrophe, as to state his reasons for concluding that the whole was a premeditated atrocity.

"The events," he says, "occupying the two years which succeeded the peace of St. Germain, have been scrutinized with a keenness of research not exceeded by that applied to any other period of history. Pure zeal for religion, a sober love of truth, the blindness and bigotry of partizanship, and that natural curiosity which is always more or less excited by difference of opinion, have each by turns addressed themselves to the inquiry; and it would be difficult, indeed, to present the reader with any facts which have not before seen the light, or to offer him any arguments by which the deductions obtained from those facts have not already been supported. It will be enough if we can hope to frame our narrative with accuracy; and if, while we show that which appears to



us to be the incontrovertible result of the evidence before us, we can succeed in guarding ourselves from the opposite errors either of extenuation or exaggeration. In entering upon any less well-known and less beaten story, it would be a just rule of composition not to anticipate the catastrophe by premature allusions; not to place our goal full in sight at the commencement, as the point of direct view which closes a long perspective. But, in the present instance, such concealment is wholly impracticable. Were it attempted, the reader's impatient acquaintance with facts would outrun the writer's sedate artifice; every eye which glances but for a moment at the names of Catherine de Medicis and of Charles IX. associates them at once with the fiend-like deeds of the St. Bartholomew; and there would be little good taste in affecting to dissemble our necessary and unavoidable knowledge of that association."—pp. 349, 350.

Mr. Smedley then proceeds to call the attention of the reader to the course of policy pursued towards the Huguenots previously to the peace of St. Germain, and to contrast it with that which immediately followed, and which distinguished the interval between that treaty and the detestable butchery in question. And this contrast he has exhibited, briefly indeed, but with great clearness and vigour.

"If we look to the former transactions of the reign of Charles, we shall everywhere observe, during the short intervals of peace, which served but as breathing times for the renewal of more fierce hostility, numerous breaches of fidelity on the part of government, which it was not thought worth while either to conceal or to excuse. It is needless to repeat the many instances with which our pages have abounded, of bitter insults, of sickening cruelties, of judicial murders, and of secret assassinations, suffered by the followers of the proscribed doctrines; of the violences openly perpetrated; of the redress haughtily and contemptuously denied. War was to them comparatively a season of relief; for they were then prepared for danger, and in many instances were fully able to resist it. But during nominal peace, the destroyer approached them stealthily and unexpectedly; and the sword was sheathed only that the victims might be put under saws, and under harrows, and under axes of iron. On a sudden, however, we shall perceive this policy altogether changed; the government appeared actuated by a new spirit and a new soul; its tokens of hatred were transformed into unmeasured prodigality of affection; its most hidden counsels were seemingly communicated to those against whom it had hitherto breathed the uttermost vengeance; the chiefs so lately abhorred, were courted, honoured and preferred; and the great mass of their followers, whose extermination had been so often not only menaced but attempted, was protected by authority, and encouraged to resort to the shield of law."—pp. 350, 351.

We have, here, before us something which resembles

"The torrent's smoothness, ere it dash below;"

or the appalling calm,—“the grim repose,”—which sometimes

announces to experienced observation the approaching burst of the tornado. And this unusual serenity, which suddenly brightened the elevated regions of the court, was but the more suspicious, as there was nothing corresponding to it in the lower expanse of society. All was there, as usual, lowering and tempestuous. That there was no *national* revolution of sentiment in favour of the Reformers, was tolerably evident from the outrageous violence of the Parisian rabble; a violence which manifested itself more especially on occasion of the authorized demolition of the Cross of Gastines by the Huguenots (p. 352). The fury of the mob on this occasion was vigorously and severely repressed: and this seasonable demonstration of impartiality on the part of the government, only threw a more potent spell over the vigilance of the Huguenots, and contributed to prepare them for easy and unresisted immolation.

The whole of the last chapter is one of fearful and heart-stirring interest, and exhibits a very favourable specimen of the writer's accomplishment in the art of perspicuous recital and vigorous condensation. Even at this distance of time, it is dreadful to contemplate the blindness and infatuation of the victims, and the cold-blooded, calculating craft with which they were decoyed into the jaws of destruction. Warning voices, and sounds and sights of evil augury, there occasionally were, in the midst of the smiling composure of the scene around them, enough to startle any but "doomed men:"

"Instabant tamen immemores cæcique furore ;"

till, at length, the snares of death compassed them round about, and the hounds of carnage were at their throat. Upon none was the "drowsy charm" so heavy as upon the Admiral. The deep sleep of security was on his eyelids; and neither outcry nor shaking could arouse him from his lethargy. He was disgusted and worn out by the solitudes and the horrors of civil conflict; and protested that, rather than renew them, he would be dragged with a hook through the streets of Paris. So delightful to him were the visions of present peace, and of future vengeance upon Spain, that he resented all attempts to dissipate them, and "cry'd to dream again." The consummate artifice with which these pacific dispositions were cherished by the court, is, of itself, well nigh sufficient to establish the fact, that the present was only a season of elaborate and concealed preparation for deeds of blood. But there is one circumstance in the case which furnishes irresistible evidence of the inhuman perfidy of the government. The Pope, Pius V., protested loudly against the mar-

riage then in progress between Margaret of Valois and the Prince of Bearne. And,

“ in order powerfully to awaken these convictions in the bosom of the French king, the Cardinal Alessandrino,\* Legate in Spain and Portugal, was instructed to proceed to Blois; and during a Conference held after his arrival, a memorable declaration fell from the lips of Charles, which affords conclusive evidence as to the preconcertment of the ensuing massacre. ‘ You may assure his holiness,’ said the king, ‘ as the event will prove, that my only object in concluding this marriage is to avenge myself on God’s enemies, and to chastise those great rebels.’† No strength can be added to the deductions recently made from this most important fact, by one whose deep and overflowing knowledge of history, and whose acuteness in the examination of conflicting testimony, qualify him beyond all others for the task which he has performed. It may perhaps, however, have been too easily admitted that De Thou ‘ disbelieved’ the story. No expression so strong as that of *unbelief* is, we think, to be found in the pages of that great historian. He tells us, indeed, that Italian writers are fond of vexatious refinements;‡ and then, on the authority of some of those writers, (one of whom, Catena, he specifies by name,) he relates the anecdote which we are about to give below, without at all delivering his own opinion as to its credibility. But when De Thou wrote, the irrefragable evidence of D’Ossat, which we shall by-and-by subjoin, had not been published.

“ Catena was secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, and afterwards to Sixtus V. He published, in 1587, both at Rome and at Mantua, a Life of Pius V. professedly composed from oral communications with that pope, and from the numerous State Papers to which the author had ready access in consequence of his office. In that work he informs us, that when the Cardinal Alessandrino, during his mission to Blois, had advanced objections to the contemplated marriage, the king replied by an assurance, that upon that marriage the public peace was altogether suspended; and that when pressed to explain himself farther, he continued in the words which we have given above. The same anecdote had been told as a matter of triumphant boasting yet earlier, by Camillo Capilupi, nephew of a cardinal of that name, who wrote at Rome an apology for the St. Bartholomew,§ within a month after its occurrence. The work was

\* “ Michael Bonelli, a nephew of Pius V., was born in the little village of Bosco, near Alessandria, from which city he derived the title by which he is best known, and in which he succeeded his uncle, *essendo la voce (Alessandrino) di miglior suono che ’l Bosco non era.*—Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 13.”

† “ *Rendete certo Pio me non par altro effetto voler concludere questo matrimonio col Navarra, che per prender vendetta d’ nemici di Dio, et per castigar tanti rebelli, si come il fine dimostrerà.*—*Vita di Pio V.* Roma. p. 197.”

‡ “ *Itali scriptores negotium facessunt*, li. 9; and in the following chapter he relates the anecdote. Dr. Lingard has said—‘ Even De Thou finds it difficult to believe,’ (*Vindication*, p. 60.); and the Master of Dulwich College, receiving his antagonist’s insinuation as if it were assertion, has given a reason for this imaginary unbelief. ‘ The story was disbelieved by De Thou, because the correspondence of D’Ossat had not then been published.’—*Reply to Lingard’s Vindication*, p. 41.”

§ “ *Lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX. Re di Francia contra gli Ugonotti rebelli di Dio e suoi.* The Dedication in the edition of 1574, bears date Oct. 22, 1572. The Master of

submitted to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and received his approbation, but was suppressed for a time as not agreeing with the representations of the massacre which the court of France *ultimately* determined to circulate.

“ Never has any morsel of secret history received confirmation so remarkable and so incontestable as has fallen to the lot of this most dam-natory fact. Seven and twenty years had elapsed since the massacre, when the Cardinal d'Ossat, the most sagacious diplomatist of his time, was engaged in negotiating with the court of Rome respecting the dissolution of marriage with Henry IV., for which Margaret of Valois had applied. In a conversation on that affair with Pope Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini), the latter stated that he himself, having been auditor to Cardinal Alessandrino, and in personal attendance upon him at Blois, was well acquainted with the occurrences during that mission. It was universally known, he said, that Margaret was most reluctant to the match, and that she was sacrificed in order to forward her brother's political designs; and he added, that after frequent discussions, the king, on one occasion, taking Alessandrino by the hand, had addressed him thus: ‘ My Lord Cardinal, all you have said is true, and I admit it to be so; and I am grateful both to the Pope and to you. If I had any other means of avenging myself on my enemies, I would not conclude this marriage; but in fact I have not any other means.’ Aldobrandini, deeply struck by these words, committed them to writing at the moment; and he told D'Ossat that he could still find the memorandum among Alessandrino's papers. He added also, that when the cardinal, on his return to Italy, first received intelligence of the St. Bartholomew, he exclaimed, ‘ God be praised! The King of France has kept his promise to me.’ D'Ossat, upon reporting this conversation with Clement VIII. to some of his friends in the Sacred College, learned that the same fact had already been stated to them by the Holy Father himself in an early stage of the pending discussion; and thus fortified by the authority of the pontiff, the ambassador employed the communication, in the written argument upon the divorce of the queen, which he delivered before the conclave.\*

“ That the words which Clement VIII. repeated were almost, if not altogether, the very words employed by Charles, the carefulness with which the pope had recorded them in writing warrants us fully to believe. Their variation from those attributed to the king by Capilupi and by Catena, is in letter only, not in spirit; there is sufficient diversity to remove all suspicion of a common understanding for the propagation of imposture; sufficient agreement to corroborate the general

Dulwich College, who has seen the first edition, notices the date in *that* to be Sept. 18, of the same year. The words given to Charles by Capilupi are as follows:—‘ Quanto al matrimonio, gli pesava d'havere data già la parola sua al Re di Navarra, la quale non poteva con honor suo rompere: chè ben assicurava la Santità del Papa chè il tutto si faceva con ottima intentione, e per servizio e per grandezza della religione Catholica, come si conoscerebbe à gli effetti.’—p. 11.”

\* “ *Lettres D'Ossat*. Letter cxciv. à *M de Villeroy*, tom. iii. p. 417. The words represented to be spoken by Charles are—‘ M. le Cardinal, tout ce que vous me dites est bon, je le reconnois, et en remercie le Pape et vous; et si j'avois quelque autre moyen de me venger de mes ennemis, je ne ferois point ce mariage: mais je n'en ai point d'autre moyen que celui-ci.’ ”

truth of each separate writer. The expressions are too precise to have been used without a definite meaning; and if 'the only inference' to be drawn from them is, that Clement believed Charles to have 'compelled the marriage under the expectation that it would give him the superiority, and allow him to punish those whom he considered as obstinate rebels;' if 'this,' as has been stated, 'is all,'\* Clement's measure of 'punishment' and estimate of 'superiority' must have been gigantic indeed! 'Vengeance' is a somewhat strong term for political ascendancy; it was *vengeance* which Charles promised, and it was by the massacre of St. Bartholomew that Clement acknowledged the promise to be fulfilled."—pp. 358—363.

Nothing can be more idle than the attempt to hold out against proof like this, especially when confirmed by such a vast body of circumstantial evidence: and we should really like to know whether any Romanist, thoroughly in possession of all the particulars, can in his most secret heart adopt the views of our Romish historian, relative to this frightful tragedy? By the way, the name of Dr. Lingard recalls our attention to another little exploit of that writer, in his notice of the Massacre at Vassy, which took place in 1562, and was a sort of slight prelude to the horrors of St. Bartholomew. It is the pleasure of that historian to assert, chiefly on the authority of Brantôme, not only that "there is every reason to believe that this affray was accidental," but also "that it was provoked by the religionists themselves." The former of these assertions may possibly be true. The latter, Mr. Smedley declares, is unsupported by the majority of other writers. The authority of an eye-witness, however, might be allowed to be conclusive; and such a witness Dr. Lingard imagines himself to have secured in the person of Brantôme: for Brantôme, he tells us, "was present, *both at Vassy and at the Duke of Guise's death.*" At first, Mr. Smedley was startled, as he confesses, by this hardy averment: but a reference to Brantôme himself soon relieved his misgivings. The Frenchman speaks of the whole affair as merely an "emeute et desordre, que les Huguenots, alors et depuis, ont tant appelé, cryé, et renommé, *Le Massacre de Vassy*; ce qui ne fut que peu de chose." And he immediately adds, "JE N'Y ESTOIS PAS." The next edition of Dr. Lingard will, of course, either establish the soundness of his *various reading*, or else correct the very curious inaccuracy resulting from a moment of apparently convenient slumber!

\* "Dr. Lingard's *Vindication*, Postscript, p. 115. Anquetil, who had considered the St. Bartholomew at least with as much precision as Dr. Lingard, draws a widely different conclusion from the words to Alessandrino. 'Si Charles IX. a tenu ce discours, il meditoit certainement pour lors le massacre de St. Barthelemy.'—*L'Esprit de la Ligue*, ii. 14."

The perusal of this volume will, irresistibly, tempt every reflecting reader to a comparison of the progress of the Reformation in France, with its history in England; a comparison which must fill every English heart with thankfulness. It may be very easy to pour out the phials of invective against the brutality and the lust of Henry VIII. His vices may, very calmly, be surrendered to the wrath and the contempt of historians, even to the end of time. But it will, nevertheless, remain indisputable, that his enormities were most graciously overruled for good. It is appalling to think of what might have been the fate of the Church of England, if his imperious spirit had never roused itself against the domination of the Papacy. Either the pure doctrines of the gospel might have long continued to be like hidden manna,—like bread eaten in secret, with trembling and with carefulness; or else, the furies of intestine discord might have rushed in, to aggravate the confusion of religious strife, and to make the land *a desolation and an astonishment*. Enough of persecution and of outrage undoubtedly there was in England, to fill the hearts of humane and thoughtful men with sorrow and dismay. But if the atrocities attendant on our religious conflicts be placed against those which dogged the course of Protestantism in France, they will appear as the chastisement with whips to the chastisement with scorpions. Let the reader begin with the heretics of Meaux, in 1524, and follow the bloodhounds of bigotry throughout their sanguinary chase, from that period to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572; and then, let him sum up all the cruelties committed against the English gospellers, from the accession of Henry VIII. to the end of the reign of Mary. The computation, if we mistake not, will leave us abundant reason most gratefully to acknowledge that ours were but *light afflictions*, to the agony of that fiery trial which was ordained for our neighbours. And, under Providence, the success of our reformers, and the *comparatively* limited measure of our sufferings, may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the fact, that Henry led the way in the assault against the battlements of the Papacy; and that the princely boy who succeeded him, encouraged an unsparing search into the most secret hiding-places of the Romish superstition. In France, on the contrary, the New Doctrine, as it was called, began by establishing its influence in the less distinguished provinces of society, and wrought its way upwards to more conspicuous regions; and there, unhappily, it found the *arm of flesh* indignantly and fiercely arrayed against it. And the consequence was, that the kingdom was deluged with blood, and torn to pieces by the phrenzy of contending factions; and, moreover, that the Papacy was in the end



enabled to retain its dominion over the land. In contrasting these two cases, we may safely concede that the passions of Henry VIII., and the flagitious cupidity of his favourites and courtiers, were worthy of all execration: and we may heartily wish that many of the agents, who laid their hand upon the work, had been more worthy of so pure and magnificent a cause. But, after all, the only question is, whether or not the Reformation was a blessing to us. And if we are persuaded that it was, we have only to be thankful to Him, who compelled even the lusts and caprices of bad men to labour, almost unconsciously, for the achievement of our deliverance.

But we must now, for the present, take leave of Mr. Smedley, in the hope that the remainder of his work will follow the first volume, with all the expedition which may be compatible with the importance of the undertaking, and the extent of research which it must demand. We have only one slight caution to submit to his consideration, in the further prosecution of his task. He has, here and there, admitted into his pages a phrase, or an illustration, fitted to impart vivacity and spirit to a colloquial narrative, but, perhaps, scarcely compatible with the sobriety and austerity of historical composition. The instances of this are very rare, and certainly not worth specifying. His own good taste and sound judgment, we are perfectly assured, will enable him to detect them, and will prompt him to be on his guard against their repetition. We have also to notice an accidental error, which must either be the consequence of hasty transcription, or else merely a typographical omission. In p. 18, he speaks of Louis Berquin as having translated into French certain writings of *Luther*; and, in his note, he tells us that among them was the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. We cannot doubt, for a moment, that Mr. Smedley either wrote, or intended to write, in his text, "Luther and Erasmus," instead of *Luther* alone; the reference in his note being to a work of Erasmus. Having offered these remarks, we have but to add, that we should anticipate nothing but good from the universal appetite for useful knowledge, if all the purveyors to it were to execute their office with the judgment, the care, and the ability, displayed by the author of this volume.

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**ART. II.**—*The main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews, exhibited in Selections from the Yad Hachazakah of Maimonides, with a literal English Translation, copious Illustrations from the Talmud, &c., explanatory Notes, an alphabetical Glossary of such Particles and technical Terms as occur in the Selections, and a Collection of the Abbreviations commonly used in Rabbinical Writings.* By Hermann Hedwig Bernard, Teacher of Languages at Cambridge. Cambridge. 1832. pp. 358.

It is so much the fashion to compliment the age in which we live on its superiority in everything intellectual to all which have preceded it, that we have a sort of reluctance in introducing to the public any subject on which, if we weigh our own times in the balance, we shall be obliged to find them wanting. Nevertheless, uncivil as it may seem, we are inclined to doubt this vast superiority, and whenever any work of pure learning comes before us, our misgivings are considerably increased. We acknowledge the present age to be superior to all before it in all the sciences which depend on the accumulation of facts, and not on the powers and faculties of individual minds. All that relates to the heavenly bodies, for instance, is far more accurately known than it was a few years after the death of Newton. This is the natural course of things in sciences dependant on observation; and besides the simple accumulation of facts and discoveries, the increased facility of international intercourse has given to science almost the advantages that would result to it from the use of an universal language. No sooner has Airey published a small memoir, detecting some source of irregularities observed before, but not accounted for, than the astronomers of Germany translate it for the benefit of their countrymen, and France and Italy perhaps follow the same example. The same is true also in regard to chymistry, or any other science applicable to the daily uses of life; and as far as diffusion of knowledge is concerned—thanks to steam-packets, macadamized roads, &c.—the age we live in is eminently intellectual. Many vulgar errors are also removed from amongst us;—hobgoblins no longer fright the liege inhabitants of the land from church-yards by night, nor fairies haunt the green hill side. These and numberless other superstitions are condemned to drag out a lingering existence only among the most ignorant of the peasantry. The tribe of sixpenny sciences and penny encyclopædias has contributed its farthing rushlight to the illumination of the age, and every body's mouth is filled with a smattering, although how far they may be living on wholesome

food is another question. Every thing is now, it is professed, brought down to the level of the meanest capacity, and therefore every body knows something of every thing, while the consequence is, as it must be, that very few persons know anything well. If this be the case in science, where the intellectual food, according to the fashion of the day, is minced into the smallest possible morsels, and the pap-spoon liberally offered to the reading public, by which means men are deterred from strong meat and remain babes all their life, the effect of this fashion is deplorable in the highest degree in the departments of literature and learning, as distinguished from science. Nothing which requires severe labour, and requites man only with intellectual rewards,—nothing which concerns itself only with the moral and intellectual being, is the fashion of our days. It is not thought likely to pay, and, even if it could be had for nothing, the market for it is so small that its acquisition would be neglected. This is true, in some degree, of the higher literature of Greece and Rome, and threatens almost to quench their light among us; but if it be felt at all in them, how far more must it be felt in Hebrew, which has never received in England the same share of attention which Greek and Latin have enjoyed. Not that it has been neglected; the names of Cartwright, of Walton, of Lightfoot, of Clavering, Wotton and Stillingfleet, Kennicot, Lowth, &c., show that England has done its share in promoting Hebrew literature, but it has never been a popular study. It is in all these studies that we fear that there are no longer “giants in the earth,” and we feel that more was formerly required to make a man a theologian than is now found in many who pass current under that name. Hebrew has certainly not been a very popular study with us lately, and, it must be confessed, it has its difficulties and its dissatisfactions, but it has its great rewards also. We say this not only in reference to the Hebrew text, but to the Rabbinical writings also. The Hebrew text is, comparatively speaking, an easy study, although the depths of Hebrew criticism are very deep indeed. It is easy to gain a competent knowledge of it, and very difficult to know it thoroughly. But even a smattering of Rabbinical knowledge is very difficult to attain. To pass the threshold is hard, but to go through into its inmost recesses is the labour of a life. Chiarini, Heyman Hurwitz, and Mr. Bernard,\* are probably almost the only persons known in

\* There is one person also beside Mr. Bernard of Cambridge most intimately acquainted with the Rabbinical commentators, namely, Croll—one whom the world has always dealt hardly with—one who seems to have been born only to suffer. He is a most deserving person, and we trust that Hebrew may soon become so much the study of divines and students, that there may be full employment for him and Mr. Bernard.

England as having thoroughly mastered the Talmud. Indeed the Rabbis have complied with their own precept most implicitly—*עשו שניצ לתורה*, *Make a hedge to the Law*—though not in the sense in which it was meant. It means, throw up an outwork before it—require more than the law requires, to be sure of keeping it undefiled. The Rabbis have, however, made a fence to their law, to warn all Christian subjects from their own preserves. A crooked character—letters scarcely broken into words—sentences without stops, and with very little grammar—and a bastard dialect, or rather half-a-dozen bastard dialects—are the first outwork which these gentlemen have erected. A multitude of abbreviations is another, a second curtain to the fortress, besides a stream of filthy nonsense which every now and then baffles the reader of the Talmud. This fortress, however, Mr. Bernard has here stormed with great success. He has broken down the chevaux-de-frise, and made a breach which, with a little more exertion, may be made tolerably practicable. The Talmud is the grand book of the Jews; this the learned Jews appeal to in preference to the Bible, and the ignorant and superstitious Jews revere it and kiss it with all but idolatrous worship. The Talmud is the most inaccessible of all the Rabbinical books, and the parts of it here brought forward are only brought forward incidentally, while the main attack of Mr. Bernard is directed against the outwork thrown up by Maimonides. This writer, though little known and quoted in our own more enlightened days, was studied constantly by our greatest divines, and under all circumstances he deserves some such constant regard. His *Yad Hachazakah* is a compendium of the decisions of the Doctors, taken from the Talmud, both Mishna and Gemara, and founded constantly on Scripture—that is to say, on Scripture interpreted in accordance with his preconceived notions. He is an authority whom the learned Jews admit as decisive of their opinions; and surely as long as a single Jew remains unconverted, it is a matter of deep interest, and not only of deep interest but of absolute necessity, that their principles should be known. It is impossible to argue with a Jew without a knowledge of their writings. One simple instance will prove this. To many persons the argument from miracles is most convincing; they are persuaded of the fact that Jesus wrought such works as no man could work except God were with him, and they are then convinced of the truth of his religion and expect perhaps that a Jew might be convinced in the same man-

The editor of the *Standard* also is, perhaps, one of the most accomplished Hebrew scholars in England, a circumstance which may well excite surprise when we know the arduous nature of an editor's duty, and when that scholarship is combined with a knowledge of almost all the languages of Europe and an extensive acquaintance with ancient literature!

ner. But in this they are completely reckoning on false grounds, and all the pains they spend in proving the reality of the miracles is lost labour to them with the Jew, for he will admit their premises and deny their conclusion. They will find from Maimonides, indeed from that part of it translated by Mr. Bernard, that the Jews give credence to Moses not on account of the miracles which he wrought, but solely on account of the terrible exhibition of the divine power on Mount Sinai, which their fathers saw. The miracles of Moses, they say, were all great works necessary for the salvation of the children of Israel, and not to be used as evidence. If any other prophet does signs and wonders, they say, if he does not command an abolition of the law, he is to be listened to on account of his signs, &c.; but if he command the abolition of any precept of the law, then, *although he work a sign*, he is to be strangled immediately.\* Our older divines were well aware of this fact from the writings of Maimonides, as the Origines Sacræ of Stillingfleet will prove, and the same book will also prove the value they attached to those writings. It is impossible, therefore, to cope with the Jews while we are ignorant of the sources of their blindness.† But we must now return to the work before us. The writings of Maimonides form the best system of Jewish tradition, and the style in which they are composed sets them far above all other writings of the same class. It is at once simple and sublime. He and Abarbaneb are the two great *casuists* of the Jews, and those who would wish to see a comparison between them and an admirable character of Maimonides and his writings, will be highly gratified in the preface to Clavering's translation of two treatises of the Yad Hachazakah—that on the Foundations of the Law, and that on the Rules of Penitence. These two chapters Mr. Bernard has translated into English, whereas before they were only accessible to readers of Hebrew or Latin. Indeed, all the Mishna, and several of the treatises of Maimonides, are accessible through the Latin language, but then it was difficult to know where to meet with them. At the end of Wotton's Miscellaneous Essays are the names of all the chapters of the Mishna, and the Yad Hachakah, with a reference to such translations as have been made of any part of them. Mr. Bernard's work affords to any person who desires to have a competent knowledge of the mode pursued by Maimonides in his interpretation of the law, and of his opinions on some most important points, the means of gratifying his desire at a far less expense of time and trouble than he could have done before by hunting about from Wotton to Clavering,

\* See Bernard's Maim. p. 129—140.

† See Const. l'Empereur; Clavis Talmudica, pref. p. 9. ed. Bushuyzen.

to de Veil, and to Vorst, &c. And besides, many of these versions are perhaps not accurate,\* whereas we can vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Bernard throughout. The subjects which Mr. Bernard has treated are selected with great judgment. They are on the most important and most interesting topics. They are—the *Foundations of the Law—the Government of the Temper—Idolaters and their Ordinances—Repentance*. These are all subjects on which it is surely of great consequence to know the opinions of the Jews; it would be so even in a mere psychological point of view, but when connected with the state of religion among the present race of Jews, it becomes a matter of deep importance and of extreme interest.

We proceed now to give a few extracts from the work itself, that our readers may judge of its nature and the ability of the translator, whose foreign name is almost the only indication which his volume gives of his being a foreigner. We cannot do better than begin with the spirited and sublime commencement of the first treatise.

“The foundation of foundations, and the pillar of wisdom, is to know that there exists a first Being, and that he called all other beings into existence, and that all things existing, heaven, earth, and whatever is between them, exist only through the truth of His existence; so that if we were to suppose that He did not exist, no other thing could exist; but if we were to suppose that all other things existing, beside Himself, did not exist, He Himself would still exist, and would not be destroyed in consequence of their destruction; since all things existing stand in need of Him, but He, blessed be He! does not stand in need of them, not even of any one of them. His truth, therefore, is not like the truth of any one of them. Thus the prophet says: ‘*But the Lord is the TRUE God,*’ (Jer. x. 10,) [meaning that] He alone is truth, and that there belongs to no other being a truth like His truth. This too is what the law says: ‘*There is none else,*’ (Deut. iv. 39,) that is to say, there is not a being, beside Himself, who, as to truth, is like Him.

“This Being is the God of the Universe, the Lord of the whole earth; and it is He who conducts the orb with a power, to which there is no end or limit—with a power, of which there is no cessation; for the orb revolves continually, and it is impossible that it should revolve without some one causing it to revolve; and it is He, blessed be He! who causes it to revolve, without a hand and without a body, (i. e. without bodily effort).

“Now the knowledge of this matter is a positive commandment, for it is said, ‘*I am the Lord thy God,*’ (Exod. xx. 2); and every one who holds the opinion that there is another God besides this, transgresses a negative commandment, for it is said, ‘*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me,*’ (Exod. xx. 3); and also denies the radical principle, for this

\* Reland's *Analecta Rabbinica* will furnish a few specimens of the blunders of Vorst.—Pref. in the leaf, the signature of which is xxx.

is the great radical principle upon which every thing depends."—pp. 71—73.

We must observe on the subject of the positive and the negative precepts, that Maimonides follows the common notions of the Rabbins, who deduce 613 precepts from the law, 248 of which are positive (מצוות עשה), and 365 negative (מצוות לא עשה).

The first four chapters of this treatise discuss the nature of the Almighty, the elements, the soul, and other deep metaphysical matters, in the philosophical spirit for which this writer is remarkable.\* We say *philosophical*, for highly valuable as his writings are in many points of view, we believe him inclined to make his Bible support his philosophy, and not his philosophy bend to the truths of his Bible. This was also a feeling strongly impressed upon the whole of the Alexandrian school of Jewish writers, and it seems in another age, and under different modifications, to be the desire of Maimonides to bring the Bible into accordance with what he conceived to be established also on an immutable basis. It is the rationalism of Germany under a different form. But this by the way; we only throw out these suggestions as a caution to his readers. Two very interesting points are touched upon in this treatise—the *matter of the Beginning* and the *matter of the Chariot*. The first four chapters are technically called "*The Garden*," and only four men are said ever to have entered into *the Garden*. These four, as we learn from a passage of the *Talmud*, quoted by Mr. Bernard, are *Ben Azay*, *Ben Zomah*, *Aher* and *Rabbi Akivah*. The *matter of the Beginning* is the subject of the Creation, which forms a part of *the Garden*, and this may be lectured upon only to one person at a time; the *matter of the Chariot* is the explanation of the vision of Ezekiel, which forms the second part of *the Garden*, and this portion of it may not be explained even to one person at a time, unless that person be a man of profound understanding. These two united make up *the Garden*, and are treated of, as we observed, in the first four chapters of the *Yad*. We may observe, by the way, that the Jews have always been very jealous of any intruders into their Talmudic mysteries, as, unless we are mistaken, the master of Constantine l'Empereur was excommunicated by the Synagogue for instructing him in them.† We must not, however, dwell longer on this treatise, important as it is, for we are desirous of introducing our readers to other matters of equal interest—we mean the doctrines of the Jews relative to Repentance.

\* See the preface to Clavering's translation of the two treatises above referred to. He there shows how far Maimonides was acquainted with the philosophical writings of the Greeks—of Plato, Aristotle, &c.

† *Clavis Talmudica*, Pref. p. 7. Ed. Bashuyten.



If there be one subject on which it is more interesting to know the opinions of a man like Maimonides than another, it is the subjects of Free Will, Guilt, Repentance, and other kindred points. If there be any part of our religious creed where an inadequate view of the *spirit* of the Old Testament is likely to set the Law and the Gospel in strong contrast, these are the points. We have, therefore, made an abstract of the various topics discussed by Maimonides, but we must refer our readers to the work itself for full satisfaction upon them. The *first* chapter lays down the necessity of repentance and confession, as deduced from the Old Testament. It shows the necessity of mentioning at the time of bringing the sin-offering, the sin for which it is offered, (Lev. v. 5). There was in days of old the scape-goat, but now that this is no longer offered as an atonement, and no house of sanctuary now exists, Maimonides says that repentance and confession alone remain. In the *second* chapter the laws of confession are considered, as well as the distinctions between public and private confession, where a writer on casuistry would find some valuable hints. We quote one of its most remarkable paragraphs.

“He who confesses with words, without having resolved in his heart to forsake [his sins]—Behold! he is like one who dips [in water, by way of performing the necessary purification] whilst holding an unclean animal in his hand, when his dipping can avail him nothing, unless he throw away the unclean animal; and so it is said, ‘*But whoso confesseth AND FORSAKETH [them] shall have mercy,*’ (Prov. xxviii. 13). Moreover it is necessary that he name his sin; for it is said, ‘*Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, AND HAVE MADE THEM GODS OF GOLD,*’ (Exod. xxxii. 31).”—pp. 220, 221.

The *third* chapter contains the most marked exhibition of the spirit of the law, as expounded by its most subtle commentator. We quote the first words of it.

“Every one of the sons of men has his good deeds, and also his wicked deeds. He whose good deeds amount to more than his wicked deeds, is [said to be] *a righteous man*, and he whose wicked deeds amount to more than his good deeds, is [said to be] *a wicked man*; [again, he whose deeds consist of] half [good ones] and half [wicked ones], is [said to be] *an intermediate man*.”—p. 229.

These are principles utterly unknown to the Gospel, which reckons no man righteous before God, except for the sake of Christ's righteousness, and abhors the principle of making up a debtor and creditor account between the good and evil deeds of man, and acquitting him after striking the balance! The remainder of this chapter is quite a commentary on what we have quoted, which serves as a text. The *fourth* is occupied with



naming the things which stand in the way of a man's repentance. The *fifth* asserts, and strongly argues, the free-will of man; but while it also asserts the fore-knowledge of God, it adds, that to reconcile these is "a problem—the measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea!" Maimonides here throws himself back in this difficulty on a principle which he had before established, that the sources of God's knowledge are different from those of the knowledge of man. In the *sixth* chapter the hardening of Pharoah's heart is considered, but the difficulty is solved by asserting that there are some sins so grievous that they take away all power of repentance, and that the withholding of such power is also one of the *punishments* used by the Deity. The *seventh* urges the necessity of constant repentance, because a man knows not the hour of his death. The *eighth* discusses the nature of the enjoyments of the world to come, and absolutely rejects all corporeal notions. The *ninth* considers the blessings offered by the law, and concludes with an earnest desire after the Messiah, that the Jews may be delivered from the yoke of foreign bondage. The *tenth* and last chapter lays down the doctrine, that man must serve God and love the law, not from the fear of punishment, but from a pure love of the law itself; and that he must be absorbed by God, as the object of his thoughts, just as a love-sight man is absorbed by the idol of his affections.

We have been thus particular in stating the nature of the discussions entered upon in these chapters, because they must present points of considerable interest to every divine; and, in fact, one can scarcely look into a work of divinity that goes beyond the mere elements, (Hey's Lectures,\* for instance,) without finding a reference to the opinions of Maimonides on these points. Till now he was only known in an Hebrew or a Latin dress, but Mr. Bernard has done great service in rendering him accessible to all readers at the smallest expense of trouble and time, which we are sure in this ease-loving age will prove a great advantage.

We have now noticed the chief matters contained in the extracts from Maimonides; but a very valuable portion of Mr. Bernard's book consists of the notes, which are calculated to give a tolerable notion of what is to be found in the Talmud, and to prove the judgment which Maimonides has shown in rejecting such follies. Of these we cannot give any general view; but we must quote a single anecdote, which tends to prove that the doctrine of *infallibility* is not to be charged on the Roman Catholic Church more strongly than on the Jewish. Indeed, an instructive comparison might be drawn up between Popery and Judaism. We have not left ourselves space enough to develope

\* See Hey, vol. iii. p. 197, on Art. X.

our ideas on that head, but we will only remark in passing that Protestants might learn one lesson from the strictness of the observances imposed on both these denominations of religion; they might take shame to themselves for their own neglect of those religious duties, such as prayer, &c., which are left to their own discretion, and ask themselves, with sorrow and repentance, whether they have not used "their liberty as a cloak of licentiousness." The anecdote to which we have alluded is the following.

"The importance which the Rabbins attach to this passage of Scripture, viz., *It is not in Heaven*, is so great, that they go so far as to say, that it implies that God has Himself renounced the right of ever interfering in the discussions of any of the commandments enjoined in the law; so that not only a prophet who should assume the right of deciding any rabbinical controversy on the alleged authority of inspiration would be disregarded, but even a voice from Heaven itself would be, and actually has been, disregarded in such instances. In the *Bab. Talmud, Treatise Babbah Meziah, Section 4*, a controversy is recorded to have taken place between Rabbi Eliezer and the other Rabbins; and after Rabbi Eliezer's opinion had been repeatedly rejected, it is stated as follows:

"He (Rabbi Eliezer) said unto them: "If the matter is to be decided by my opinion, let this Carob-tree, (*Siliqua Arbor*) prove it!" so the Carob-tree moved [from its place] to a distance of an hundred cubits, and, according to some, even to a distance of four hundred cubits; but the others said unto him, "Men must not bring proofs from a Carob-tree." Then he said again, "If the matter is to be decided by my opinion, let this stream of water prove it!"—so the stream of water changed its course, and flowed backwards; but the others said unto him, "Men must not bring proofs from a stream of water." Then he said again, "If the matter is to be decided by my opinion, let the walls of this lecture room prove it!" so the walls of the lecture room bent down and were about to fall, but Rabbi Joshua rebuked them, saying unto them: "When the disciples of the sages are contending with one another in law matters, of what consequence are you?" So the walls did not fall, out of respect to Rabbi Joshua, yet neither did they stand up, out of respect to Rabbi Eliezer, and so they are still standing obliquely. Then he (Rabbi Eliezer) said again unto them, "If the matter is to be decided by my opinion, let them prove it from Heaven!"—So an echo (a voice from Heaven) went forth and said: "What will you have from Rabbi Eliezer, according to whose opinion matters ought to be decided in all instances?" But Rabbi Joshua rose on his legs, and said—"IT IS NOT IN HEAVEN!"—But this [text] *It is not in Heaven*, what does it mean? Rabbi Jeremiah said: [it means that] "*men must not care for a voice from Heaven*, for it has already been written in the law on mount Sinai: **לְדִמְיוֹת אֲדָמָה** After a multitude [he ought] to incline, (Exod. xxiii. 2.)" Rabbi Nathan, on meeting Elijah, asked him: "What did the Holy One, blessed be He! do at that time?" (viz. at the time when the voice from

Heaven was thus disregarded and opposed by the above-stated argument;) when he (Elijah) answered him: "He laughed and said: My children have triumphed over Me! My children have triumphed over Me!" "—pp. 135—137.

Compared with this, the infallibility of the Pope, either *per se*, or with a general council, is a mere trifle! The passages from the Talmud, given in the notes, are selected with great judgment, a judgment which can only have been the result of intense study, and they are translated with the most scrupulous accuracy. To those who know how difficult a work the Talmud is, this will be no slight praise, and the perfect familiarity with every part of it, shown by Mr. Bernard, gives a very high character to the notes he has appended to the text of his author. They are always apt illustrations of the passage to which they refer; they are often very entertaining, and they will give the unlearned reader some notion of the method of discussion and narration pursued in that ponderous work. The glossaries and the list of abbreviations\* are of great use, and to those who are inclined to enter on some of the more difficult parts of Rabbinical literature, we can scarcely recommend a more useful work. Indeed, in this department of literature, we cannot complain, as we did in the beginning of this article in regard to science, of any very lavish offers of the papaspoon. Every morsel which is thrown to us requires some chewing, for it is extremely hard. We have mentioned the work of Wotton, which is almost indispensable to every student in Hebrew; we may add our recommendation of Reland's *Analecta Rabbinica*, the *Catalecta Rabbinica* of Mill, and the *Clavis Talmudica* by L'Empereur and Bashuysen, all of which are of the greatest service to those who study the Rabbis. Mr. Bernard's work will supply the place of many others, such as Vorst and Claverius, &c. Attention is indeed now excited towards the writings of the Jews in many parts of Europe. Whether the Abbe Chiarini has proceeded with his translation of the Talmud since the Polish war, we are not informed, but we fear that the unhappy condition of Warsaw must have interrupted his studies. Be this as it may, we have now lying before us two numbers of a new edition of the Mishna, now publishing in Berlin, with the points, a matter never attempted before. Beside the text runs another column parallel with it, which certainly rather confused us at first, as we attempted for a few moments to read it as Hebrew; but we soon found our mistake, and on examining it a little more closely, we soon found it to be tolerable German in

\* We recommend all Hebrew students, who buy the small dictionary of Bientorf, to look for the sixth edition (London, 1646) in preference to any other, as the London editors added a table called ראשי תיבות or *heads of words*, i. e. abbreviations, which has been subsequently omitted.

Hebrew characters.\* The two parts now published contain the same part of the Mishna as the two first volumes of Sarenhusius: It is published by a society of Jews, who are much in the habit of using the Hebrew characters for the common language of the country in which they live. We believe our own copy is one out of a very small number at present imported into England, but to those who know German and Hebrew, and are inclined to try their skill on the Mishna, it will prove a most valuable acquisition. We have already extended this article to so great a length that we have left ourselves only room to thank Mr. Bernard for the very great assistance he has afforded to the Rabbinical student, and the very great mass of interesting matter he has laid before the divine, who has not leisure for original research, and indeed before the mere English reader. We trust that his present work will receive so much more encouragement than the temper of the times would lead us to expect, that we may before long find him engaged in other literary works. He might be of the greatest service by composing a work expressly designed as a more general introduction to Rabbinical literature, with a series of selections from various authors, or he might enliven and instruct us by a set of stories from the Talmud. We shall be glad to find him engaged in either one or the other, and heartily wish him success in any of his literary engagements.

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ART. III.—*Works of Robert Hall, with a Memoir of his Life.*

By Olinthus Gregory, LL.D., &c. &c. Vol. VI. 8vo.

THERE probably is not a man in the kingdom, capable of feeling the slightest interest in the manifestations of intellect, virtue, and religion, who is not familiarly acquainted with the name of Robert Hall. His published specimens of Pulpit Oratory were, some of them at least, of such surpassing splendour and power, that they took at once an elevated station in our standard theological literature, and placed their author, beyond all dispute, among the great and commanding spirits of the present age. The death of such a man became, of course, an object of deep and melancholy concern, not only with the members of his own particular communion, but with all persons, of every persuasion, throughout the whole range of intelligent society in the realm. And this emotion was followed by a not unnatural anxiety for the publica-

\* Pfeiffer Opp. p. 805, gives an alphabet for writing and for reading German in Hebrew characters. The worst and most difficult we have ever met with is that proposed by Bientorf, at the end of his *Thesaur. Grammat.*

tion of every fragment, which he left behind him, in a fit state to be produced as a memorial of his ability and worth. It had long been a subject of incessant wonder with the public, and of almost indignant complaint among his friends, that he took so little heed to stamp a broad and durable impress of himself on future generations. His contributions to the press, assuredly, had borne no proportion to the vast and precious stores of thought which were known to be perpetually issuing from the depths of his capacious mind. The chief vent for these great accumulations was afforded by the stated exercises of the pulpit: and, in the pulpit of a small community—(without the slightest disrespect to his hearers, it may be affirmed)—his resources, in a certain measure, ran to waste. They may have enriched, beyond all estimate that we can easily form, the spirits among whom they were more immediately distributed. But it was eagerly desired, by all who knew the man, that the benefit of his meditations and exertions should have a range much more diffusive than that of a limited, though, doubtless, a truly respectable congregation. And, now that his place on earth knoweth him no more, it has been thought due to the name of the deceased,—to the impatience of the public,—and, we may add, to the interests of his surviving family,—that as ample a collection as possible should be made, of the remaining monuments of his mighty understanding.

We shall be ascribing to those entrusted to this undertaking, no motive which they need to disclaim, if we say, that a friendly solicitude for the interests of the widow and the children of Robert Hall has, apparently, presided over the execution of their task. The reputation of the author would, in our judgment, have been quite as effectually consulted, if the dimensions of the work had been reduced, by nearly that whole portion of it, which consists of fragments, and notes, and skeletons of sermons, printed from memoranda taken down by persons who were present at the delivery. We have no doubt that these representations of the preacher's "breathing thoughts and burning words," are as accurate as admiration or attention could make them. But it surpasses the power even of a professional stenographer to furnish an exact transcript of the highest eloquence; more especially when the utterance of the speaker is rapid and impetuous, like that of Robert Hall. The task, therefore, must utterly defy the dexterity and the diligence of any mind, or of any hand, that is not prepared for it by incessant practice. The consequence is that, whatever may be the precision of the outline, we can, after all, feel but a very imperfect reliance on the fidelity of the colouring, and the preservation of the general effect. In fact, it generally happened, that, towards the close of Hall's address, the

**Reporters** felt themselves compelled to abandon their office. At that stage of his work, the speaker was often urged to a rapidity, which the pen of the readiest writer must have toiled after in vain. The chariot wheels of his contemplation kindled into flame, with the vehemence of the motion. Every faculty of the hearer was strained to the uttermost in following their fiery course. No power was left, but the power—(if we so may term it)—of self-abandonment and rapture. We speak this, in part, from personal recollection. As long ago as the year 1801, it was the chance of one of our fraternity to be present when Hall was preaching at Cambridge, on the text,—*we wrestle not against flesh and blood, &c. &c.* The theme was admirably fitted to his powers: and, without any distinct remembrance,—at this distance of time,—of the precise line of exposition and illustration adopted by the preacher, our colleague declares that the effect of the whole will never be effaced from his memory. For the first few minutes, the performance was level and moderate enough: it was even rendered somewhat wearisome by a frequent iteration of the text: so that the speaker seemed to be going forth merely as any other man. But, as he proceeded, the fountains of the great deep began to be stirred, and broken up, within his soul; and then the deluge of sacred oratory came on. Pause or resistance were altogether vain, before the rushing and the sweep of its mighty waters. It seemed as if some superhuman power was *sitting upon the flood*. For one full hour together, did this bursting overflow continue, with scarcely a minute's abatement. And the congregation retired, to all appearance, bewildered with a solemn intensity of admiration. A more surprising exhibition of his strength has, probably, been seldom witnessed. If any of the *Reporters* were present, they did most wisely to abstain from a moment's attempt to perpetuate its glories in writing. And we advert to it, for the purpose of guarding the reader against the delusion of imagining that they have before them, in many of the feeble sketchings contained in these volumes, any tolerable representation of the “dazzling miracles” of Robert Hall. If his disembodied spirit could now be supposed to retain any care of his posthumous fame, such a collection of crude fragments might be almost sufficient to make him “walk the earth” again. And we greatly doubt whether the benevolent motive, which may have prompted this somewhat book-making expedient, would serve to pacify the agitation of his “perturbed spirit.”

It will appear, in the sequel, that there are certain other grounds upon which the discretion of the editor may be open to reasonable question, in his conduct of his undertaking. But before we proceed to a statement of them, it may be desirable to



present the reader with a brief outline of Hall's biography. His life, as might be anticipated, by all who ever heard much about him, turns out to have been very far from eventful. His birth was in 1764, at the village of Arnsby, about eight miles from Leicester. His father was the minister of a baptist congregation, of whom little is now known; but whose character was of no ordinary stamp, if we are implicitly to acquiesce in the following vigorous portraiture of him by his son;—"he appeared to the greatest advantage upon subjects when the faculties of other men failed them: for the natural element of his mind was *greatness*." If this were so, the paternal attribute suffered nothing by degeneracy: for it must be allowed that, whatever may have been the defects of Robert Hall, *greatness* was undoubtedly the distinguishing element of his nature. His childhood was so delicate and feeble, that it was scarcely expected that any care could preserve him to maturity. He was unable to walk, or to articulate until he was two years old. He was, moreover, very early, a severe sufferer from acute pains in his back; which became constantly more and more excruciating as he advanced in years. His whole life, indeed, was one protracted martyrdom. To use the language of one of his medical friends, his bodily constitution was "an apparatus of torture." Towards the close of his days he was,—(to adopt his own description of the trials of his friend Mr. Fuller,) "oppressed with a prodigious load of corporeal misery." And in order that our readers may know, before hand, the fearful accumulation of physical wretchedness which was constantly gathering in his bodily frame, it may be proper, in this place, to lay before them the result of the *post mortem* examination of his remains, as described in a letter from Dr. Prichard to Dr. F. Thackeray of Cambridge.

"We found the heart diseased in substance, and the muscular structure soft, and looking like macerated cellular membrane. The left ventricle was judged to be one-third larger than usual. The whole of the aorta was diseased; the internal membrane, in parts where it had not been in contact with blood, of a bright scarlet colour, which increased in deepness, and, in the abdominal part of the artery, was of a red purple hue. It contained in several places, patches of bony matter, about the size of a sixpence. This was the case more particularly about the *arteria innominata*. The lungs were healthy. The kidney, on the right side, was entirely filled by a large, rough, pointed calculus! There was also an exostosis on the body of the fourth dorsal vertebra, about the third of an inch in height, and prominent. This was too high to be the seat of the long-continued pain, which must have arisen from the *renal calculus*. The gall bladder was quite full of *calculi*; though he had never experienced any symptoms referring to

the liver, or biliary secretion. *Probably no man ever went through more physical suffering than Mr. Hall.*"—vol. vi. Mem. 183, 184.

These anatomical details, it is true, are far from inviting. But they are by no means unimportant to those, who are desirous of estimating duly the energies of which the human character is capable; especially when under the training of religious principles. It is wonderful enough that, with such destructive tendencies at work within it, the corporeal fabric of Hall should have been able to spread out into such ample muscular developement—(for, though not corpulent, his frame was remarkably massive and athletic). But still more astonishing is it, that the mental powers did not sink down under the pressure of such perpetual anguish. It has been thought that he was *indolent* by constitution; and the surmise is partially confirmed by his own confessions. And if by indolence we are to understand reluctance to encounter painful exertion, the imputation may possibly be just. He was, for instance, *indolently* averse from the labour of writing. But, with Hall, the labour of writing often involved the endurance of severe agony: the posture requisite for it was almost insufferably tormenting. A recumbent position was, for a great portion of his life, the only one which afforded him ease. Who, then, can be surprised at his impatience of that importunity which was constantly urging him to the press? That the indolence of which he complains involved no defect of mental activity, is obvious from the whole tenor of his life.

But to return to the history of his boyhood. When once he had overcome the difficulty of articulating, the natural ardour of his mind speedily displayed itself. His speech became rapid, and his questions incessant. His fondness for metaphysical and devotional reading displayed itself while he was a schoolboy. Jonathan Edwards, and Butler's Analogy, were among his favourite *recreations*, before he was ten years old! At length he was transferred to the care of the "Bristol Education Society;" and it is related of him that, while he was there, his intellectual pride experienced a mortifying but salutary check. He was appointed to deliver an address in the vestry of Broadmead chapel on 1 Tim. iv. 10. For a short time he proceeded, with entire self-possession, and much to the satisfaction of his auditory. He then suddenly paused, and covering his face with his hands, exclaimed—"Oh! I have lost all my ideas!"—and, on this, he sat down, still hiding his face. About a week after, a second attempt was attended by a second failure still more painful; so painful, that he rushed from the vestry to his own chamber, and cried out—"if *this* does not humble me, the devil *must* have me!"

In 1780, he expressed a wish to enter the ministry; and this wish was ratified by the "church" at Arnsby, who recorded their unanimous request that "Robert Hall, junior, might be set apart for public employ." About a year after this, he was sent to pursue his studies at King's College, Aberdeen, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Sir James Mackintosh; of which distinguished individual Hall frequently reiterated his persuasion, that he possessed an intellect more analogous to that of Bacon than any person of modern times. In 1783 he became connected, as an assistant to Dr. Evans, with the "Church" at Broadmead; and in 1785, (having finished his course at Aberdeen,) he continued his ministerial labours with such splendid success, that his humility must have been in considerable danger. In fact, it appears that his friends began, about this time, to be haunted by serious apprehensions on his account. He had manifested, in private converse at least, a daring and adventurous spirit, that feared not to plunge into the crater of wild and perilous speculation. At last, Dr. Ryland was unable to rest, until he had made an effort to reclaim the wanderer by epistolary admonition; in which Hall was, very judiciously, reminded, that "the lusts of the mind may as effectually ruin a man, as the lusts of the flesh." The main "*head and front*" of Hall's offending, on this occasion, appears to have been a speech to this effect,—that "if he were the Judge of all, he could not condemn Dr. Priestly." This, to be sure, would have been *liberal* with a vengeance, if Hall had actually uttered it. In his reply, however,—(which on the whole was abundantly candid and modest)—he denies the precise language imputed to him. What were his exact words, the memoir of his life does not inform us. We only learn that, although he disclaimed all approach to Socinianism in his own opinions, he endeavoured to justify the language he had really used. From all this it may, at least, be reasonably inferred that he was, at that period, unwilling to exclude the Socinians from the pale of Christianity. And,—if this inference be just,—his notions relative to this matter must subsequently have undergone a most egregious revolution: for, in a letter to a friend, written in the year 1816, he declares himself firmly persuaded that Socinians are *not* in a condition of *salvability*; and, without hesitation, classes them with infidels. (vol. v. p. 501, 502). Nevertheless, in the instance immediately before us, he confesses himself guilty of *imprudence*: but adds, with a little pardonable soreness, "I now see, with more clearness than I formerly did, that the imprudent should never come into company with the malicious."

We have no space to detail the circumstances which led to Hall's removal from Bristol to Cambridge. They seem to have

been partly connected with the expression of opinions similar to those which were, long subsequently, developed by him in his writings on Terms of Communion; and for the digestion of which, the "Church" at Bristol appears to have been, at that time, not altogether prepared. His biographer records these transactions, under a profound conviction that the wisdom and mercy of God were therein *strikingly* manifested. That the divine wisdom and mercy find occasions for exercise in every transaction of life, and in every corner of the world, can be questioned by none who are in possession of the oracles of God. We may nevertheless be permitted to question the soundness, or modesty, of the judgment, which can venture to trace so distinctly, the providential agency and interference, in the removal of a minister, whether of the Baptist or any other persuasion, from a congregation at Bristol to a congregation at Cambridge! But, be this as it may,—in 1791, the migration took place. It is well known that the predecessor of Hall at Cambridge was Mr. Robinson,—a preacher distinguished by his fascinating powers of eloquence—by his inordinate personal vanity—and, lastly, by his fatal lapse from the faith once delivered to the saints. When Hall first heard Mr. Robinson preach, he was so *bitten* by his manner, that he resolved to make him his model. His natural pride, however, soon came to his deliverance from the slavery of imitation. His own account of the matter is singularly characteristic:—

"After my second trial, Sir, as I was walking home, I heard one of the congregation say to another,—‘Really Mr. Hall *did* remind us of Mr. Robinson!’—That, Sir, was a knock-down blow to my vanity: and I resolved that if ever I did acquire reputation, it should be my own reputation, and not that of a *likeness*. Besides, Sir, if I had not been a foolish young man, I should have seen how ridiculous it was to imitate such a preacher as Mr. Robinson. *He* had a musical voice, and was master of all its intonations. He had wonderful self-possession, and could say *what* he pleased, *when* he pleased, and *how* he pleased: while *my* voice and manner were naturally bad; and, far from having self-command, I never entered the pulpit without omitting something I wished to say, and saying something I wished unsaid. And, besides all this, I ought to have known that for *me* to speak slow was ruin. You know, Sir, that force, or momentum, is conjointly as the body and velocity. Therefore as my voice is feeble, what is wanted in body, must be made up in velocity, or there will not be, there cannot be, any impression."

And, accordingly, all who have ever heard him must remember that Hall was one of the most rapid of speakers; and, when thoroughly moved and animated by his subject, certainly one of the most impressive. Such was the impetuous rush of his thoughts, that it demanded an almost precipitate utterance; and, in spite of the imperfection of his voice, imparted to him all the force and

majesty of a Boanerges. His own thunder, therefore, was very excellent thunder; and he did most wisely to abstain from borrowing the thunder of any other man.

The very first sermon preached by him to the congregation which had witnessed the vicissitudes and declensions of his predecessor's creed, was any thing but encouraging to an orthodox and zealous man. "Mr. Hall"—said one of the congregation to him in the vestry—"this preaching wont do for us: it will only suit a congregation of old women." (The preaching of Hall, he it observed, had been on the Atonement and its practical tendencies.) Hall, however, was nothing daunted by this very uncere- monious and hereticoal criticism. He replied—"Do you mean my sermon, Sir, or the doctrine?"—"Your doctrine"—rejoined the censor: "It is fit for old women, because it may suit the musings of people tottering on the brink of the grave, and who are eagerly seeking for comfort."—"The doctrine, Sir,"—answered Hall—"will not suit people of any age unless it be *true*; and if it be true, it is equally important at *every* age." The critics, however, thought otherwise; and accordingly transferred them- selves, to the number of about twenty or thirty, to the spiritual custody of the reverend and notorious William Fread of Jesus College!

Soon after this period, the epidemic phrenzy of the French Revolution began to rage in England: and it must be confessed that Hall became, for a time, as drunken and rabid with "that drink of deadly wine," as the most furious bacchanals of pa- triotism: and his ravings were speedily circulated in the form of a pamphlet,—the celebrated "Apology for the Freedom of the Press." The following is his own history of the process by which he was goaded to this most pernicious exploit:

"Alderman Ind, you know, Sir, was an excellent man; *pure as a seraph, and gentle as a lamb*. I thought that, if he felt roused,—if he could join with the rest in urging me,—I might bring all hesitation to a truce; and so, in an *evil hour*, I yielded to their entreaties. I went home to my lodgings, and began to write immediately; sat up all night; and, wonderful for me, kept up the intellectual ferment for almost a month: and then the thing was done. I revised it a little, as it went through the press. But *I have ever since regretted that I wrote so hastily and superficially upon some subjects brought forward*, which required touching with a master-hand, and exploring to their very foundations. So far as I understand the purely political principles which are advanced in that pamphlet, they are, I believe, correct. At all events they are mine still. But, I repeat it, *I yielded in an evil hour*; especially, if I had any wish to obtain permanent reputation as a political writer. Perhaps, however, the pamphlet had its use in those perilous times."

Its use the pamphlet undoubtedly had : and what that use was, is, *very frankly*, expounded to us by the editor. It provided faction and discontent with an abundant supply of "splendid and impressive" declamation. It was, also, widely circulated in America; and is, *there*, "still regarded as having been powerfully influential in diffusing those *liberal principles*, which of late have acquired so marked an ascendancy in Great Britain." In spite, however, of these great services to the cause of *liberality*, we suspect that Hall must, to the latest moment of his life, have continued, secretly, to regard it as, indeed, *an evil hour*, when he listened to the suggestions of the *seraphic* alderman. And still more evil, if possible, was the hour, when he yielded to applications for a reprint of this, and certain other of his youthful exercises. His apology was, that the copyright was then expired; that his published works were the absolute property of the public; and that his own abstinence from republication would, consequently, be quite ineffectual for the suppression of the writings in question. We must honestly confess that this view of the matter is, in our humble judgment, as far as possible from satisfactory. Either he repented of these performances, or he did not. If he did repent, the work meetest for repentance would have been a public protest against their republication, and a declaration that, if they were reprinted, the blame must rest with those who, in violation of his wish, persisted in the undertaking. If he did *not* repent, it must have been because his political sentiments remained unaltered; a vindication which his friends will find it exceedingly difficult to make good. That he may have continued, to his latest hour, the advocate of certain abstract political principles, may, undoubtedly, be true. It was too much to expect that a man like Hall should ever have *degenerated* into a Tory, or,—(to use the current phrase of our own day,)—a *Conservative*. But nothing can well be more certain than the fact, that, as he advanced in age, experience, and observation, a mighty change *did* come over his spirit. It is irresistibly manifest from the tenor of his later writings, that, if his main principles continued the same, there *was* a prodigious alteration in his views respecting the tone and manner in which such principles should be asserted, and the extent in which they could be safely and practically applied. Every day he lived must have satisfied him, that truth itself *may* frequently be put forth in a spirit which shall essentially degrade and vitiate it, and cause it to produce many of the worst effects of falsehood. And if he did perceive this, and yet consented to become a party to the reproduction of these earlier compositions, we know not how his conduct in the matter can be justly entitled to the highest praise of Christian courage and



simplicity. We apprehend that he was (perhaps unconsciously) influenced by the fear, lest there should be an appearance of cowardice in any thing that could be construed into an open disavowal of the generous prepossessions and sentiments of his youth; and that this feeling was too strong even for his awakened sense of the dangers which attend upon all eruptions of political intemperance. The same feeling appears to have been most sacredly respected by the surviving guardians of his reputation: and hence it is, that the early political writings of Hall have found a place in this posthumous collection of his works!

He soon discovered that his fame as a politician was rather an inconvenient appendage to his ministerial character. It made him acquainted with strange companions; and his encomium of Priestly, more particularly, encouraged the Socinians to claim him for their own. "Ah! Mr. Hall," said a theological adherent of the Doctor, tapping him on the shoulder, "we shall have you among us soon, I see."—Hall stood aghast at this obtrusion of the right hand of fellowship. "*Me amongst you*, Sir," he instantly replied—" *me amongst you!* why, Sir, if ever that were the case, I should deserve to be tied to the tail of the great red dragon, and whipped round the nethermost regions to all eternity." From this expression of horror at the thoughts of Socinian fraternity, it would appear that his creed, on this particular point, was then undoubtedly orthodox. This, however, is more than can be said for the correctness of his taste or judgment: for we are told that somewhere about the same period, with all his dread of imitation, he was actually an imitator of Samuel Johnson. "Yes, Sir,"—he said to a friend, some years afterwards—"Yes Sir; I aped Johnson; and I preached Johnson; and, I fear, with little more of Evangelical sentiment than is to be found in his Essays. But it was a youthful folly; and it was a very great folly. I might as well have attempted to dance a hornpipe in the cumbrous costume of Gog and Magog. My puny thoughts could not sustain the load of words in which I tried to clothe them." But although he abjured the authority and example of the great literary Dictator, in the formation of his style and delivery in public, it was not quite so easy for him to escape the imputation of setting him up as a pattern for his demeanor in private. We say the imputation; for we are by no means satisfied that Hall ever talked, or dogmatized, with Samuel Johnson in his thoughts. Some natural similarity there undoubtedly was, in the constitutional temperament and intellectual habits of the two men. Both of them were naturally impetuous and somewhat arbitrary. Both of them were sternly intolerant of vice, impiety, and folly. Both of them were, inevitably, though not, perhaps,

proudly, conscious of their intellectual superiority above the vast collection of units, of which human society is made up. Both of them, too, were in the habits of giving emphasis to their conversation by the frequent introduction of the monosyllable, "Sir." And lastly, both of them were inordinately fond of tea! Johnson's exploits in that way, have long been consigned to immortality. And Hall is scarcely less deserving of imperishable honor, for his fidelity and devotion to the glories of the tea-table. Thirty cups, in the course of an afternoon, was no uncommon achievement. He confessed that it was his practice to carry on a tea-drinking expedition through four families in the evening, and to swallow seven or eight cups with each. All these are peculiarities, which might well recall Johnson to the mind of any one who happened to frequent the society of Hall: but it would be very difficult to believe that they were the result of any deliberate purpose of imitation. The society of Parr converted Hall into an inveterate smoker. But the atmosphere in which he lived, from thenceforth, to the end of his days, is surely not to be regarded as so much incense, offered up by his veneration for the authority and example of that *Cæsar* of Literature:

The residence of Hall at Cambridge was, beyond all question, the most interesting period of his life, considered with reference, not so much to his ministerial character, as to the general development of his mental faculties. He there had access to an almost unlimited collection of books. He had, likewise, abundant opportunities of intercourse with men of cultivated and accomplished minds; though he seems to have been withheld by some feeling of shyness and reserve, from availing himself very freely of this advantage. At all events, he lived in an atmosphere of intelligence, surrounded by monuments of the illustrious dead, by memorials of by-gone ages, and by visible records of the progress of the human mind. And, all these together, must have powerfully combined to promote the expansion and elevation of his powers. At Cambridge, too, it was, that his thoughts must have been painfully engaged in watching the sanguinary course of that portentous meteor, on which his youthful gaze had been fixed, as it were, in a trance of glorious anticipation! At last, his emotions of disappointment and abhorrence burst forth in his magnificent sermon on "Modern Infidelity." The delivery and publication of this wonderful composition, form, perhaps, the most intensely luminous point in his biography. A blaze of grateful admiration followed its appearance, the brightness of which, of course, disturbed and angered the obscene birds of darkness: and they accordingly came forth, from their sordid hiding places, and began to wheel around his flight, and to hawk and gabble at him, as he

was "towering in his pride of place."—His consistency and integrity were most virulently and scurvily impeached by Mr. Benjamin Flower, and his obscure contributors to the "Cambridge Intelligencer." Another polemic, a Mr. Antony Robinson—(of whom, we believe, no mortal ever heard before, or has ever heard since)—vented an abundance of slander and impiety, in a pamphlet, which he called an "Examination" of Mr. Hall's Sermon; in which he roundly contended that "all Religions are infinitely worse than any kind or degree of scepticism;" and that "Atheism leaves every human motive present in full force; while every mode of faith changes the name and the nature of morality, saps the foundation of all benevolence, and introduces malice, hostility, and murder, under the pretext of love to God." All this raving, like any other pitiable eruption of insanity, must have been very distressing to the feelings of Hall. But it was far too contemptible personally to move or to provoke him. The applause of a single wise and good man, must have been amply sufficient to indemnify him for the yelling of a whole pack of the brood of darkness; and he was now rewarded by the applause of *every* wise and good man in the Empire. His reputation was, from that moment, unalterably fixed. He was admired as an honor to the human race. He was revered as the Champion of the Living God.

The sermon on the Peace, and that on the "Sentiments proper to the present crisis," on the recommencement of the war in 1803, were the next triumphs of Hall's transcendent powers. They both of them were quite worthy of his splendid renown: and the latter of them, more especially, was the general theme of praise and wonder. The public mind was, at that period, fully attuned to the majestic and noble harmonies of the composition. And, besides, it exhibited the author as a profound master of the philosophy of those truths and principles, which he maintained with all the fire of an orator, and with all the solemnity which became a servant of God. It must, likewise, have been signally animating to every friend of order, humanity, and loyalty, to hear a man of Hall's political views, declaring, that the struggle was now for existence, not for empire,—that, formerly, the public was shamefully deceived by the abuse of the sacred name of liberty—but that "the popular delusion was now passed; the most unexampled prodigies of guilt had dispelled it; and after a series of rapine and cruelty, *had torn from every heart the last fibres of mistaken partiality.*"

The years 1804 and 1805 were, each of them, unhappily memorable for a temporary eclipse, which passed over the mind of this extraordinary man. The tormenting pains in his back had

increased to a degree which deprived him of sleep, and destroyed the buoyancy of his spirits. A mitigation of toil was becoming indispensable. He accordingly retired to the village of Shelford, about five miles from Cambridge; an arrangement which was recommended in the hope that the short journeys on horseback, which would thus be necessary, might contribute essentially to his restoration. But this partial banishment unfortunately consigned him to long and dreary intervals of solitude: and solitude naturally tempted him to more intense and continued mental application. He was often known to be, for twelve hours together, closely grappling with study, or immersed in abstract thought. The effect of this strain upon his faculties, was, first, a most fearful excitement of his nervous system, and, eventually, an overthrow of the equilibrium of his mind.

This darkness, however, passed away in about two months. In April, 1805, he resumed his ministerial functions at Cambridge; but, most injudiciously, his residence was then fixed at Foulmire, a spot still more distant than Shelford from the scene of his labours. The consequence of this was a still more dangerous seclusion than before, from social intercourse, and a second invasion of his awful malady. From this attack he speedily recovered. But it was deemed by his medical friends that the permanent establishment of his health could only be secured by his retirement from the pastoral office at Cambridge, and by his total abstinence, for at least a twelvemonth, both from the duties of the pulpit, and from every occupation which might be attended with much emotion or excitement.

There is printed, in the Memoir before us, a letter addressed to Hall, in September, 1805, by his old college friend Sir James Mackintosh, remarkable for the felicity of its diction, and the warmth and delicacy of its sentiments. Sir James was then at Bombay, where he held the office of Recorder: and the letter in question was occasioned by the intelligence of Hall's recent calamity; which the writer ascribes to

“ the indignant struggles of a pure mind, with the low realities around it,—the fervent aspirations after regions more congenial to it,—and a momentary blindness, produced by the fixed contemplation of objects too bright for human vision.”

And he afterwards adds,

“ I exhort you, my most worthy friend, to check your best propensities for the sake of attaining their object. You cannot live *for* men without living *with* them. Serve God; then, by the active service of men. Contemplate more the good you can do, than the evil you can only lament. Allow yourself to see the loveliness of virtue, amidst all its imperfections; and employ your moral imagination, not so much by

bringing it into contrast with the model of ideal perfection, as in gently blending some of the fainter colours of the latter, with the brighter hues of real experienced excellence; thus heightening their beauty, instead of broadening the shade, which must surround us till we awaken from this dream in other spheres of existence."

All this is very noble, and very beautifully expressed. But we greatly doubt, after all, whether it was very closely to the purpose! If Mackintosh had been a physician, he might almost as well have sent his friend a *prescription* for his malady from Bombay, without the possibility of knowing the case, or watching a single symptom of it. He had not seen Hall for five-and-twenty years; and had, doubtless, got it into his head, that the patient was *merely* a recluse and visionary man,—one, who had been, for a long time past, straining all his faculties, by the intense and uninterrupted application of them to "thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls;"—that he had been incessantly brooding, in agony and despair, over the turpitude and misery of his fellow-beings, condemned to "crawl between heaven and earth,"—and had fled for refuge from the mean and ugly realities of life, into an ideal world of loveliness and grandeur. If such were the notions of Sir James, he appears to us to have been considerably mistaken. That the powers of Hall had been long and intimately conversant with the highest objects of human contemplation, is unquestionably true. Neither can it be doubted that his musings upon the *vanity and corruption* under which the *whole creation is travailing in pain together*, were sorrowful and gloomy enough; for the theme is one, which affords, to every thoughtful mind, abundant room for "meditation e'en to madness." But then, it most certainly is *not* true that Hall surrendered himself willingly, and without resistance and reserve, to these unearthly abstractions. In the first place, the solitude, which seems to have brought his complaint to a crisis, was not of his own seeking. His banishment, first to Shelford, and then to Foulmire, is to be ascribed to the well-intentioned, though scarcely judicious counsels, of his friends and advisers. And, secondly, so far was he from "*indignant struggles*" against sublunary "realities," that he was perpetually yearning after the relief and consolation of social intercourse. Few men knew better than Hall that we "cannot live *for* men, without living *with* them." And, if there is any one thing more surprising than another, in his character, it is his capacity for deriving enjoyment from the homeliest scenes of daily life. We learn from his biographer, that one of his chief delights was to relax and abandon himself, in the midst of a domestic circle,—to join, with vivacity and interest, in the most ordinary topics of conversation,—and, above all, to recruit his overwrought

spirit, by toying and prattling with children. From scenes like these, he always rose like a giant refreshed: and this refreshment was often experienced by him, where others who accompanied him had been ready to yawn themselves, almost to dislocation, from very weariness, at the heavy routine of the evening. It is related of him, that if any of his family happened to complain that their entertainment had been dull, his reply would be,—“ I don’t think so. It was very pleasant. I enjoyed it. *I enjoy every thing.*” It is true that this must have happened long after his calamitous seizure. But still it is a manifest indication of the natural temper and habit of the man: and, light as the circumstance may possibly appear to some, to us, we confess, it is one of the most instructive and glorious passages in his whole biography. Here was a man, whose powers seemed almost adapted for converse with disembodied spirits,—whose thoughts were frequently “ wandering through eternity,”—a man, too, whose life was a constant wrestling against bodily anguish,—whose corporeal structure was “ an apparatus of torment,”—and who, yet, was able to seek and to find delight among the humblest recreations of society, and to exclaim, in the gratitude and fulness of his heart, “ *I enjoy every thing!*”—Behold this, ye despisers, and wonder! Think of this,—and then turn to the last hours of the sensualist and the infidel,—of him, whose genius, it is to be feared, is, to this day, as a *Lying Spirit* to many of the children of disobedience! Hall, on the rack of a diseased organization, is able to *enjoy every thing*. Byron, when his temples are throbbing with the self-inflicted pains of a vicious life, cries out “ there is nothing but misery in this world, I think!”\* If this contrast does not speak to the hearts and understandings of men, the voice of wisdom would be heard in vain from the jaws of the sepulchre itself. “ To enjoy is to obey” was the maxim of the one; and *his* lips were touched with the living flame of the altar. “ To disobey is to enjoy,” was the principle of the other; and out of his mouth there leaped forth sparks, such as might *set on fire the whole course of nature*. And when examples like these are recorded for our instruction, does it not seem as if the Lord himself were speaking to us, and calling heaven and earth to witness against us, that life and death, blessing and cursing, are, even in this world, most manifestly set before us?

But to recur to Sir J. Mackintosh. Although it does appear to us that he did not reach the case of his friend, up to the very “ height of the great argument,” we are most deeply sensible of the kindly and elevated spirit which pervades his address. It is well known that he was considered as the fittest of living men to

\* See Dr. Millingen’s Account of Byron.



prepare an enduring tribute to the memory of Hall; and to exhibit his virtues and talents to the world with eloquence and feeling worthy of his distinguished friend. This pious office he had actually accepted: but, before he could set his hand to the work, the shadows of death gathered round his own temples; and another powerful and accomplished intellect was removed from among us. Had he been spared to achieve the undertaking, he doubtless would have been furnished with better means, than he could possibly possess, when resident in India, of accurately estimating the peculiarities of the deceased. He would have seen that Hall's was not a "fugitive and cloistered piety," which steals away from "the dust and heat" of this nether world. With all his strong tendency to mental abstraction, and lonely concentration of thought, he had sympathies and feelings, which perpetually craved communion with his fellow-men, and often sent him forth, from house to house, among the members of his congregation, as their unaffected companion—their cordial friend—their faithful guide in the ways of righteousness and peace. And if Dr. Gregory,—(the biographer, to whom we now trust),—be well-informed—which we see no reason to question—the unhappy, and involuntary suspension of this pastoral and domestic intercourse with his people, was the more immediate cause of the disastrous disturbance of his mental powers. He had been worn out with pain and sleeplessness; and, in this state, in spite of himself, was driven back into the regions of solitary meditation: and it can scarcely be too much to say that he was, there, probably, bowed down beneath that exceeding weight of glory, which may sometimes partially reveal itself to a pure spirit, when it emerges, for a season, from the fog and darkness of this nether world.

According to the account before us, the visitation we have been considering formed a memorable era in his life. It was his own conviction—(to use the words of his biographer)—that, "until his first seizure at Cambridge, he did not undergo a *thorough* transformation of character, a *complete* renewal of his heart and affections." We have no disposition whatever to institute a captious inquiry into the justness of this sort of phraseology; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with saying, that the "transformation of character" and "the renewal of heart and affections" appear to us to have been a process which had been, evidently, going on from the days of his boyhood. At what particular period that process was "*thorough and complete*," we dare not confidently to pronounce: for, in our humble judgment, it is not given to man, in any instance, to fix upon the point, on this side the grave, at which that blessed consummation is ever achieved. We are, however, abundantly willing to acquiesce in the state-

ment, that the calamity in question was, as Hall himself regarded it, a dispensation of goodness as well as severity; and that it helped to mellow and ripen him for the enjoyments which await the spirits of *just men made perfect*. The fruits of it appear to have been abundantly shown forth in the next scene of his pastoral ministrations. After a period of very salutary relaxation, he accepted the care of a congregation in Harvey Lane, Leicester: and in 1808, the year after his removal, he exchanged his life of domestic solitude for the consolations and the cares of matrimony: and there is every reason to believe that the experiment was signally favourable to his happiness. In this situation he continued till the year 1826. The whole interval is represented to us as distinguished by a course of eminently useful and laborious exertion, and by a constantly increasing earnestness in the inculcation of saving truth. It was here, we are informed, that his powers of intellect were brought into more complete subordination, than they yet had been, to that majestic simplicity of thought and utterance, which best becomes an Ambassador of Heaven. His appeal was, more uniformly than ever, to the conscience and the heart, rather than to the reason or the imagination of his hearers. Every faculty seemed to be drawn into more willing captivity to the obedience of Christ. The splendour of his mind was wholly unimpaired; but, instead of bursting forth, so frequently as before, like the lightning-flash, it glowed with a mild and sober radiance, and gradually diffused around it the serenity of that peace which passeth understanding.

His last remove was from Leicester to Bristol. It appears, from one of his letters, that in 1825, the state of his congregation at Leicester "was far from being precisely as he could wish." There were other reasons which tempted him strongly to entertain thoughts of a change. "My inclination"—he says—"I confess, stands towards Bristol. The reasons are obvious. Two sisters, justly dear to me, residing there; a place dear to me from ancient recollections, and from the most enchanting scenery;"—(the dead level of the country round Cambridge had been a serious positive evil to him; and his yearning after the grand and the picturesque, was but little better satisfied at Leicester)—"access to books, a want which I most grievously feel here; many old friends, or the families of old friends, whom I much love and esteem; a superior description of society; and, I may add, equal, if not superior prospects of usefulness. . . . On the other hand"—he adds—"I most sensibly feel the difficulty of leaving a people, who are most affectionately attached, and a congregation which I have, through mercy, been the instrument of raising from a very low to a very flourishing state." At length,

however, after a painful conflict, he resolved to return to Bristol, the scene of his first continuous labours, and now to become the scene of his closing ministry. His letter of resignation to the "church" in Harvey Lane, is dated April 3, 1826. The remaining fragment of his life was nearly five years. In a year or two after his removal, the infirmities of age came rapidly upon him. Disease and pain had long been doing their work upon his constitution: and, towards the last, their pressure was terribly aggravated by his inability to take exercise. His sufferings became gradually more and more severe; but, he observed, that he found in contemplation of the sufferings of Christ the most effectual antidote to all impatience. His last paroxysm was on the 21st February, 1831, and it was dreadful. At length, however, his spirit was released from further trial, and he expired in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

It is impossible to rise from the review of Robert Hall's life, or the perusal of his writings, without feeling that we have before us a very signal instance of the power of Christianity over the human character. What he might have been, if this power had never been brought to bear upon his heart, is, of course, mere matter of speculation. But it is matter of very interesting, and somewhat fearful speculation. In one of his letters, he says of himself—

"I am deeply conscious that I have been corrected less,—yea, infinitely less,—than my iniquities deserve. I hope I am more anxious to see my heavy afflictions sanctified, than removed. . . . *I presume the Lord sees that I require more hammering and hewing than almost any other stone that was ever selected for his spiritual building; and that is the reason of his dealings with me.* Let me be broken into a thousand pieces, if I may but be made up again, and formed by his hand for purposes of mercy."—vol. v. p. 479.

This, be it observed, was written in 1812, about five years subsequently to his removal from Cambridge to Leicester: and, consequently, long after the turbulent pride of his youth had been subdued. It is prompted, indeed, by that self-accusing spirit which is always present, as a watchful guardian, in the most secret recesses of every Christian heart: and Christian charity will, therefore, not be extreme to load his words with all the severity of their strict and literal meaning. But, taken in their mildest sense, they betray a deep consciousness of indwelling stubbornness;—a conviction that the taming process could not safely be relaxed to the latest moment of his life. What then would he have been, if the yoke and burden of his Saviour had never been laid upon his neck?—What would he have been, if his soul had never been baptized with the refining fires of the Gos-

pel?—What would he have been, had he, like multitudes of other daring spirits, lived and moved in the very midst of the searching element of divine truth, and yet had never given it admission to those dark chambers, in which the *strong man* is fortified and immured? If we are to look, for an answer to these questions, into his earlier publications, we cannot well escape from the conclusion, that he might, then, have been one of the most dangerous individuals, that these latter days of reckless and audacious quackery have ever produced. If the “mystic dove” had never hovered over his mighty intellect, it might have been permanently possessed by the spirit of the eagle, or the vulture. It might have gone forth, wheeling and careering, amidst the giddiest heights of licentious speculation, and ready to pounce, with a fall swoop, on the peaceful works, and smiling heritages, spread out in the regions beneath him. We know too well, that logical understandings, and fervid imaginations, are provided with no natural security against such prodigies of perversion. There is one thing, and one thing only, that can certainly restrain the capacities of man from the wildest excesses of abuse. And, if that one needful thing had never been present, to sanctify the prodigal endowments of his mind, a man like Hall, instead of shining, like the firmament, as a preacher of righteousness, might, to the very last, have only blazed with the disastrous glory of those *wandering stars, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.*

It may possibly be thought a somewhat invidious proceeding to confirm these conjectures by reference to the first and hottest fermentations of his genius. And if this objection *should* be made,—the reply must be, that this proceeding is almost forced upon us, by the appearance of his youthful writings among the other monuments of his greatness. It has, truly, been the pleasure of Dr. Gregory, and his associates, once more to challenge the public attention to those of his productions, which, in our poor opinion, might better have been consigned to oblivion. And, those productions being now before us, their merits and demerits must unavoidably enter into any estimate, which impartial criticism can form of the original peculiarities of his character. And what is the impression which those compositions may be expected to leave upon the mind of every dispassionate reader? What would be thought of publications, *such* as these, if they were to issue from the press, at this present day; different in nothing, but in their application to the particular circumstances of the present time? Would they not, at once, be classed among the most formidable eruptions of revolutionary zeal? Would not their author be numbered among the most turbulent apostles of innovation? Are they not precisely of that fiery quality, which

indicates a temper, as yet but very imperfectly conversant with the pure and peaceable wisdom which is from above? And, if the writer should be in the heyday of his youth, what would be the natural anticipation respecting his future career? Might it not be predicted that,—(unless his passions should happily be taken captive by a power, strong enough to bind them, and heavenly enough to soften and to purify them)—he would probably follow on, from strength to strength, to the most fearful extremities of political daring? We have already seen that a powerful efficacy has been ascribed to them, in making the public mind familiar with certain principles which have so notorious and perilous an ascendancy at this present day. And if a milder wisdom had not gradually mitigated the acrimony of his youth, and caused it to deposit its *crudi pericula succi*, how fearfully might a man like this have helped to aggravate the confusion of the elements, which are now “keeping such a dreadful pothor o’er our heads?” As it is, however, the latter end of his philosophy seems, most fortunately, to have well nigh forgotten the beginning. The same power which smote down Paul of Tarsus, and converted him into a preacher of the truth which he once destroyed—that same power, we reverently surmise, must have the glory of seizing upon this man; and of changing him,—(though by a far less sudden process)—from the trumpeter of what the world calls freedom, into the herald of order, and obedience, and peace. We repeat,—it is awful to think on what Hall might have been, if religion had not finally established her supremacy over all his faculties.

Having said thus much, ungracious as the task may be, we must verify our remarks by a reference or two. In 1791, when Hall was about twenty-seven years old, appeared his treatise entitled, “Christianity consistent with a Love of Freedom;” and, most assuredly, this title is gloriously illustrated by the tenor of his exposition, which exhibits, in its perfection, the

Dicendi quodcunque animo flagrante liceret  
Simplicitas; *cujus non audeo dicere nomen!*

For instance, “Whoever is acquainted with the value of *religious freedom*, will not be content to suspend it on the clemency of the prince, the indulgence of ministers, or *the liberality of bishops, if ever such a thing existed.*” Vol. iii. p. 14. In page 23, he speaks of the “*jealous policy of the establishment, which forbids our youth admission into the celebrated seats of learning;*” a burst of *freedom* which, for the purposes of popular effect, is admirable. But the *freedom* is obviously of that description which prevails in the practice, if not the theory, of free-trade; the reciprocity is all on one side! For if any one form of dissent could forcibly usurp the place of the establishment, we would gladly know what chance the Episcopalian *youth* would

stand of admission into the "celebrated seats" of *Presbyterian*, or *Independent* erudition? In p. 27, we hear "*a Hierarchy equally servile and oppressive.*" In p. 28, the spirit of *freedom* bursts out in a splendid encomium on Dr. Priestly, who is compared to the rising sun, "round which the vapours gather, and follow in its course; seldom failing, at the close, to form a magnificent theatre for its reception, and to invest with variegated tints, and with a softened effulgence, the luminary they cannot hide." All this, it is true, is spoken of Priestly, as a prodigy of scientific acumen and attainment. But would this have been spoken by one who solemnly and deeply felt the utter worthlessness of all mere secular wisdom, when unsanctified by the truth as it is in Jesus? Would this trumpet-note of praise and admiration have been uttered by Hall himself, at that period of his life, when he denounced Socinianism as no better than a downright negation of Christianity, and declared himself fixed in the persuasion, that the professors of it were not within the pale of salvability? But let us pass on to the developements of the spirit of *freedom*, in its influence on worldly and political matters. In p. 36, we learn that "the only reasons which can be assigned for submission to civil authority, are, its *tendency to good.* Wherever, therefore, this shall cease to be the case, submission becomes absurd, having no longer any *rational* view. But, at what time this evil shall be judged to have arrived, or what remedy it may be proper to apply, Christianity does not decide, but leaves to be determined by an appeal to *natural reason and right.*" We have here a proposition of tremendous edge, without one syllable of warning as to the caution and discretion needful in unsheathing it. In its present state, the sentence might stand as an appropriate motto to a *Pastoral Address* of Dr. Doyle, or to an encyclical mandate of the mighty Liberator, to the *Volunteers* of Ireland! Well might Hall regret that he had written so hastily and superficially, on matters that "required the touch of a master hand, and exploring to the very foundations." Equally rash—equally devoid of salutary limitation—equally fit for the use of the emissaries of anarchy and rebellion,—is his crude and precipitate exposition of the 2d chapter of the first Epistle of St. Peter. "All," he says, "that can be inferred from it is, that Christians are not to hold themselves exempt from the obligation of obedience on account of their religion; but are to respect legislation, *as far* as it is found productive of benefit in social life;" a doctrine which, in this naked statement of it, will at once exempt from all respect for legislation, those very numerous individuals, who are unable to perceive any *benefit to social life*, not only in tithes, or church rates, or poor rates, but in taxes of any description under heaven. They may be imposed by the legisla-



ture; but *natural reason and right* are superior to legislation. What, therefore, are the glorious sons of *freedom* to do, but to appeal to *natural reason and right*; and, somehow or other, to force the legislature to a recognition of their supremacy?

In the hands of Hall, the Church, of course, fares no better than the State. In p. 47, the Dissenters are spoken of as, "a minority, viewed by ecclesiastics *with unparalleled malignity and rancour.*" If this be so, the Dissenters, *as represented by Hall*, have most certainly not thought it needful to return good for evil, or blessing for cursing. Their champion tells us, for instance, that whenever the clergy speak of danger to the Church, they think of nothing but danger to their emoluments. He plainly intimates that, "with them, the articles are only the ladder of promotion, the cant of the pulpit, the ridicule of the schools." He recommends the clergy to meet the Unitarians in the open field of controversy, instead of "skulking behind a consecrated altar." And, lastly, having noticed a Mr. Martin, who had been caressed by certain bishops, he adds, "I think we do not read that Judas had any acquaintance with the high priests, till he came to *transact business* with them;" a piece of odious, irreverent, and almost profane pleasantry, such as Judas himself might have brought back from *his own place*, had he been allowed to revisit the world, and once more to act the traitor to his master. Much of the same mintage as the above, is the pamphlet on the Liberty of the Press. We can discern in it nothing of the image or superscription of Him who delivered the sermon on the Mount! The Dissenters are, throughout, represented as "exempt from the noise and tumult of worldly policy!"—"like the primitive Christians, they are the most inoffensive of mankind." Among them "piety flourishes more than among the members of any establishment whatever," as might naturally be expected from those, who are free from the debasement of "receiving their religion from the hands of parliament." The endowed ministers, on the contrary, "must always insensibly become an army of spiritual Janisaries;" and though "the practice of toleration" has done much to mitigate the evils attendant on established churches, yet so long as they last, "the source and spring of intolerance is by no means exhausted. *The steam from that infernal pit* will issue through the crevices, until they are filled up with the *ruins* of all human establishments." But we, positively, cannot go on further with the disgusting task of selection from this congeries of vulgar common-places; for such, with the exception of some powerful splendid passages, is this unhappy collection of Hall's youthful performances. If, here and there, gold or silver, or costly stones, are to be found in the fabric, they are buried

amidst the heap of wood, and hay, and stubble, and other materials yet more worthless; and this, we doubt not, will be made manifest, in the sight of men and angels, when *the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is*. We would gladly have escaped all temptation to anticipate the result of the *trial*. We would most willingly have forgotten that such eruptions of spleen, and bad taste, and, we *must* add, of "*malignity and rancour*," had ever issued from such a mind as Hall's. But Dr. Olinthus Gregory and his colleagues have determined that we shall *not* forget it. We cannot persuade ourselves to doubt that Hall himself, when he became a mature Christian,—*an old disciple*,—must, in secret, have looked back on all this turbulent extravagance, much as grown men look back upon the crudities of their boyhood, and the paltry quarrels and brawlings of their school-days. The remembrance of it must have been grievous unto him; the burden of it must have been intolerable. And if the *burden* is now laid upon his memory, the *executors* of his fame must bear the responsibility.

We must, indeed, confess, that no outward and visible sign of deep repentance could be extorted from Hall, to the latest moment of his life. It was in 1822 that the republication took place; and it called forth a somewhat intemperate, but not very powerful criticism, from the "*Christian Guardian*." It is not, perhaps, very wonderful that this attack should, once more, awaken "*the offending Adam*" within him. On the appearance of it, the *veteris vestigia flammæ* immediately became manifest; and, in one instance, they burst out in an explosion which might well seem to have ascended from the same "*pit*," to which he himself had alluded in the original treatise.

"*Every plant*," he says, in the words of our Lord, "*every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up*." That national churches, or exclusive establishments of religion by the civil magistrate, are one of these plants, will not be denied; since nothing of that kind, it is universally allowed, existed during the three first and purest ages of Christianity; and, not being authorized by the *great* head of the church, it must, if we believe Him, be rooted up. I have used the term, *great* head of the church, by way of distinction from that *little* head, which the Church of England has invented, and on which, whether a beauty or a deformity in the body of Christ, the Scriptures are certainly as silent, as on Universal Suffrage, or Annual Parliaments."

On this passage the editor remarks, that he knows of no other in the works of the author, which presents so gross a violation of *good taste*. He had probably forgotten the introduction of *Judas*, and his transaction of business with the *high priests*, which we have adverted to above! It may, however, be allowed that there

is nothing else, in the whole range of his writings, quite so abominable, or so closely bordering on impiety, as these two outrages on "*good taste*."

His propensity for exterminating sarcasm, indeed, was never entirely subdued; and it cannot be denied that his temptations to the use of this weapon were such, as it must have required no ordinary self-denial to resist. He was, in truth a mighty master of this formidable implement. Of the power with which he could wield it, we have a remarkable instance in his tract on the *Frame-work Knitters' Fund*, in reply to Cobbett and others. In speaking of a statement which had been made by a writer under the name of "*Humanus*," Mr. Cobbett had said—"We might treat this as nothing; we might call it a *falsehood*, because it is against reason, and because the averment is not produced and attested: we have the bare word of an anonymous writer for it; that is all, and that is nothing." "*We might call it a falsehood!*" exclaims Hall—"certainly Mr. Cobbett might, who displays, throughout, such an intimate familiarity with *the father of lies*." A few pages onward we have the following very audacious description of the same extraordinary personage; and a singularly curious assemblage of qualifications it ascribes to the man, who has since ripened into a member of our most liberal and reformed legislature!

"These and such like extravagancies will be quite sufficient to satisfy the reader that he (Mr. Cobbett) is a popular declaimer, not a philosopher; a firebrand, not a luminary. He emits fire and smoke in abundance, like a volcano; but the whole effect is to desolate, not to enlighten. His principal artifice consists in the exhibition of a few specious generalities, which he illustrates and confirms by a few prominent facts, culled for his purpose, without the slightest attempt at that patient induction and inquiry, which alone lead to solid and useful results. Shrewd, intemperate, presumptuous, *careless of the truth of his representations, and indifferent to their consequences*, provided they make an impression, he is well qualified, it must be confessed, by his faults no less than his talents, by his inflammatory style and incendiary spirit, for the office he assumes—to scatter delusion, to excite insurrection,—the Polyphemus of the mob, the one-eyed monarch of the blind."!—vol. iii. pp. 287, 288.

We do not know how Dr. Olinthus Gregory feels; but we confess that, on our part, we almost tremble to repeat and republish these words in 1833, having the fear of the Serjeant at Arms before our eyes. We, however, most humbly deprecate the wrath of the honourable member for Oldham; and we take comfort from the recollection, that he has always been celebrated for the thickness of his skin. We hope and trust that the atmosphere of Parliamentary Privilege will not impart a painful delicacy and sensitiveness to that integument.

Among the hitherto unpublished works of Hall, is "A Fragment on *Village Preaching*," a practice which was supposed to be endangered, first, by the *invectives* of Bishop Horseley, and, some years afterwards, by the projected measures of Lord Sidmouth, in 1810 and 1811. Every one remembers with what an universal yell all the forces of Dissent rushed to join the *Levy en Masse* against these very moderate and harmless propositions. The publication of the strictures in question was rendered *unnecessary* at the time, by the failure of Lord Sidmouth's design; but is now thought *necessary*, as a part of the materials in the fabric of Hall's reputation. We shall decline to enter into the endless maze of controversy which it opens before us; and shall confine our notice to a single passage, which is worthy of observation, as illustrating the danger of those traps and pitfalls, which beset the course of every "mighty hunter," when hotly fixed on the pursuit of his game. He observes that the tyrannical measures of Charles I. and the intolerable cruelties of Laud, cemented the various sects, and united them in a vehement opposition to the government of the king. Cromwell, on the other hand, practised an opposite policy, and contrived to retain three kingdoms in subjection, by granting to the *rival sects* a general toleration, and balancing their power against each other. Now we would gladly learn for what purpose it is that the example of Cromwell is produced in support of the sacred principle of religious toleration? Why, what was Cromwell, but "the child and champion" of Nonconformity? To him, the cause of Nonconformity was, like the French republic, *One and Indivisible*; and this, in spite of the conflicting and fantastic variety of its *phases*. In Cromwell's estimation, Nonconformity was one thing, and the Church of England was another thing; and, of these two things, the one was to be cherished and indulged, as the very secret of his strength; the other was to be trampled under foot, as if it were a serpent, which, if not crushed, would inevitably sting the very life of his authority. The *rival sects* were indulged, not out of any respect to liberty of conscience; for liberty of conscience was inhumanly denied to the members of the Church of England. Indulgence was granted to the religious sects, much on the same principle that universal licence is often granted to political sects and factions, in the early stages of a violent revolution, and before the arm of "bare-faced Power" has become strong enough to sweep the growling monsters from its sight. To attempt the elevation of one of the *rival sects*, and the depression of the rest, would have been neither more or less than downright insanity, in a man situated like Cromwell—in one, who was the creature of that very coalition which had cemented together all the motley and mul-

tiform powers of Dissent. That he cared nothing for freedom of conscience, and that he wanted not the will to persecute, where persecution was safe and easy, is obvious from the fact, that the adherents of the ruined Establishment were compelled to celebrate their worship in perilous and anxious secrecy, and, as it were, with halters round their necks; and *out of the depths* of that oppression it was, that a voice was heard\* in favour of the *genuine* principles of toleration—a voice, whose pleadings have since been found to be irresistible. The sagacity of Cromwell, in short, plainly taught him the danger of hastily endeavouring to control the mutinous elements, upon which he had mounted to dominion; and his policy, in abstaining from the attempt, may safely and properly enough be recommended, upon purely Machiavellian principles, to every tyrant and usurper, who may chance to find himself in a similar position. But we are unable to perceive with what propriety or advantage his example can be produced in order to illustrate the beauty and holiness of truly religious toleration. We must further confess, that, to us, there is something not altogether “graceful or humane” in this allusion to his example by a mighty champion of modern Dissent! If Cromwell is to be their model, in the name of justice and common sense, let the Dissenters take him as he is. And we heartily give them joy of any glory which can be shed upon their cause, by the conduct of a man, who persecuted the Church because she could not resist, and who gave unbounded licence to Nonconformity, because it was manifestly at his peril to do otherwise, and because Nonconformity, in its collective political force, was, to him, as *the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!*

The truth is, that the whole history of Puritanism always turns out to be a treacherous authority, when appealed to for the purpose of shaming the intolerance of the Established Church. It is as the *staff of a bruised reed*, which only pierces the hand of him that leans upon it. We have, of late, repeatedly laboured to disabuse the public ear, respecting this matter. At present, therefore, we shall be content to confirm our statements by the testimony of Jeremy Taylor.

“The men,” he says, “who obtained exemption from the laws, upon pretence of having weak consciences, if, in hearty expression, you had told them so to their heads, they would have spit in your face; and were so far from confessing themselves *weak*, that they thought themselves able to give laws to Christendom, and to instruct the greatest clerks, and to catechise the Church herself. And what is worst of all, they who were perpetually clamorous that the severity of the laws should slacken, as to their particular, and, in matters indifferent, (in

\* J. Taylor's Lib. of Prophesying.

which, if the Church have any authority, she hath the power to make laws,) to indulge them to do as they list—yet were most imperious amongst men, most decretory in their sentences, and most impatient of any disagreeing from them, though in the least minute particular.”\*

Cromwell doubtless knew this as well as Jeremy Taylor; and, very wisely for his own purposes, suffered the conflicting infallibilities to fight it out among each other. Their religious division formed his political strength. In one thing, however, he knew that they all agreed; and that one thing was, a disposition to insult and tread down the Episcopal Church: and accordingly, with precisely the same sort of wisdom, he fully indulged them in this generous propensity.

One complete volume of the present publication is devoted to the *controversial* writings of Hall; meaning by *controversial*, not his writings against the Church of England, but against religionists of his own persuasion. The pith and marrow of this controversy is contained in “A Short Statement,” printed towards the end of Vol. III. The question in debate was, whether they who maintained the necessity of confining the Sacrament of Baptism to adults, could justifiably admit those who had been baptized in infancy, or childhood, to communicate with them in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. The more liberal side of the question was advocated by Hall. He was himself a rigid and uncompromising Baptist; but he, nevertheless, contended that the Pædobaptists, though misled by an erroneous conception of the rite, were not chargeable with any such perversion as excluded them from Christian communion. He admitted that Baptists were compelled, by their own principles, to look upon the great mass of their fellow-Christians as *unbaptized*. But then he denied that baptism is, “under all circumstances,” a necessary condition of church fellowship. It might, indeed, be incumbent on Christians to exclude from communion all who should profess to despise or undervalue the initiatory Sacrament. This, however, was a charge which could not righteously be advanced against the adherents of Pædobaptism; since none contended more urgently than they, for the dignity and the necessity of the rite itself. All that could be alleged against them, was a mistake as to the period of life at which it could be beneficially and efficaciously administered. By admitting Pædobaptists, therefore, to communion, the Baptists would be involved in nothing like a surrender of any one Christian principle. And if such admission were once to become the established practice, the result would be simply this—that the table of the Lord would be surrounded by persons, all acknowledging the institution of bap-

\* Lib. Proph. sect. xvii. § 8.



tism to be divine—all believing that they had themselves duly received the benefits of that institution—but, at the same time, differing with respect to the proper time and mode of its administration. And this difference, Hall affirms, was by no means of sufficient substance and solidity, to form an impassable barrier between the *little flock* of the Baptists, and the rest of the Christian world. It was not pretended that Pædobaptists were incapable of salvation. It was, therefore, both reasonable and charitable to presume, that they who were received of Christ, ought also to be received of their brethren.

Hall's tract on "Terms of Communion" was published in 1815. In his preface to this work, he observes that "there is no position in the whole compass of theology, of the truth of which he feels a stronger persuasion, than that no man, or set of men, are entitled to prescribe, as an indispensable condition of communion, what the New Testament has not enjoined as a condition of salvation." And he adds, that "to establish this position is the principle object of his work; and that though his treatise is more immediately occupied in the discussion of a case which respects the Baptists and Pædobaptists, that case is attempted to be decided entirely on the principle now mentioned, and is no more than the application of it to a particular instance." —vol. ii. p. 4.

Nothing, it must be allowed, can well be more soothing than the sound of this proposition. It contains as pacific "'ords as you shall desire to hear on a summer's day." And, for any thing that we know, they might be abundantly sufficient for the purpose of settling the dispute between the Baptist and Pædobaptist Dissenters. But surely Hall must have seen how utterly inadequate the principle must always be, to the general object of securing Christian communities from a vast deal of very troublesome and perplexing intrusion! Supposing the principle admitted,—the question will still be eternally recurring,—what the New Testament has, and what it has not enjoined as necessary to salvation? And so long as this remains undefined, it is difficult to see with what propriety or justice, communion can be refused to any class of persons professing Christianity, provided they appeal to the Scriptures as the sole authority for their belief. If the trumpet of any one community renders an uncertain sound, relative to this fundamental matter, all other persuasions may rush in, and stretch out the right hand of fellowship, and claim the embrace of fraternity, and the privilege of sacramental intercourse. And how all this confusion is to be avoided, it is beyond our penetration to divine, unless it be by an agreement upon certain articles of belief, whether many or few, as indispensable

to a real and vital profession of Christianity. And yet every one, who has only glanced over the writings of Hall, must know the evil eye with which he looked on all creeds, or confessions, or religious formularies. They are often denounced by him with the keenest acrimony and disdain, as the badges of a most degrading servitude,—as temptations to hypocrisy,—as a rendering unto Cæsar the things that belong to God. Why should any one, “*who believes in Divine Revelation,*” consent to receive his religion from the legislature of his country;—nay, why should he submit to the “dictatorship of a commanding intellect,”\* even if found in a connection of Dissenters? Such indications as these, of Christian liberty and independence, had, at all times, been most cordially echoed by the whole tribe of Humanitarians, and other liberal Christians; and that they had not been echoed in vain, is obvious from the fact, that an union had long existed in London between the Orthodox and Socinian connections. But what said Hall, when attempts were made to dissolve this union? Did he denounce the narrowness and bigotry of the design? The following are his own words, written by him only four days before his last illness, and sixteen before his death:—“I heartily wish success to those attempts. It is a most unnatural and preposterous union; and tends, above any thing else, to give an imposing air of importance to the Socinian party, which, but for this coalition, might sink into insignificance. It is odious in the eyes of *pious Churchmen*, and tends to throw a disguise over the real state of the Dissenters, in relation to their religious tenets.”—(vol. v. p. 508.) Did it never, then, occur to him, that something in the shape of a religious formulary might have been useful in preventing this “unnatural and preposterous union,”—in saving “*pious Churchmen*” from so much pain and scandal,—in depriving the Unitarian sect of the “imposing air of importance” which it had derived from its connection with the Orthodox,—and in disabling it from emerging out of its native insignificance? And, on the other hand, is it possible for him to have been unconscious, that the Unitarian “Dissenter, *who believed in Divine Revelation,*” would hear, with indignation, his union with the orthodox stigmatised as “unnatural and preposterous;” and this by the very man, who, all his life long, had been loudly protesting against the tyranny of creeds, and who had spoken like one who considered faith in the Holy Scriptures as a sufficient bond of Christian fellowship?

His writings in defence of “Free Communion” did comparatively little, we believe, to advance the reputation of Robert Hall,

\* Reply to Kinghorn, vol. ii.

beyond the pale of his own religious party. The question agitated was limited and obscure. Whatever might be the importance of the principles it involved, the point more immediately in debate was interesting, chiefly, to a very small class of Separatists; and, for this reason, it arrested but feebly the attention of the public in general. It was, as we well remember, a subject of regret, even with some among his own adherents and admirers, that the transcendent powers of Robert Hall should be wasted on a subject, which was supposed to bear so indirectly upon the grand cause of revealed truth. It must, nevertheless, be admitted, that if the sphere of exertion was scarcely worthy of his great capacities, his manner of occupying and maintaining it displayed conspicuous ability and vigour. He manifests, throughout, a wonderful accomplishment in all the legitimate arts of controversial writing; and in some, perhaps, the legitimacy of which may be reasonably questioned. Without venturing to charge his performance with any positive exhibition of the *odium theologicum*, we shall, at least, be safe in affirming, that it is distinguished by a somewhat copious disengagement of those peculiar elements, which often give pungency to polemical disquisition. We have a perfect recollection of the impression left on our own mind by these compositions, on their original appearance;—an impression, which our recent recurrence to them has not, in the slightest degree, impaired. They greatly confirmed our previous persuasion, that the intellect of Hall was of a very high order, and that he was eminently gifted with the power of breathing a soul into the driest bones of controversy. But they likewise satisfied us, that some prayer and fasting might still be requisite, finally to dislodge that spirit of disdainful mockery, which certainly possessed him in his youth, and which did not completely abandon its tenement even in his old age. We suspect that, if his adversary and brother Baptist, Mr. Kinghorn, could be appealed to, he would give a very *feeling* testimony to this representation! If he knew it not before, he must, then, at all events, have learned, that sarcasm was one of the figures of rhetoric, of which his great antagonist was a most consummate master.

We cannot dismiss these treatises of Hall's on "Terms of Communion," without noticing one very remarkable statement in his reply to Kinghorn. He there distinctly denies the right of the "Church to *organize* itself at its own pleasure." "The Church," he says, "is a society instituted by heaven. *In every step of its proceedings* it is amenable to a higher than human tribunal; and, on account of its freedom from external controul, its obligation, *in foro conscientiae*, exactly to conform to the mandates of Revelation, is the more sacred and the more indispen-

sable; being loosened from every earthly tie on purpose that it may be at liberty to follow the Lord whithersoever he goeth." Now it does strike us as something surprising, that the author of these sentences should ever have been betrayed into bitterness of spirit against the uncompromising advocates of the Church of England. Whether those advocates are right or wrong in maintaining the Episcopal scheme of government to be a divine institution, is a question which, we suppose, will continue debateable until the final restoration of all things. In the mean time, however, it should be scrupulously recollected, that a clear persuasion of its "*higher than human*" authority, is the very ground upon which many of the faithful adherents and champions of our Church rest their obligation to defend that institution. It is precisely because they believe that societies of men professing Christianity "are not at liberty to organize themselves at their pleasure," that they feel bound to maintain, not only the faith, but the discipline, which (as they conceive) was once delivered to the saints. It is, according to their conviction, an exceedingly dangerous error to reject the Apostolical succession, as preserved in the government of the Church by Bishops; and they are at a loss to understand how any society can be legitimately constituted, or *organized* as a Church, if it abandons that appointed sign of the Apostolic office. That their notions respecting this matter should be assailed, as erroneous, by those communities which have adopted a different regimen, is nothing more than what they must, at all times, be prepared to endure. But why are they to be charged with a narrow, exclusive, monopolising spirit, when they insist on the necessity of constructing the Church according to what they believe to be the true Apostolic model? And with what consistency or charity can this charge be advanced by those, who distinctly affirm that the *organization* of the visible Body of Christ, is not a matter upon which the human judgment has been left at liberty? The Dissenters will, perhaps, affirm that the restraint on human judgment is confined to matters of doctrine—to matters which cannot be sacrificed without endangering the very life of Christianity. But how is this to silence the scruples of those, who are honestly convinced that the constitution of the Church is, itself, no unimportant matter of doctrine; a matter of *organization* so important, that it cannot be sacrificed by them, without a serious breach of their obedience to that which they revere as the will of God? Hall himself says, that "nothing would induce him to acknowledge himself a permanent member of the Church of England. Were every thing else as it ought to be in the Established Church, Prelacy," he declares, "as it now subsists, would make him a decided Dissenter;" and his reason is,

that Prelacy is an intolerable corruption of the Primitive Episcopacy. Whether this view of the matter be reasonable or not, we cannot stop to inquire. But if Prelacy be an abuse, the want of Episcopacy in any form is (as we contend) worse than an abuse. It is an absolute defect; a defect which, in the opinion of many learned, able, and venerable men, is sufficient to vitiate,—or, at least, to render very doubtful—any claim to the character of a legitimate Church; a defect which eminently exemplifies the presumption of attempting to organize, at pleasure, a society of Christians. And if so, why, we repeat, are High Churchmen, as they are called, to be accused of insufferable bigotry, merely for acting in rigid conformity with their own conscientious views respecting the plan on which the Church of Christ was originally organized?

But we gladly escape from these debatable regions to meet Robert Hall on more Catholic ground. His fame, after all, as we apprehend, must principally rest upon the specimens of Pulpit Eloquence with which the public has been already for many years familiar,—the Cambridge Sermons,—the magnificent and pathetic Oration on the Death of the Princess Charlotte,—the Missionary Address,—the Discourse on the Encouragements and Difficulties of the Christian Ministry. These, even when studied without the advantage of any personal knowledge or recollection of the preacher, must always be sufficient to “give the world assurance of a man,” such as very rarely has borne the office of turning many to righteousness: and these,—when aided by a vivid remembrance of his outward aspect and demeanour,—his overpowering impressiveness of delivery,—and his frequent appearance of abstraction from all earthly things,—must convey the notion of one, whose faculties were merely as channels for conducting down to earth the choicest influences of heaven. The first thing that must strike every reader, is the extraordinary perfection of his style; its felicitous combination of refinement, richness, and vigour,—and its prodigious command over all the resources of the English tongue. If any fault is to be discovered in it, it is, perhaps, the exquisite finish with which, in his highest specimens, it appears to have been laboured. We do not know whether it would not have been still more admirable and commanding, if it had exhibited a larger measure of what he himself calls “the manly freedom and noble negligence of the Sacred writers;” and not only of the Sacred writers, but of many of our own gigantic spirits of the “olden time.” There is often in his compositions, a certain want of that primitive raciness,—that venerable simplicity, which forms the charm of many of our ancient masters; and which, next to the glorious idiom of the He-

brew Scriptures, fills and satisfies the hungering and thirsting of the mind, when "nourishing up into everlasting life." No man, probably, was ever more profoundly impressed than Hall, with a sense of allegiance to the majesty of our old Anglo-Norman dialect. It is recorded of him that, in colloquial discussion, he would urgently and warmly vindicate its honours, to the disparagement of the more effeminate or pompous graces of our modern phraseology. He would have laughed, in bitter scorn, at the affectation, which should labour to elevate the school of Pope above that of Shakspeare or of Milton. But yet—we know not how it is—he seems to have been, generally, unable to exemplify and bring out in practice, his own unquestionable loyalty to the king's English. And accordingly it will, we think, be found that his diction is often *classical* to a fault. It savours too much of the orator, and too little of the prophet. We often desiderate in it something of that "brave neglect," that unpolished grandeur, which more especially becomes the lips of him who is speaking the words of "eternal life." He was, in truth, as he himself distinctly confessed, incessantly tormented with the desire of writing better. He was haunted with a fastidiousness, which better befitted a rhetorician, than an ambassador of the King of Kings. It was this which aggravated, though it did not wholly cause, his incurable aversion for the labour of preparation for the press. And it was this, which occasionally gave to his effusions an air of such elaborate completeness—and that too, even in the moments when he seemed to be almost under the influence of inspiration. His language became, habitually, that of a man whose tongue was as the pen of a ready and consummate writer. All this while, however, his heart was inditing of the best and noblest matter; and, with the one exception we have adverted to, his style was eminently worthy of the loftiest arguments; and forms, upon the whole, a most illustrious monument of the powers of the English tongue.

That his intellect was of the very highest order, is a fact with which the public have now long been familiar: and nothing, perhaps, was ever much more wonderful, than the perfection in which it combined the logical and the imaginative power. His education furnished him with little mathematical knowledge; but, at one time, he was incessantly yearning after mathematics: and Dr. Hutton, having once been accidentally in his society, expressed his regret that he had not devoted himself almost exclusively to that pursuit, since his conversation seemed to indicate that he was formed for the cultivation of abstract science, and destined to enlarge the boundaries of its empire. His turn for metaphysical speculation was at least equally strong; and, in this



region of inquiry, his capacities had been habitually exercised from his very boyhood. Now, with many, even of the most gifted of the sons of men, the reasoning faculty and the imaginative faculty are among the *res dissociabiles*. But this was not so with Robert Hall. His was, indeed, an "imperial fancy" that soared "with supreme dominion," towards the fountain of light and life. But his eye was as clear and steady as his pinion was vigorous; and hence it is, that his flight was seldom if ever devious or fluttering,—(we speak of him in the full maturity of his powers);—his movement amid the realms of empyrean brightness, seemed as confident and untroubled, as if he were pacing along a pavement of adamant.

The character of Hall as a preacher is fully examined and analyzed in an Essay by Mr. Foster, introduced in the sixth volume of this publication. The disquisition, like every thing which issues from the mind of that distinguished writer, is singularly acute and powerful. But it is somewhat long; and, withal, tremendously elaborate. We must confine our notice of it to one or two more interesting particulars. In the first place, it is observed by Mr. Foster, that if the preaching of Hall was defective in any thing, it was in closeness and cogency of application. This may, in part perhaps, be attributed to the complete surrender of his faculties to the *subject* of his discourse. The doctrine or the precept which he had to illustrate and to expand, seemed frequently, as it were, to enter into his soul, and to become, for the time, its actuating principle. The truth appeared to be, with him, not so much a form placed before his mind's eye, which it was his office to copy, and so present to the beholders: it was rather like a sort of separate agency, which lodged itself within him, and took possession of all his powers; speaking with his tongue, and looking with his eye, and impressing itself by the instrumentality of his mighty understanding. There was, accordingly, not only a total oblivion of *self*, but, as might be conjectured, a loss of all distinct consciousness of the presence of a congregation. Now, it may easily be imagined that a state of mind like this, though it might exhibit the preacher as a being *but a little lower than the angels*, might not be altogether the best fitted for the purpose of grappling with the failings or the vices of peculiar classes of his hearers. Such an absorption of the man—such a temporary abstraction from the sublunary group that surrounded him—may, naturally enough, have withdrawn him for a season from the contemplation of those various phases, in which the depravity of human nature will manifest itself to a more ordinary and disengaged observer. Like the Apostle, he might seem, at times, as if caught up into unearthly places, and scarcely able to

say whether he was in the body, or out of the body. And it is not wonderful that, during that interval of rapture, the discriminating features of mortal frailty should fade before his sight. The intensity of the light within would almost obliterate the figures and the lineaments of every object without. Raised for awhile to the realm of invisible realities, the speaker would become almost blind to *the things that are seen*; and his voice would sound like that of one who was surrounded by things which it is scarcely within the compass of human faculties to utter. The result of this would almost inevitably be, that Truth would be revealed in a blaze of majesty and power, such as the minds of those who were below would be scarcely able to bear. Her splendours would be so overwhelming, as to efface all consciousness or perception of earthly peculiarities and distinctions. The congregation might retire,—some perhaps in a state of bewildering excitement—others in a state of equally bewildering helplessness and prostration—and all of them, possibly, without any distinct sense, that a hand had been put forth to wrestle with their consciences. They may have raised their eyes indeed to the mirror which had been held up before them; but they may have found its brightness almost too great to be “looked against;” and each one may have gone his way, ignorant of *what manner of man he was*.

But, whatever may have been the cause of Hall's inclination for the magnificent generalities of religion, or of his inaptitude for that mode of address which wins or forces its way to every individual heart,—it is decidedly insisted upon by Mr. Foster, that the defect in question was too often exemplified in his discourses; and this to an extent, which considerably impaired their salutary efficacy. His preaching is represented as “most excellent in the discrimination of topics, sentiments, and arguments; but as not discriminating and individualizing human characters; and, therefore, as not maintaining an intimate commerce with the actual condition of his hearers.” It must, therefore, frequently have happened, that, of those who may have been hanging on his lips with transport, few, if any, experienced any interruption to the pleasure of applauding, from the whisper of a voice saying unto each of them, “thou art the man;” that many who “went away delighted with a preacher that was so admirable, went away equally delighted with themselves, for having the taste and the intelligence to admire him.” If this were so with the regular attendants on his ministry, it cannot be surprising that it should also be the case with those who were casually attracted by curiosity to his chapel. On one such occasion, the exclamation of the hearer was to this effect: “What an extraordinary man!

How deeply is it to be lamented that he was not bred to the Bar, or to Parliament! He would there have found the only spheres worthy of his surprising abilities." We are perfectly persuaded that Hall himself would have infinitely preferred to hear, that the admirer had rather gone away unmindful of the preacher, and compelled to *remember himself, and be confounded, and to turn unto the Lord*. It appears, indeed, that age and experience, and personal suffering, did much to teach him *the more excellent* of winning souls to his Saviour. It has already been stated that, in his latter days (more especially after his retirement to Leicester), though there was some apparent abatement of his fire and energy, there was in his ministrations a more constant and manifest approach to the genuine work of an Evangelist.

Another observable particular in the preaching of Hall, was "his manner of placing in contrast the two great divisions—the righteous and the wicked—Christians and men of the world." And here we find ourselves conducted by Mr. Foster to ground which, of late, we have occasionally found ourselves called upon to occupy. Our own objections to this separation of mankind into two classes, are already before the public: and those objections will be found to resolve themselves into this one—that such a separation seems presumptuously to anticipate the award of the day of judgment. The eye of Omnipotence, it is true, sees only two divisions: one of which shall hereafter stand on the right hand of the Judge, and the other on his left hand. The sheep and the goats form the only two flocks contemplated by Him, who shall pronounce the fate of each, and before whom, there is no distinction of present and of future. But no such simplicity of assortment can possibly present itself to any mortal, probably not to any created, understanding. Nothing can possibly be more unlike the actual condition of mankind, as surveyed by human vision, than that which is forced upon us by this arbitrary partition. At one extremity of the scale, we have many who are labouring to *perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord*. At the other, we have multitudes who are outraging every law, both human and divine. Between them, is a vast mass of what may be called mediocrity; including, however, on either hand, more variety of character than we have "words to put it in, or imagination to give it shape." What, then, must be the confusion produced by the attempt of any human discernment to divide these into just *two manner of people*? The weak and humble will be driven by it to despair; the presumptuous elated with spiritual pride; and the scorners probably impelled into audacious hostility, and incurable recklessness of living. But let us hear

Mr. Foster. In case of the division of men into Christians, and men of the world, what, he asks,

“are we to do with all those appearances among the professedly better class, which betray so much likeness, after all, to the worse? There may be in numbers who may not, in the judgment of charity, be pronounced to be no Christians, many grievous and habitual approximations to those who confessedly are none. At times, therefore, the whole subject will almost assume the appearance of an affair of *gradation*, from the *maximum* on one side to the *minimum* on the other. The preacher may overlook, if he will, the unhappy mixture and competition of evil and good in the better division of actual human characters; and indulge himself in the pleasure of constructing a golden image—(not like that which, with a portion of gold, was composed, for the greater part, of baser materials, as low as clay), the radiant ideal of all the Christian graces and virtues, assembled in harmony and perfection. But to what end? Is it that people, when they recover themselves to consideration, may,—with grief on the part of the pious and benevolent, with malignant pleasure on the part of the profane,—adjudge the greater proportion, who have a general acceptance as religious persons, not to be truly such?—Or is it, that persons sincerely bent upon religion, actuated in some considerable degree by its spirit, but painfully conscious of a vast disparity to the pattern so splendidly exhibited, should therefore resign themselves to despondency?”

How, after all, is the preacher to make this exhibition useful or even safe, unless he “takes a descending track of thought,” through all the inferior gradations; solemnly protesting, however, at each step, against the fatal propensity to find a ground of safety at the lowest point, at which it may be hoped that the Christian principle may not be wholly neutralized by the adverse elements? And what is this, but, virtually, to abandon the principle, that a broad, visible, and obvious line may be drawn, which shall clearly separate the Christian world into the inheritance of light and the empire of darkness?

These were considerations, however, which seldom disturbed our preacher, in his office of spiritual *judge and divider*. He told his people that they were either of Christ, or of the world. And then he would “expatiate on the Christian character, bright and full-orbed—in all its perfections of contempt of the world—victory over temptation—elevated devotion—assimilation to the Divine image—zeal for the Divine glory—triumphant faith—expansive charity—sanctity of life;—and all this, without an intimation that the Great Sublime he was portraying, is yet, unhappily, to be subjected, in behalf of our poor nature, to a cautious discussion of modifications and degrees: especially when the anxious question comes to be—*What deficiencies prove a man to be no Christian?*”

Intimately connected with the above was another practice of Robert Hall. Not only would he expatiate on the perfection of the Christian character, but on the consummate blissfulness of it even in this life: and sometimes he would do this in language which seemed to imply that the attainment of this happiness was an affair of no very appalling difficulty. There needs only "a transition of spirit and action," and the thing is done! He was deeply convinced of the alienation of our nature from God. But the attractions and glories of religion were perpetually charming him into forgetfulness of it: and then he would speak as if little more were required, but to set those attractions full before his hearers. He would spread out, in radiant and glorious imagery, that peace which passeth understanding, *as it is experienced by a few sainted men, at some highly favored seasons*: and this representation he would fling down among the crowd below, who were compelled to buffet their way through the dark vicissitudes and thronging cares of this miserable world. Alas! alas!—to multitudes the whole would appear "like a visionary scene suspended in the sky." Some, perchance, among the more intelligent, might look upon it, as they would look upon the unearthly reveries of Plato; while others would turn, from the sight of such *unspeakable riches*, to a contemplation of their own poverty, with feelings of dull acquiescence, or, perhaps, of blank and helpless dejection!

The reflections of Mr. Foster, on this habit of the preacher, are so judicious, and wrought out with so much fulness and precision, that we cannot forbear to transcribe them. What, he asks, would inevitably be the thoughts of a cool-minded hearer, on looking off from the brightness of the exhibition, to the quotidian aspect of the world around him?

"He would surely say to himself,—It may be taken as certain, that many among the sincere Christians in this assembly are in circumstances which must make them listen to this *unqualified* representation with pain or incredulity. Some of them are harassed, without the possibility of escape, by the state of their worldly affairs: perhaps suffering, or dreading, disasters beyond the reach of prudence to prevent; anxiously waiting a critical turn of events; vexed beyond the patience of Job, by the untowardness, selfishness, or dishonesty, encountered in their transactions. Some are enduring the cares and hardships of poverty. Some are distressed by bad dispositions among their nearest kindred; perhaps by anticipations, grievous in proportion to their own piety, of the conduct and ultimate destiny of their own children. Some may have come here, for an hour, who are fixed in the sad situation of witnessing the slow, but certain progress of persons, whose life is on all accounts most important to them, in a descent towards the grave. Some are experiencing, while strenuously maintaining, a severe conflict between the

good and evil in their own minds. Some may be in mortifying recollection of lapses into which they have been betrayed. Some are of melancholic temperament; and, while striving to keep hold of their faith and hope, are apt to see whatever concerns their welfare in an unfavourable view, in every direction, and especially in looking forward to death. Some, of contemplative disposition, are often oppressed, even to a degree of danger to their piety, by the gloom which involves the economy of the world, where moral evil has been predominant through all the course of time."

We have here a terrific numbering of the host, which is constantly arrayed against the faith and virtue of Christians! And with what ears are they who are waiting the onset, or pressed by the assault, likely to hear this triumphant celebration of the peace and pleasantness of religion? Will not the words of the speaker be unto them almost as the words of them that dream? How shall they, whose minds are haunted with images of the gigantic Anakim, and of cities fenced up to heaven, send their thoughts to wander amid the delights and the glories of the promised land? And by what means shall the leader best animate the fainting soldiery of Christ to perseverance in the enterprize?

"Would it not," continues Mr. Foster, "be a more useful manner of illustrating this subject, to carry it into a trial on the actual circumstances of the Christian life? to place it, with appropriate discriminations, by the side of the real situations of good men?—to show that, notwithstanding all, religion *can* induce a *preponderance* of happiness?—to demonstrate how it can do so?—to point out the most efficacious means in each case, respectively, and to urge their diligent use?—to suggest consolations for deficient success, with a note of admonition respecting such of its causes as require that reproof be mixed with encouragement?—all the while keeping in view that condition of our existence on earth, which renders it *inevitable* that the happiness created even by religion, for the men most faithfully devoted to it, should not be otherwise than greatly incomplete?"

However magnificent may be the powers of the preacher, his pulpit ministrations, if conducted in the manner above described by Mr. Foster, and often exemplified in Robert Hall, will be (to use the words of Henry More) "of as little efficacy, as a tar-bottle hung out on a thorn bush, when compared with personal application, and private information and reproof. For the latter is like the *adfriction* of the pastoral medicine to a diseased sheep; without which, the formality of the bottle on the bush will do no cure, let the flock be gathered about it never so solemnly." This would, doubtless, have been admitted by Hall himself. But, after all, some generous allowance must be made for the peculiarity of a mind cast, like his, in no ordinary mould. To this day, it may be said, that *the Spirit distributeth to every man severally*



*rally as He will*: and on Hall it was His pleasure to confer, in an eminent degree, the faculty of withdrawing himself from "the dust and stir of this dim speck," and of intimately "commencing with the skies." This property may not perhaps have been, of all others, the most useful, in a moral religious guide. In one respect, however, it may have been most eminently serviceable; it may have greatly aided in the preservation and the completion of his own personal faith and holiness, and in marking him out as an example of the blessedness and the dignity of communion with heavenly things. There is little enough of this unworldly quality exhibited in the world at any time. And never, probably, was there less of it, than in the present age. The spirit of devotion, like the genius of romance, can scarcely breathe in the midst of the elaborate *materialism*, which is the grand attribute of modern society. "Only think," says the hero of some modern novel, or other, while ruminating at Mivart's hotel, on the dark and mysterious destinies of his house,—“only think of a family pursued by Nemesis, in a land which is scoured by the wheels of steam carriages, and two-horsed coaches, and buggies, and tax carts!” This, it is true, may be only a caricature of that fearful distraction of soul, with which the aspirant after invisible things is torn to pieces, on surveying the restless agitation, with which the visible and tangible things of dust and ashes are incessantly moving before us. But the caricature has, nevertheless, some sort of resemblance to a more dignified original. Only think—one is sometimes tempted to exclaim in bitterness of heart—only think of a mysterious scheme of Providence and Grace, working out its secret counsels, in a world, whose whole visible apparatus seems formed only to proclaim the supremacy of the creature, and to conceal its vanity and corruption! Undoubtedly, it is a very high privilege to escape, on the wings of meditation, from the sight of these bewildering anomalies; and some consolation it is, to know, that there are, and have been, men gifted with the power of emerging from the turmoil; and in whom corruption could, for a time at least, well nigh put on incorruption. In this light it is, that men like Robert Hall may chiefly be considered as benefactors to their species. They pour contempt upon the drivelling cant which associates devotional feeling with imbecility of mind. They show that religion is fitted to *absorb* the grandest capacities of human nature. It may be the more general purpose of God, that not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble, should be chosen to glorify his name, that no flesh should glory in his presence. Nevertheless, it is assuredly an animating spectacle, to see that the most prodigal endowments of the intellect may be made as pinions to convey the spirit out of “this mortal

coil," to the place where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. And whenever we do behold such a spectacle, how can we forbear to exclaim, *in this I do rejoice, yea, and I will rejoice.*

There is one point of view in which the reputation of Hall as a preacher is, we confess, regarded by us with something like regret: it may tend to confirm that *idolatry* of preaching, which is one of the evils that rushed in together with the blessings of the Reformation. On the grand commemorative occasions of the Church, commanding bursts of ecclesiastical oratory might be very useful, for the purpose of awakening the public to a remembrance of the leading facts in the history of the Christian dispensation. But, at present, the ordinance of *preaching*—(as it is, not very correctly, termed)—is nearly all in all. It is become, with many among us, a sort of third Sacrament: a Sacrament, too, which often well nigh thrusts the others into insignificance! With the Dissenting communities, this is still more lamentably the case than with ourselves. Preaching is, to them, nearly what Transubstantiation was to the Romanists. It is the grand instrument with which they hope to move the world. Now, as we regard this as a state of things by no means desirable, we cannot contemplate, without some apprehension, the influence of great pulpit-renown, wherever it may be found, as tending to give strength and permanence to this absorbing demand for the utterances of the pulpit. But, alas! the habit has become so inveterate, that no protestations, we fear, will do much for its correction. There is, at present, an almost universal craving for excitement. People, not unfrequently, carry with them into the Church, feelings nearly allied to those which they carry with them into the theatre. The preacher is, in a certain sense, a performer; and the pulpit (reverting to its *original* destination), becomes a sort of *stage*. What hope, then, can there be of recalling the venerable custom of catechizing, and the primitive practice of simple expository teaching?

We have left ourselves comparatively little space for enlarging on the personal character of Robert Hall. It is represented by his biographer as distinguished by that simplicity, which is the never-failing attribute of transcendent worth and talent. He was, in certain respects, a very absent man. He would, for instance, walk off from an evening visit with a wrong hat or great coat; he would frequently mistake the day or hour of an appointment, and, sometimes, the proper evening of a week-day service; he would return from a journey to London with letters in his pocket or portmanteau, which he had been requested by his friends to deliver. We recollect hearing a gentleman say, that he once passed Hall, as he was standing in the street, engaged in the perusal of a volume, which he had taken up from a bookstall, somewhere

in Bristol. Several hours afterwards he passed by the same spot, and there was Hall, still precisely in the same posture,—still engaged with the same book,—still utterly unconscious of every thing around him. But there was nothing affected in this habit of abstraction. His absence seldom, that we can learn, displayed itself in company. He was keenly alive to the simplest pleasures of social life; and found unspeakable refreshment in abandoning himself to their influence. As for affectation, it was his utter aversion. Parade of every kind he despised. As he advanced in age, he got terribly weary of the fuss, and stir, and show, and *agitation*, which, of late years, has distinguished the proceedings of certain religious societies. He thought that things would not be done the worse, for being done quietly and modestly. He even disapproved of the manner in which the ordinations are conducted in some Dissenting bodies. There was something ostentatious, according to his notions, in the collection of a great assemblage of ministers, from far and near, for the purposes of such celebrations. It gave to the solemnity too much the appearance of a *scene*,—of a thing *got up* to make a sensation. Even in private company, if at all miscellaneous, he seemed to have but little turn for conversation professedly religious; though, when surrounded by confidential friends, he could *season his speech with salt*, so that it might be *good to the use of edifying, and minister grace unto the hearers*. It is almost needless to say of such a man, that he was removed, by infinite degrees, above all suspicion of sordid self-interest. His converse was with higher matters than the *good things* of this life. If he ever wished for money, it must, probably, have been, partly, that it might enable him to purchase books, and, partly, that he might minister more abundantly to the necessities of the poor. Marriage, he confessed, added something to his solitudes, as well as to his happiness. But he had learned the art of casting all his care upon Him that careth for us. We remember hearing Sir J. Mackintosh observe, that Hall had, in the worldly sense, *thrown away* more fame than any man of his day. There is no reason to believe that Hall himself considered it as *thrown away*, in any sense. He must indeed have been secretly conscious, that his position in this world was very far beneath his appropriate level; and there may have been moments, when this recollection distilled some drops of bitterness into his cup. If there were *no* such moments, he must have been such a prodigy of self-renunciation as mankind have scarcely ever looked upon. If such thoughts ever did occur, they were probably shaken from him “like dew-drops from the lion’s mane.” We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that they remained to inflict any permanent molestation. Still less

can we imagine that they ever materially embittered his political feelings. All this however is matter of doubtful conjecture; and must be reserved for the day which shall reveal all hidden things.

In the appendix to the memoir of his life, is a note, containing "Miscellaneous Gleanings from Mr. Hall's Conversational Remarks," which very strongly prompts us to wish that fate had provided him with a biographer like James Boswell. Hall, it is true, would never have endured to be haunted by such a noodle. And yet we suspect that none but such a noodle could do him full biographical justice. The services of an obsequious satellite, like Boswell, would have been inestimable. The "gleanings" would then have swelled into a rich and abundant harvest. Nothing but the dread of intolerable diffuseness withholds us from transferring the whole of these fragments to our pages. We feel it, however, our duty to *glean* something from these *gleanings* for the entertainment of our readers. Only let it be remembered, that our selection is made, not with the view of conveying our own judgment respecting the merits or demerits of any opinions expressed by him; but purely for the purpose of illustrating the character and manner of the individual.

On hearing, for the first time, the remark of Dr. Magee, that "the Roman Catholics have a Church without a religion, and the Dissenters a religion without a Church; but that the Establishment has both a Church and a religion;" he was exceedingly struck with it. "That, Sir," he exclaimed, "is a beautiful saying. I have not heard so fine an observation for a long time. It is admirable, Sir." "You admire it, I presume, for its point, not for its truth." "I admire it, Sir, for its plausibility and its cleverness. It is false; yet it seems to contain a mass of truth. It is an excellent stone for a Churchman to pelt with."

In speaking of Antinomianism, "Pray, Sir," said he, "have you any Antinomians in Scotland?" On learning that, though some among the Scotch had a morbid aversion to practical preaching, yet they all acknowledged that the Law is still in force as a rule of life, though not as a covenant of works,—"That," said Hall, "is precisely what I expected. Your ministers and people have too much sense to be ensnared by such impieties. Antinomianism is a monster which can only live in darkness. Bring light on it, and it expires."

He was no admirer of Owen, the great Puritan Divine. When he heard a person say that he had read Owen's Preliminary Dissertations to his great work on the Hebrews, he exclaimed—

"You astonish me, Sir, by your patience! You have accomplished a herculean task in reading Owen's Preliminary Exercitations. To me, he is

tolerably heavy and prolix. . . . As a reasoner, Owen is most illogical: for he, almost always, takes for granted what he ought to prove; while he is always proving what he ought to take for granted. And, after a long digression, he concludes, very properly, with, 'this is not our concernment;' and returns to enter on something still further from the point."

In a conversation respecting Jonathan Edwards, and, either his distinction between natural and moral necessity, or, more probably,—(for the writer is uncertain which)—his distinction between liberty to will, and liberty to act according to our will,—

"The distinction, Sir," said Hall, "lies at the basis of Edwards's theory; but it is not original. It is to be found in the works of Owen. I think that Edwards found it there, buried, like the rest of Owen's ideas, amidst a heap of rubbish; and, finding it there, he did, what Owen had not strength of arm to do—he took a firm grasp of it, and dragged it to light. It proved a monster, and ought to have been smothered. But Edwards found it would be useful to frighten the enemies of Divine sovereignty and free grace; and, therefore, instead of smothering it, he nursed it."

His estimate of the powers of Sir J. Mackintosh was very exalted.

"I know no man, Sir," he said, "equal to Sir James in talents. The powers of his mind are admirably balanced. He is defective only in imagination." Finding that this last observation excited some surprise,— "Well, Sir," he replied, "I do not wonder at your remark. The truth is, he has imagination, too. But, with him, imagination is an acquisition rather than a faculty. He has, however, plenty of embellishment at command; for his memory retains every thing. His mind is a spacious repository, hung round with beautiful images; and when he wants one, he has but to reach up his hand to the peg and take it down. But his images were not manufactured in his mind. They were imported. . . . He has, I fear, mistaken his province. His genius is best adapted for metaphysical speculation. But, had he chosen moral philosophy, he would probably have surpassed every living writer. . . . I am persuaded, Sir, that if he had exerted himself, he would have completely outdone Jeffrey and Stewart, and all the metaphysical writers of our times." It seems, however, that Hall did but assign a barren region to his illustrious friend! For of metaphysics he was accustomed to say that "they yield no fruit. They are not a field, but an *arena*, to which a man, who has got nothing to do, may go down sometimes, to try his skill in intellectual gladiatorship."

His opinion of Madame de Staël appears to have been sufficiently contemptuous. On hearing his friend declare that he had read through her work on Germany, he exclaimed,— "I admire your patience more and more, Sir." And when something was said respecting the flights of her fancy, he protested that, "for

his part, he could not admire her flights; for, to him, she was generally invisible: not because she ascended to a great height above the earth, but because she invariably selected a foggy atmosphere."

The return of the Bourbons to France seems a little to have revived his ancient revolutionary prepossessions. One of his friends expected that he would hail the restoration with delight. To his surprise, however, Hall exclaimed, "I am sorry for it, Sir. The cause of knowledge, science, *freedom, and pure religion*, on the Continent, will be thrown back half a century. The intrigues of Jesuits will be revived; and popery will be resumed in France, with all its mummery, but with no power but the power of persecution." This opinion was expressed about six weeks before the issuing of the Pope's Bull for the revival of the order of Jesuits in Europe, 7th August, 1814! The battle of Waterloo fared little better, in Hall's estimation, than the first restoration of the Bourbons. "Sir," said he, "I have scarcely thought of the unfulfilled prophecies since that event. It overturned all the interpretations which had previously been advanced by those who had been thought sound theologians, and it gave new energy to the Pope and the Jesuits, both of whom *seemed* rapidly coming to nothing, as the predictions *seemed* to teach. That battle, and its results, seemed to me *to put back the clock of the world six degrees!*" Had we been present, we should have been tempted to ask him whereabouts the *clock of the world* would have been, had the despotism of Napoleon been suffered to remain; and what that despotism was likely to do for the cause of *freedom and true religion*?

In spite, however, of his Whiggish notions, he had a deep reverence for ancient institutions and illustrious rank. He was accurately acquainted with the descents and connexions of many of the noblest families. His taste, in short, was much more aristocratic than his principles. Whatever veneration he had for royalty was forcibly called forth at the commemoration of Handel. He was present at that extraordinary scene, and beheld George III. stand up, at one part of the performance, with tears in his eyes. Nothing ever affected him more strongly. "It seemed," he said, "like a great act of national assent to the fundamental truths of religion."

He perused the life of Bishop Watson with great regret. It lowered the Bishop in his estimation. "Poor man," he exclaimed, "I pity him! He married public virtue in his early days; but seemed, for ever afterwards, to be quarrelling with his wife."

He had a great dislike to Dr. Gill, as an author. On hearing



Mr. C. Evans expatiate on the copiousness and power of the Welch language, and express a wish that Dr. Gill's works had been written in Welch,—“I wish they had, Sir,” said Hall—“I wish they had with all my heart; for then I should never have read them. They are a continent of mud, Sir.”

Of Wesley he observed, that “the most extraordinary thing about him was, that, while he set all in motion, he was himself perfectly calm and phlegmatic: he was the quiescence of turbulence.”

Of some nervously modest gentleman he said, “Poor Mr. P— seems to beg pardon of all flesh for being in this world.”

When some one observed to him, that his animation increased with his years; “Indeed, Sir,” was his reply, “then I am like touchwood; the more decayed, the easier fired.”

He appears to have been a rank heretic with regard to the merits of Byron's poetry.

“‘I tried to read Childe Harold, Sir, but could not get on. ‘Have you read the Fourth Canto, Sir, which is by far the best.’ ‘Oh no, Sir, I shall never think of trying.’ ‘But then, Sir, independently of the poetry, it must be interesting to have a general acquaintance with such a character.’ ‘It is well enough, Sir, to have a general acquaintance with such a character: but I know not why we should take a pleasure in minutely investigating deformity.’”

To the above, we cannot forbear to add the following statement of Dr. Gregory:—

“On the publication of Parr's Spital Sermon, I took a copy to Mr. Hall, and sat down at his table while he hastily turned over the leaves. He was greatly amused by the cursory examination, but had evidently no expectation that any of the notes referred to himself. ‘What a profusion of Greek, Sir. Why if I were to write so, they would call me a pedant; but it is all natural in Parr. What a strange medley, Sir! The gownsmen will call him *Farrago Parr*.’ At length I saw his eye glance on the notes which relate to himself (viz. to the Sermon on Infidelity). His countenance underwent the most rapid changes, indicating surprise, regret, and pity. In a very few minutes he threw down the book, and exclaimed—‘Poor man! poor man! I am very sorry for him! He is certainly insane, Sir! Where were his friends, Sir? Was there nobody to sift the folly out of his notes, and prevent its publication? Poor man!’”

O that there had been some honest chronicler, constantly at his side, to preserve such colloquial droppings from his mind. We should then have had something like a Johnsonian biography of Robert Hall; the only sort of biography which could adequately represent him to posterity. But never, while the world lasts, will there be another Boswell. And never, probably, will there be

another man, at all worth knowing any thing about, who, like Samuel Johnson, would bear to be pursued, and dogged, and written down, by such a biped copying-machine! But we must now, reluctantly, withdraw from our contemplation of this extraordinary man. Nothing would be more easy than to double the length of this paper. And nothing suppresses our disposition to do so, except our unwillingness to abuse the patience of our readers. We have therefore only to add, that, in speaking of him, we have not, for a moment, suffered ourselves to be overborne by the weight of his mighty reputation. So long, indeed, as we can remember the name of Robert Hall, we have, almost invariably, associated with it the notions of worth, and piety, and vast intellectual power. But he himself, we doubt not, would have been the last man living to exact any thing like an abject prostration before his authority. Vehement, and somewhat arbitrary, he may have been, by native temperament. But he was far above that irritable vanity, which is the attribute of secondary minds. And we hope that his most ardent admirers will endure our allusions to what we honestly consider as his faults and aberrations, with the same candour and patience with which he would himself have listened to the voice of friendly expostulation.

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ART. IV.—*Lives, Characters, and an Address to Posterity.* By Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sarum. With the two Prefaces to the Dublin Editions. Edited, with an Introduction, and Notes, by John Jebb, D.D. F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe. London. Duncan. 1833.

It is a pleasant task to contemplate the character of Gilbert Burnet in that light under which he least expected that Posterity would regard it as the most brilliant. If the busy, meddling, arrogant, splenetic and self-complacent Whig be once translated from the purlieus of Westminster and Whitehall to the Close at Salisbury, he starts up a pious, learned, diligent, charitable, and conscientious Divine. The fiery temperament of a thorough-going Partizan is exchanged for the meek graces of a truly Christian Pastor; the Political intrigues which, in the atmosphere of the Court, rendered him always secular and, therefore, often selfish, are dismissed as soon as he enters the nave of his Cathedral; and he who yesterday was a turbulent and ambitious gainsayer, an abettor of factious strife, and a coarse, stubborn and prejudiced disputer of this World, appears before us to day as an indefatigable overseer of Souls, a laborious, eloquent and impressive dispenser of Gospel truths, and a munificent and open-handed

patron of works of love; as *blameless, vigilant, apt to teach, not a brawler*; and, moreover, as having that possession which of all others he was least able to secure for himself in the great vortex which he too much loved, *a good report of them which are without.*

Unhappily, however, for Burnet's fame, he is far more generally known under that distorted form according to which he has perversely employed mistaken pains to represent himself, than under that according to which his many good Works might more justly, although less ostentatiously, represent him. *The History of his own Times* has indeed invariably contributed to increase in reputation in the same proportion as the lapse of years since it was written has diminished the fervour of that contemporary party-zeal by which it was at first so furiously assailed. Notwithstanding the virulence and venom with which it has been so hatefully beslavered by Swift; and the less offensive, but not less corroding sarcasms which it has elicited from the more aristocratic pen of Lord Dartmouth; (two accompaniments which now must for ever be inseparable from its text;) it will always be the staple from which future writers on the period which it embraces must draw the major portion of their most valuable materials. Still, however, more than enough is to be found in the pages of that *History* to justify us in wishing that Burnet had never set foot beyond his Diocese. We will not needlessly revive matters which we should gladly see forgotten: it is a far more agreeable labour to point to those which ought to be remembered. In each of his simply ministerial offices, Burnet is a bright exemplar to his Brethren. Look at him as Incumbent of Saltoun, where he once gave all the money in his house to a needy Parishioner, telling his servant who hesitated about the donation that "he did not know the pleasure there was in making a man glad;"—as Divinity Professor at Glasgow, where his daily toil far exceeded the limits to which the Physical powers of one man might be supposed to extend;—as possessing free access to the private ear of the dissolute Sovereign to whom he was Chaplain, and fearlessly using that power, without regard to his own personal interests, in an endeavour to wean the sinner from his evil ways;—as the active administrator of every Episcopal function within his Diocese—as the first suggester and the ardent promoter of the only remedy which, for much more than a Century, has hitherto been applied to the crying poverty of our smaller Church Benefices, the disposal of the first fruits and tenths for their augmentation—as the appropriator to charitable purposes of the entire salary earned by the wearisome duty of Preceptor to a Royal pupil—as a Bishop who so employed the revenues of his See

that, at his death, not more remained than was sufficient to cover his debts. The possession of considerable talents has never been denied to Burnet even by his enemies: and, admitting every drawback from his merits which his best friends must be prepared to concede, who, after reading the above imperfect catalogue of only a few of his Christian works, shall deny that he was a *good* as well as a *great* man?

Entertaining such impressions of Burnet's character, and of the little justice with which it is ordinarily estimated, it is impossible that we should not greatly rejoice at the very discreet and judicious selection from his Writings which Bishop Jebb has now edited, in a form likely to secure general circulation and well-founded popularity. The pieces comprised in this volume consist of the Life of Sir Matthew Hale with Baxter's Appendix; that of Lord Rochester, with an extract from his Funeral Sermon; some detached characters extracted from the *History of his own Times*; the Funeral Sermon on Robert Boyle; and the Address to Posterity with which the *History* concludes. Twice before, a similar collection has appeared in Dublin under the superintendence of the late Mr. Alexander Knox, who furnished each Edition with a separate Preface, both of which are now reprinted by Bishop Jebb. The entirely new matter in the present Edition, therefore, consists of an Introduction and of occasional Notes: the former chiefly containing an affectionate tribute to the memory of Mr. Knox; the latter affording channels through which issue forth the overflowings of a capacious mind, richly stored with most choice and varied reading; Παῦρα μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λίγως.

More than thirty years ago, Mr. Alexander Knox, in a Letter written to the present Bishop of Limerick, at that time just entering upon his professional duties, expressed a wish for some collection from Burnet; framed on the plan of that which he afterwards published. That Letter is justly described by Bishop Jebb as containing "within a short compass the best provision extant towards rightly forming the mind and heart of a young Clergyman." It is indeed remarkable for the holiness of its conceptions, the soundness of its teaching, the clearness and the vigour of its expressions. To print it entire is not permitted by our limits: to abridge it without injury to its effects would be impossible; but we may venture to extract a sample of its general tone and manner. The main subject is a reply to the important question "What Christian preaching ought to be?" and rarely, if ever, have we elsewhere seen a more satisfactory explanation, than is afforded by the following passage, of that *newness of heart* which is demanded by the Gospel; or juster expositions of a vital doctrine

which has been too often destructively rejected by the would-be Rationalist on the one hand, or fantastically exaggerated by the Enthusiast on the other.

“ Christianity is represented, in most pulpits, rather as a scheme of external conduct, than as an inward principle of moral happiness, and moral rectitude.

“ In modern sermons, you get a great many admonitions and directions, as to *right conduct*: but what David asked for, so earnestly, is seldom touched upon, . . . ‘ Create in me a CLEAN HEART, O God ! and renew a RIGHT SPIRIT within me.’ Now, the New Testament dwells on this, as its main object: ‘ make the tree good,’ says Christ, ‘ and its fruit will, also, be good:’ . . . ‘ Except ye be converted, and become as little children, you can, in no wise, enter into the kingdom of heaven.’

“ These expressions evidently imply, that, in order to be Christians, persons must undergo a moral change; that Christianity is designed to make them something, which they are not, by nature; and, that, the alteration, produced, in the mind, the affections, and the conduct, by a right, and full, acquiescence in the Gospel, is so radical, so striking, and so efficacious, as to warrant the strongest imagery, in order to do it justice, that language can furnish.

“ ‘ Except a man,’ says our Lord, ‘ be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ . . . ‘ If any man,’ says Saint Paul, ‘ be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold all things are become new.’ . . . ‘ If ye, then, be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above: for ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.’ . . . ‘ Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us.’ And, to quote but one passage more, from Saint Paul, . . . ‘ They that are Christ’s, have crucified the flesh, with the affections and desires.’

“ Now, what, I ask, do these expressions imply? After every fair allowance for figure, and metaphor, do they not convey a far deeper, and more mysterious view of Christianity, than is, commonly, adverted to? Some divines, I know, endeavour to explain these, and similar passages, as if they referred, rather to a relative and extrinsic, than to a real and internal change; as if they meant, merely proselytism from heathenism, to Christianity, and initiation into outward church privileges. But this miserable mode of interpretation, is flatly inconsistent with the whole tenor of the New Testament. It is not HEATHENISM, but MORAL EVIL, which is here pointed out, as the grand source of human misery: and the aptitude of the GOSPEL, to overcome and extirpate this MORAL EVIL, is what is dwelt upon, as its great and leading excellence. These, therefore, and all similar passages, must be understood in a moral sense: and, when so understood, how deep is their import! To suppose that there is not a strict appositiveness in these figurative expressions, would be to accuse the Apostles, and Christ himself, of bombastic amplification: but, if they have been thus applied, because no other ones were adequate, to do justice to the subject, I say again, what a view do they give of Christianity!

“ It may be said, that enthusiasts have abused these expressions. True : but what then ? What gift of God has not been abused ! And the richest gifts, most grossly ? Meanwhile, the Scriptures remain unadulterated ; and, abused as they may have been, by perverse misrepresentation, on the one side, or on the other, we have no right to go to any other standard.

“ With these passages of Scripture, then, and many similar ones, . . nay, with the whole tenor of the New Testament, in my view, I hesitate not to say, that Christian preaching consists, first, in representing man to be, by nature, (I mean in his present fallen state,) a weak, ignorant, sinful, and of course, miserable being ; as such, to be liable to God's displeasure ; and to be absolutely incapable of enjoying any real happiness, either here or hereafter.”—pp. x—xiii.

After a brief examination of some of the principal texts upon which this doctrine rests, and a reference to certain portions of our Liturgy into which it has been incorporated, Mr. Knox proceeds to show in what manner it should be treated from the Pulpit.

“ Christianity, then, in this view, is really what Saint Paul calls it, . . **THE POWER OF GOD UNTO SALVATION.** When thus pursued, I mean, when a deep sense of inward depravity and weakness excites a man, to seek divine knowledge, and divine grace, in order to the enlightening of his mind, and the renewing of his heart, . . when this view produces conscientious watchfulness ; excites to fervent, habitual devotion ; and presents to the mind, in a new light, God's inestimable love, in the redemption of the world by HIS SON, . . then, by degrees, sometimes more rapidly, sometimes more slowly, the true Christian character begins to form itself in the mind. Then, the great things spoken of Christianity, in the New Testament, begin to be understood, because they begin to be felt. The vanity of earthly things, becomes, more and more apparent : that divine faith which gives victory over the world, begins to operate : religious duties, once burthensome, becomes delightful : self-government becomes natural and easy : reverential love to God, and gratitude to the Redeemer, producing humility, meekness, active, unbounded benevolence, grow into habitual principles ; private prayer is cultivated, not merely as a duty, but, as the most delightful exercise of the mind : cheerfulness reigns within, and diffuses its sweet influence, over the whole conversation, and conduct : all the innocent, natural enjoyments of life, (scarcely, perhaps, tasted before, from the natural relish of the mind being blunted by artificial pleasures,) becomes inexhaustible sources of comfort : and the close of life is contemplated, as the end of all pain, and the commencement of perfect, everlasting felicity.

“ This, then, I conceive, is a faint sketch, of that state of mind, to which, the Christian preacher, should labour to bring himself and his hearers. This, I take to be ‘ true religion ;’ our Saviour's ‘ well of water, springing up into everlasting life ;’ Saint Paul's, ‘ new creature,’ and ‘ spiritual mind ;’ and Saint John's ‘ fellowship with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ.’



"These points, therefore, I take to be the great features of Christian preaching: . . .

"1. The danger and misery of an unrenewed, unregenerate state; whether it be of the more gross, or of the more decent kind.

"2. The absolute necessity of an inward change: a moral transformation of mind and spirit.

"3. The important and happy effects which take place, when this change is really produced."—pp. xiv—xvi.

And he concludes that part of his subject by drawing a marked distinction which can never be too strongly held in remembrance.

"Let me observe, however, that the change I speak of, must, from variety of circumstances, vary in conspicuousness. Some have pleased God from their youth; have never lost a sense of duty: in these, of course, there cannot, in the nature of things, be that deep compunction, which penitents feel, who have been rescued from a lower depth. Nay, some even, are gently and gradually, reclaimed from a course of vice, and folly; so that, their final safety, may be the result of an almost imperceptible advance, through many years. But, the change itself, from the dominion of the carnal mind, to that of the spiritual mind, must be wrought: because, 'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but, if ye, through the spirit, mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.' To insist, therefore, on the change itself: to lead men into their own bosoms, to inquire, what most prevails with them; this world, or the next: to ascertain, what spirit they are of; of the self-denying spirit of Christ, or the self-indulging spirit of the world: to ask, whether, like David, they love God's law; or whether their obedience is the result of servile fear: to examine, whether they have any sense, of 'God's inestimable love, in the redemption of the world, by his Son;' or whether they are conscious, that they would have been just as happy, if such a thing never had taken place: to seek, finally, whether they feel the need of the aid and consolations of God's Spirit; and, therefore, find prayer as necessary to their mental comfort, as food is, to their bodily strength: . . . to urge such inquiries, I take to be CHRISTIAN PREACHING; to insist on circumstances, . . . such as, a moment of conversion, known, and remembered; certain depths of distress; strongly marked, instantaneous consolations, . . . as if these had been necessary, I humbly conceive to be ENTHUSIASM."—pp. xviii., xix.

Bishop Jebb introduces the Life of Sir Matthew Hale—a Tract pre-eminently rich in food for meditation—by two apt and well-chosen mottoes illustrative of the prevalent taste of our own times which cultivates reading chiefly for display.

"*En France, on ne lit guère un ouvrage que pour en parler.*—*Mad. de Staël.*

"The same remark, I am sorry to say, is becoming more and more applicable to our own Country.—*Dugald Stewart.*"

There is yet another motive for reading now-adays, the opera

tion of which, even upon men of the desk and closet, is quite as powerful as the vanity of the professed and dining-out conversationalist. In the present era of cheap and universal knowledge, (heaven bless the mark!) this *sæculum scriblativum*, as we may term it, every body reads in order that every body may write; and we are consequently assailed from all quarters with such literature as Chamfort (not the less a keen observer of human nature because he was a consummate *vaut-rien*) has described with equal truth and causticity. *La plupart des livres d'à présent ont l'air d'avoir été faits en un jour avec des livres lus de la veille.*

If the *idem velle ac idem nolle* be, as it doubtless is, the surest corroborant of personal friendship, it is also the most agreeable bond of literary association. Similarity of judgment in any case is gratifying: but to be confirmed in opinions on points of Criticism which we have ventured to form for ourselves in privacy and retirement, by an authority whose decisions must be received as *τὰ ἐκ Τριπλοδὸς*, is the greatest of all encouragements which the obscure and solitary Student can receive. And this is a pleasure which, in many instances, we have tasted to the full in our perusal of Bishop Jebb's annotations. Most cordially do we respond to the glowing praise which his Lordship has bestowed on another Burnet, the Author of *The Sacred Theory of the Earth*.

"Few readers will be likely to investigate, much less to adopt, his exploded 'Theory.' But, as long as genius, imagination, and eloquence, of the first order, illustrating piety of the most genuine character, are counted valuable amongst men, so long will his book find a place on the shelves, and his spirit in the hearts of the chosen few. The ablest writer of the present day does not hesitate to call Burnet of the Charter House, 'The greatest of the name.'—*Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, i. 309.

And not less in unison with our feelings is the brief but pointed eulogium on Bishop Andrews.

"The unbounded charities, public and private, the copious erudition, and the saint-like devotion of this eminent Christian, can never be forgotten; would that they were faithfully imitated; excelled they cannot be. His *Preces Privatæ* have been lately republished, both in the original, and in an improved English version."—p. 291.

Here, nevertheless, we venture to ask, whether Dean Stanhope's version of the *Preces Privatæ* (as originally printed) either needs or can admit improvement? In later Editions, the exquisite rhythmical arrangement has been destroyed, by barbarously throwing the whole text into continuous lines, with utter disregard to Stanhope's breaks. But never was richer music poured upon the ear than may be derived from some of that harmonious writer's nicely-modulated periods: we should gladly see a new *Triglott*

edition of Bishop Andrews's Devotions in a handsome form. The Greek should be printed in a bold, Porsonian character, not in the small, shuffling and indistinct type in which it has recently appeared. To this, in the same page, should be appended the Latin translation, together with Dean Stanhope's English version: the Scriptural references should stand in the margin; and a short notice of the Author might be prefixed.

It is scarcely necessary to state that Dean Stanhope did not profess to furnish a literal translation: he has paraphrased in some places, and retrenched in others. One of his omissions is very remarkable; we do not remember to have seen it noticed by others; and it is recalled to our minds by a passage in Bishop Jebb's Introduction. The following are Stanhope's words in a part of the Office for Thursday.

" I will also

After the example of the Saints before me,

Commend myself, my Life,

And every action and event of it,

To Thee, my Lord, and my God."

But this is very remote from the Greek.

Τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης,

Θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας,

μετὰ πάντων ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες,

Ἐαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν,

Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραδώμεθα.

It should be remembered that Bishop Andrews wrote in the days of James I., when our Church was emerging, as it were, from that which may be called its transition state. Strenuously as he was opposed to the *abuses* of Popery; he saw nothing indecorous or superstitious in a grateful recollection of the Virgin Mary, or of those many burning and shining lights with which from time to time our Faith has been illuminated. His feelings on these points were, no doubt, in unison with those of our most active Reformers: for otherwise it would be difficult so say why they introduced Offices to commemorate the Annunciation and the Purification, or why they consecrated one day's service to an acknowledgment of God's goodness for All His Saints. Yet perhaps to Stanhope's ears the epithet Θεοτόκος, and the direct assertion of perpetual virginity, might appear *un peu fort*. Θεοτόκος, however, we are assured, was considered by Mr. Alexander Knox as a wholesome preservative against Socinianism, and we perceive no reason for dissent from his opinion. In a note of his conversation on one occasion, taken by a gentleman present, he is reported to have said,

" He rejoiced to hear the Irish address the Holy Virgin; for they

added, *MORZEA OF GOD*: a delightful solecism; an uncouth metaphor; but conveying a most important truth."—p. xxxviii.

Above all, are we grateful to Bishop Jebb for having *revived* (and, shame to our days! that such a word may be justly employed) the too-much forgotten memory of Berkeley. The *Minute Philosopher* is a fountain and well-head of the soundest reasoning conveyed in the purest English; from which many later and very celebrated writers of *Evidences* and *Apologies* have drunk largely, yet without acknowledgment. No other Work on *Revelation* with which we are acquainted ever carried to our minds conviction so powerful in a garb equally alluring. It is a noble theme for commentary; one which would exercise the profoundest attainments, both sacred and profane, of a finished scholar; the acutest powers of a consummate master of *Dialectics*, *Philosophy* and *Divinity*. We know not whether the execution of such a design ever occupied the thoughts of Bishop Jebb; but whether it has done so or not, greatly is it to be wished that he would undertake it. To *his* hands it might be safely confided: and when we call to mind the unbounded resources which he would bring to its performance, it is scarcely too much to affirm that it is rather a debt which ought to be religiously discharged, than a largess which he is permitted to retain or to bestow at pleasure.

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ART. V.—*A Memoir of Felix Neff, Pastor of the High Alps; and of his labours among the French Protestants of Dauphiné, a Remnant of the Primitive Christians of Gaul.* By William Stephen Gilly, M. A., Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Norham. London. Rivingtons. 1833.

THE personal history of Felix Neff may be related in a very narrow compass. He was born in the year 1798; *quo patre* we are not informed; and was brought up in a village near Geneva by his widowed mother. His education comprised such a modicum of Latin, Botany, History, and Geography as could be furnished by the village Pastor: and the first active employment in which he engaged, was as assistant to a nursery gardener. At seventeen, he enlisted as a private in the Genevese military service; and, in the course of two years, having been promoted to the rank of serjeant of artillery, he addicted himself especially to the study of Mathematics. In that post, however, the influence which his eminently religious habits obtained over his comrades, excited, as we are told, a degree of jealousy among his superior officers, and "*he was advised to quit*" the service and

to prepare himself for the Church. If the Genevese Articles of War thus gently consult the professional fancy of an able-bodied recruit they must be framed on a singularly lenient principle: and we should much like to see the memorandum in which this *advice* was conveyed, as it is entered in the orderly book of the regiment to which Felix Neff belonged.

Having abandoned the army, Neff "placed himself under pious instruction and superintendence;" and, according to the figure of his Biographer, "put on his spiritual armour, and essayed to go in it," which lofty phrase being interpreted, means that he commenced *Probationer*, first in the neighbourhood of Geneva, afterwards in the Cantons of Neuchâtel, Berne, and the Pays de Vaud. The Probationers in the Reformed Churches of France and Switzerland seem to be literally clerical apprentices: they catechize the young, visit the sick, and even preach to the congregation, according to the discretion of the Pastor to whom they are bound; and after a due course of experiment, they are admitted to the ministry. Two years afterwards, Neff transferred himself to France, in order to assist the Pastor of Grenoble; and having there concluded six months' service, he proceeded onwards to Mens, to supply, so far as he could do so, the place of an absent Pastor. He was not yet in Orders; and we are therefore by no means surprised to hear that "his office and functions were but ill defined." Moreover, his dialect was a *patois* to which the French language afforded a very scanty supply of words. It scarcely needed, therefore, "a cold and heartless Christianity" on the side of those to be taught, and a tone of piety "too high for many of those whom it was his duty to instruct" on that of the teacher, to prevent his lessons from producing any very abundant harvest of edification in the outset. Yet his unwearied activity did produce fruit in the end. The district in which he was engaged contained a population of about 8000 Protestants, scattered over a surface of nearly eighty square miles; and the unremitting itinerancy which their superintendence required was particularly adapted to Neff's taste. A few words of his own at this period afford a key to the nervous restlessness of temperament which kept him in perpetual motion till it "overwrought his clay." "A sedentary or a fixed life," said he, "has no pleasures for me. I should not like to be constantly labouring in one place: I would infinitely rather lead the wandering life of a missionary."

On the return of the regular Pastor whose place Neff had supplied, a schism arose in consequence of his having been absent longer than the Consistory approved; he was not immediately re-admitted to his functions, and he appears to have ex-

pressed some jealousy of Neff, which induced the latter to retire. Neff had now determined to seek Ordination; but there were no small difficulties in his way. He was inadmissible by his National Church of Geneva till he should have passed through a regular course of Academical study: and even if that course were finished, (for which purpose he received offers of assistance,) the Socinianism into which the modern Establishment of Geneva has lapsed, rendered him unwilling to derive his authority from Ministers whom he believed to have betrayed the Gospel. He was equally reluctant to encourage separation by applying to those seceding Pastors, who, having quitted the National Establishment, declared themselves to be a new Church. His ultimate resolution, whatever may have been its discretion, displayed, at least, no small energy.

“ One door only seemed to be open to him. To go to England, where his name and merits had been made known through the means, originally, of the Continental Society I believe, and of Mr. Cook, and Mr. Wilks, two eminent dissenting ministers; and to ask for a public recognition as a devoted servant of God, in one of those independent congregations, whose ministers are received in the Protestant churches of France, as duly authorized to preach the word of God, and to fulfil all the duties of the pastoral office.

“ Neff had no other mode of satisfying his conscience, and of assuming the functions of a minister “lawfully called,” according to the regulations of the country, where he looked forward to pursue his professional career. He therefore proceeded to London in the beginning of May, and without being acquainted with a single word of the English language, we find the catechist of the mountains embarking on board a steam-boat at Calais, landing at Dover half dead with sea-sickness, consigning himself to the chances of a night-coach, and arriving in the metropolis on a Sunday morning, with no other aid to help him through the mazes of a city, (which is more embarrassing to a stranger than any other capital in Europe,) than a direction to the house of Mr. Wilks. After puzzling out his way to his friend's abode, judge what must have been his forlorn feeling upon learning that Mr. Wilks was not at home, and that nobody in the house could speak French. Somehow or other the intelligent stranger, after many questions put to such passengers as, he hoped, might be able to reply to him in a language he could understand, got a clue through the labyrinth of streets and lanes, to a French chapel, where he considered, that, as it was Sunday, he should find somebody who could hold intercourse with him, and put him in the train of profiting by his letters of introduction. The excellent Mr. Scholl was the preacher at the chapel upon this occasion, and to him Neff addressed himself after the service with the modest request, that he would direct him to an hotel where French was spoken. The wanderer's delight must have been excessive, when Mr. Scholl kindly accosted him by name, and told him that he was aware of the errand upon which he had come, and that every thing should be done to pro-



mote his views. He was placed in comfortable lodgings; and on the return of Mr. Wilks he was introduced by that gentleman to the ministers who were to receive him into their body. But though he received every attention from his new friends, during the interval that elapsed before the public ceremony which brought him to England, yet one or two only could hold conversation with him, and his time hung heavily on his hands. 'My visits,' said he in one of his letters, 'are very insipid, I cannot talk English, nor they French, and the sooner I can get away the happier I shall be; but I will remain as long as I can be forming connections, which may prove useful in promoting the reign of Christ in France.'

"It was on the 19th of May, 1823, that Neff, to use his own terms, 'received a diploma, in Latin, signed by nine ministers, of whom three were doctors in theology, and one was a master of arts, and was ordained in a chapel in the Poultry in London.' "p. 62—64.

Having thus avoided any show of opposition to his own National Church by resorting to a Dissenting Body in a foreign land, Neff returned to seek a Cure in France: and he determined to fix in the High Alps, for a reason which affords some farther insight into his character. "In the higher Alpine region I shall be the only Pastor, and therefore more at liberty. In the south I should be embarrassed by the conflicting opinions of other Pastors." The Elders of the desolate valleys of Queyras and Fressinière invited him to take charge of their Churches; and upon that duty he cheerfully entered, although unprovided with Letters of Naturalization from the French Government, unsanctioned by the approval of the presiding Consistory of Orpierre, and unconfirmed by the authority of the Minister of the Interior. "In fact, some of these necessary forms never were obtained." Doubtless the series of leaps by which Neff vaulted into the fold which he afterwards tended with diligence so exemplary, evinced consummate boldness.

The Consular Government in 1802 had re-organized the Protestant Church in France, which from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the days of Napoleon had been without any legal existence. Under those regulations the Department of the High Alps was divided into two Ecclesiastical Sections, Orpierre, and Arvieux, the latter of which formed Neff's *Parish*. It occupied an extent of nearly eighty miles (including the windings of the mountains) from east to west; contained eighteen villages; and hitherto had not been regularly served by any fixed and resident Pastor. The toil required for its care may, in some degree, be estimated by the following statement.

"Suppose, then, that the pastor has fixed his abode at the house which is provided for him at La Chalp, in the commune of Arvieux, he has a journey of twelve miles before he can reach the scene of his

labours in a western direction, and sixty before he can arrive at it in the opposite quarter. He has also a distance of twenty miles towards the south, and thirty-three towards the north, when his services are required by the little flocks at Vars and La Grave."—p. 115.

The cottage at La Chalp, near the village of Arvieux, assigned for the residence of the Pastor, was cheerfully situated; but the spiritual wants of another hamlet, Dormilleuse, appeared so much more pressing, that Neff resolved to fix his chief abode (if he who moved in a perpetual round of visitations can be said to have had any abode) in that latter and most repulsive spot. The country approaching it, says Mr. Gilly, "is perfectly savage and appalling;" the "track of the wolf and the heavy flap of the vulture's wing over head, tell who are the proper natives:" and this is, even "its summer welcome." In the village itself "the eye wanders in vain for any one point of fascination"—"all is cold, forlorn, and cheerless," it is "worse than a wilderness"—and is "a concentration of man's wretchedness."

"The rock on which Dormilleuse stands is almost inaccessible, even in the finest months in the year. There is but one approach to it, and this is always difficult, from the rapidity of the ascent, and the slipperiness of the path in its narrowest part, occasioned by a cascade, which throws itself over this part into the abyss below, forming a sheet of water between the face of the rock and the edge of the precipice. In the winter season it must be doubly hazardous, because it then leaves an accumulation of ice. Perhaps of all the habitable spots in Europe this wretched village is the most repulsive. Nature is here stern and terrible, without offering any boon but that of personal security from the fury of the oppressor, to invite man to make it his resting place."—p. 134.

We pass over some private anecdotes of death-beds and conversions, a *little* highly coloured, and not in very sober taste. It can scarcely be necessary that a young woman, during her transition from Romanism to Protestantism, should "purchase her new birth almost at the cost of her life;" that she should be "constantly weeping, take no nourishment, and seem to be melting away like snow;" that she should express conviction of being utterly lost and rejected by God; that she should be "incapable of making any bodily exertion, suffering physically as well as mentally, literally watering her couch with tears, and always complaining of her want of proper contrition and of her hardness of heart"—that her "soul should be consuming her body." Upon such a narrative as this we are tempted to employ Mr. Gilly's words *not* with the precise meaning which he intends that they should bear; and to ask "if such were Neff's pupils and converts, what must their instructor have been?" His con-

vert, in this instance, was manifestly a nervous and hysterical patient, who should have been carefully preserved from excitement.

"The Mission," an active movement of the Roman Catholics, which continued in operation from 1819 to 1830, appears to have interrupted Neff's course; and to have deprived his flock of many members. Now and then, however, an acute peasant would discomfit even the Priest of Champsaur.

"One day, when this Curé ventured to ask a Protestant, 'Upon what do you build your belief, since you have no authority for your faith?'

"Upon the Bible,' was the reply: 'if the apostles had left behind them any infallible successors, it would have been unnecessary to bequeath to us so many instructions in writing!'

"The apostles! and why are you to place greater reliance on the apostles, than on their successors?'

"Because the apostles were inspired by the Holy Ghost.'

"Well; and we too are inspired!'

"Are you inspired?'

"Yes! I repeat, we too are inspired!'

"Then why do you require to be further instructed in the college of the Jesuits?'

"The priest was routed."

The extraordinary labour which Neff underwent in his never-ceasing progresses is strikingly shown in an account furnished by a Captain Cotton, of an excursion in which he accompanied him. The month was November, and the starting place was Dormilleuse.

"Neff asking me if I had the courage to pass over the Col d'Orcières to Saint Laurent du Cros, to avoid making so great a circuit as we should do in going by the valley, the practicability of the measure was debated, and the opinion of an experienced chasseur taken; his decision was that the passage might be performed if the weather should be clear and without wind. The danger from cloudy weather is the probability of snow falling: that from wind is greater, as it often causes so thick a cloud of snow as to hinder the traveller from seeing his way. A perfect knowledge of the mountains is also requisite, as the drifted snow frequently conceals the danger of the path by lying lightly perhaps against a precipice; and should the unwary traveller set his foot upon it, the mass is instantly set in motion, he is carried away with it, and never rises again. We saw, while ascending to Dormilleuse, the effect of the wind, or, as it is called in the Alps, the *tourmente*, on the snowy summits of the mountains, they seemed to smoke like so many volcanoes. We intended by the laborious journey of the following day to save time, but we were as long in performing it as we should have been in going round about. I supped this morning on a marmot, and found it by no means bad fare; it is a rich food, more like pork than any thing else.

"The morning following proving clear and free from wind, we prepared for the fatigues of the day by a good breakfast; my thick and heavy nailed shoes were covered with linen socks, and a string passed across my gaiters and round my ankles, to prevent the snow from entering. The mountaineers always take the precaution of securing their feet from the admission of snow in a similar way. I was furnished, like the rest, with a staff, and we set out, eleven in number, the peasants having the laborious task of tracing the way for us. The first of the party had a very laborious task, appearing sometimes to be breast high; and it was necessary for the others successively to take the lead: in this manner we passed over the dreary white and trackless waste, crossing several considerable eminences, though we were in a valley, compared with the ridges on each side. It might seem impossible for any living beings to make this their natural abode, yet the wild is not left untenant: the wolf and the bear are natives of the Alps, but require more shelter than is to be found in the track we were passing over; the lynx is sometimes, but rarely, to be found; the marmot keeps himself as warm as he can in the earth; the chamois ranges over the loftiest summits at perfect liberty—we saw a flock of them on the mountain to our right, far out of the reach of man. I was exceedingly fatigued and vexed to be continually sinking when the others trod firm. There is an art in following the leaders track; great care must be taken to place the foot in the trace of him that goes before, and to follow with the same foot. At length the Col appeared before us. We had hoped to reach it before it would be necessary to take refreshment, but our progress was so slow and our whole party so exhausted, as to render a meal necessary; it being impossible to sit, we trod down the snow, and ate our bread and cheese and drank our wine standing, after which we started again. Neff sometimes took the place of leader, and in the most laborious part of the journey roused the spirits of the people by chanting hymns. At last the height was won, but not till two or three in the afternoon. A new waste of snow presented itself on the other side, but the labour of descending was comparatively trifling; having rested a short time, Neff, myself, and three mountaineers, on their way to Mens also, proceeded downwards from the Col. The kind people watched from the top till we were out of sight, being anxious about me, whom they saw to be an inexpert mountaineer, and quite tired. Instead of being in a valley as before, we passed over a country of an undulating surface, and descended very rapidly. Proceeding more by the general bearings of the country than by any landmarks, we descended several precipices, where I should never have hazarded myself alone, even had there been no snow. Some small lakes lie between the hills, probably furnishing the sources of the Drac, which originates hereabouts. Some notion of the height at which we were may be formed from the circumstance of one of these lakes having been passed incautiously in the month of July by a man, who did not know he had been on the ice till he had crossed it; we came afterwards among stone fences of fields under the snow, and a little lower down to a village, and shortly after reached the inn at Orcières."—pp. 238—241.

The example of Oberlin in promoting temporal improvement in his flock had not been lost upon Neff; and one of the most pleasing passages in Mr. Gilly's Memoir is his account of a system of irrigation which was introduced in the valley of Fresinière. It is too long for entire extraction, but we may venture upon a portion of it.

"In the spring of 1825, there had been so little snow, that there was every appearance of the soil yielding even less than its usual scanty increase: its wonted supply of moisture had failed. Neff took advantage of the state of the season, and once more pressed them to adopt his mode of irrigation. But still the reluctance and the excuses were the same. If the canals and aqueducts were made, they would soon get out of order: if one proprietor adopted them, another would not: the next neighbour would not permit them to cross his land, and one opponent of the measure might stop the whole proceeding: but if all should agree, and the work were to be brought to a happy conclusion, an avalanche, or a crumbling mass of granite, would soon crush or interrupt the constructions, and reduce them to their old condition. In vain did the pastor endeavour to convince them of the weakness of these arguments, particularly of the last: they might as well refuse to plant and sow, or to build houses, for nothing was safe from avalanches. Finding that he could not prevail when he addressed them in a body, he took them separately, and asked, 'Will you consent if your neighbour will? Will you put your shoulder to the work, if the occupiers of the next property will join you?' They were ashamed to refuse, when they were thus personally appealed to, and an unwilling acquiescence was thus gradually obtained. But then arose another and more formidable objection. 'Suppose the aqueducts are completed, and the water flows, will the distribution be equal? Will not my neighbour get more of the water than I shall? How do I know that he will not exhaust the supply before my land has had a drop?' Neff was too ready at expedients to be easily foiled. He proposed that there should be a committee and an arbiter, to determine what share of the public benefit each occupier should enjoy, and how long, and on what days, and at what hours, the stream should be permitted to pour its waters into the different sections and branches of its course.

"At length all preliminaries were settled, and the work was agreed to be done. The line was marked out, and the proprietors consented that the main channel should cross and recross their lands accordingly as it should be required. But again there was some demur. The people would only labour at that part of the construction which was to irrigate their own ground. 'Be it so,' said Neff, 'only let us make a beginning.' He saw that he could easily bring them to good humour and compliance, if he could only once set them on. Every thing having been arranged, the working party, consisting of forty, met at daybreak, and with their pastor at their head, proceeded to examine the remains of an ancient aqueduct, which it was thought might be rendered in some degree available to their purpose, if they could so far make out its line

as to follow its direction. Some few traces were discernible, but the sight of them seemed to dishearten rather than encourage the conscripts.

" ' We shall be three days,' said one, ' before we can complete this part of our work !'

" ' It will take us not less than six,' said another : ' ten,' grumbled a third.

" ' Not quite so many,' said the pastor, mildly, and with his benignant smile.

" Neff divided his troop into little detachments of five or six, with a commander at the head of each, and taking upon himself the direction in chief, he allotted a distinct proportion of the work to each. Presently all were busy, some digging and excavating, others clearing away ; the pastor himself was at one time plying his pickaxe, and another time moving from place to place, and superintending the progress of others.

At ten o'clock the party expressed a desire to discontinue their labour and go home to their breakfast. But this would not do for their chief. He foresaw that there would be stragglers, and perhaps deserters, if they should once lose sight of each other ; therefore, still setting them the example, he sent for his own breakfast, continued at his work, and persuaded the rest to do the same."—pp. 251—254.

On the afternoon of the first day, one line of aqueduct was completed, and the water was conveyed into the nearest meadow amid the shouts of the joyful and almost incredulous workmen. Every succeeding day's labour was performed more cheerfully than the one which went before ; and when, at the close, the projected object was most prosperously secured, Neff's will became law. At one critical moment he showed a self-possession truly worthy of a great mind : it was requisite to undermine a rock, to blast it, and to construct a passage for the stream through granite of the very hardest kind. " I had never seen any thing like it before," is the Pastor's note upon this achievement, " but it was necessary to assume an air of scientific confidence, and to give my orders like an experienced engineer."

By a similar exercise of promptness and judicious guidance, commencing the labour with his own hands, Neff induced the villagers of Dormilleuse to build a school-room. His pupils were adults, heretofore in the habit of emigrating during winter in order to become teachers of others whom they found more ignorant than themselves, elsewhere ! Yet the following is a picture of " the most intelligent and well-disposed young men of the different villages" in Neff's parish, who joyfully submitted to his instructions :—

" We divided the day into three parts. The first was from sunrise to eleven o'clock, when we breakfasted. The second from noon to sunset, when we supped. The third from supper till ten or eleven o'clock at night, making in all fourteen or fifteen hours of study in the twenty-



four. We devoted much of this time to lessons in reading, which the wretched manner in which they had been taught, their detestable accent, and strange tone of voice, rendered a most necessary but tiresome duty. The grammar, too, of which not one of them had the least idea, occupied much of our time. People who have been brought up in towns can have no conception of the difficulty which mountaineers and rustics, whose ideas are confined to those objects only to which they have been familiarized, find in learning this branch of science. There is scarcely any way of conveying the meaning of it to them. All the usual terms and definitions, and the means which are commonly employed in schools, are utterly unintelligible here. But the curious and novel devices which must be employed, have this advantage,—they exercise their understanding, and help to form their judgment. Dictation was one of the methods to which I had recourse: without it they would have made no progress in grammar and orthography; but they wrote so miserably, and slowly, that this consumed a great portion of valuable time. Observing that they were ignorant of the signification of a great number of French words, of constant use and recurrence, I made a selection from the vocabulary, and I set them to write down, in little copy-books, words which were in most frequent use; but the explanations contained in the dictionary were not enough, and I was obliged to rack my brain for new and brief definitions which they could understand, and to make them transcribe these. Arithmetic was another branch of knowledge which required many a weary hour. Geography was considered a matter of recreation after dinner: and they pored over the maps with a feeling of delight and amusement which was quite new to them. I also busied myself in giving them some notions of the sphere, and of the form and motion of the earth; of the seasons and the climates, and of the heavenly bodies. Every thing of this kind was as perfectly novel to them, as it would have been to the islanders of Otaheite; and even the elementary books which are usually put into the hands of children, were at first as unintelligible as the most abstruse treatises on mathematics. I was consequently forced to use the simplest and plainest modes of demonstration; but these amused and instructed them at the same time. A ball made of the box tree, with a hole through it, and moving on an axle, and on which I had traced the principal circles; some large potatoes hollowed out; a candle and sometimes the skulls of my scholars, served for the instruments by which I illustrated the movement of the heavenly bodies, and of the earth itself.”—pp. 273—275.

The party under his tuition consisted, in all, of twenty; they were gratuitously lodged and supplied with fuel by the inhabitants of Dormilleuse; but if Neff had not taken the precaution of laying in provisions before hand, this additional population would have exhausted the resources of the village. The stores consisted of salted meat, and rye-bread baked in autumn, which when required for use was chopped up with hatchets, and soddened in hot water. The expenditure for candles, ink, paper, the salary of an assistant master, and the board of those students

(sixteen or seventeen in number), who did not belong to Dormilleuse itself, during the four months' session, was covered by 560 francs; yet the attainment of this pittance caused some anxiety. Even the poorest among the students provided their quota of bread; a few, in better circumstances than their brethren, repaid their share of expense; thus enabling Neff to replace a little more than two thirds of the whole sum; and the remainder was supplied by subscription at Geneva.

The villagers among whom Neff undertook this more than Herculean labour, are perhaps lower in civilization than the New Zealanders or the Irish. 'They live in mud cabins, "from which fresh air, comfort, and cleanliness, seem to be utterly excluded"—"their apartments are unswept, their woollen garments unwashed, and their hands and faces are as little accustomed to cold water as if there was a perpetual drought in the land."—their rooms, common to themselves and to their cattle, are thickly carpeted with dung; the roofs are vaulted in order to resist the snow, and the walls blackened with soot, for chimneys are unknown, are *sometimes* scantily illuminated by a single small window. The treatment of their women also affords another sure characteristic of their savage and unhumanized state. Till Neff taught the men better manners, neither wives nor sisters were permitted to sit at table with their husbands or brothers; "but stood behind them and received morsels from their hands with obeisance and profound reverence." In the scale of intellect they appear to be not less degraded. "The valley of Fressiniere," says Neff in his Journal, "to my great astonishment, has not furnished a single individual who is even moderately gifted. Even those who in the ordinary affairs of life and in matters purely spiritual *manifest great judgment*, are incapable of acquiring a knowledge of any of the sciences." We are by no means prepared to admit the existence of any peculiar organ for great judgment in matters exclusively connected with Religion; any spiritual bump, as the Phrenologists would call it, in the absence of all other powers of attainment. *Judgment* is that one of our faculties which is the most ubiquitarian.

It is very easy to anticipate that the laborious duties which Neff thus imposed upon himself, the severe privations to which he was compelled to submit, his perpetually renewed toil and excitement, his total want of relaxation, his mental harassment, bodily fatigue, and exposure to all varieties of climate and weather, the coarseness, irregularity, and perhaps insufficiency of his diet, must have rapidly tended to the destruction of health. After three winters passed in Dormilleuse, he was, accordingly, compelled to surrender his charge, and to resort to Geneva for

medical advice. His native air produced a temporary improvement; but his malady was deeply rooted, and the fuel of life was slowly but continually burning away. In the summer of 1828, the mineral baths of Plombières were recommended as a last expedient. He survived to return to Geneva, and there lingered on through the agonies of a painful illness, till the 12th of April, 1829, when he was released from suffering and called to his reward.

The piety, zeal, energy, resolution, and perseverance of this most excellent and very remarkable man, are beyond all praise; and the works of his brief and simple, but unworldly and heavenly-minded career, form his best epitaph and eulogy. We cannot but think that his Biographer would have done him greater justice if he had allowed him more fully to tell his own tale, and had avoided the huge admixture of extraneous matter which now assists to swell this volume. The transpositions, to which Mr. Gilly has been compelled to resort in the second impression of his *Memoir*, sufficiently evince that he has felt difficulty in managing the somewhat stubborn materials which he has so needlessly accumulated.

When once a single favorite notion obtains despotic mastery over the fancy, we believe that the orgasm which impels to its propagation is almost irresistible; and that the philoprogenitive theory-monger, like a frog during the first warm days of Spring, unconsciously drops his spawn of hypothesis upon every spot to which it is at all likely to adhere. Mr. Gilly has adopted a belief that primitive Christianity, like primary rocks, may be found in almost all the mountainous regions of Europe; and so incontinent is he of this fancy, that there is scarcely a page before us which is not in some degree impregnated with it. We have neither space, nor, indeed, inclination, to examine this branch of Religious Geology in all its bearings, at present; but we by no means despair of returning to it at some future period. We earnestly *hope* that Mr. Gilly has yet before him many years of life; we *think* that his intervals of authorship (slightly to vary a favourite quotation) will be neither few nor far between; and we are *quite certain* that he will never put pen to paper without some notice of those many Churches which he supposes have preserved their original purity even from Apostolic times.

“To one division of an imaginary “primitive Church of Gaul”—the Vaudois, as they are usually and conveniently termed, of Provence and Dauphinè—Mr. Gilly, in the outset, seems inclined to attribute a very paramount influence in fostering the Reformation in France. To us it appears that the course of the Reformation in that Country may be far more naturally and legitimately traced in direct progress from Germany; and

that the feeble, obscure, and illiterate peasants of Cabrières, Mérindol and their vicinity, possessed little inclination to make proselytes before their persecution, and certainly were deprived of all power to do so after the exterminating edict of Francis I. had been executed. A few observations are suggested to us, in passing by the mention of those hapless villages. Mr. Gilly, in pursuance of his hypothesis, considers them as forming a portion of his ancient and aboriginal Gallic Church, and he finds fault with an incidental account of them which has been lately given by another pen.

“ Mr. Smedley, in his ‘ History of the Reformed Religion in France,’ has fallen into the error of describing the inhabitants of Cabrières and Mérindol as colonists from the valleys of Piemont. They were remnants of the primitive Christians of Provence.”

Now it seems to us, from a casual recollection of a few authorities connected with the hideous butchery in Provence, that the colonization of Cabrières and Mérindol from the valleys of Piemont, has not only been strenuously asserted by the Romanists, but was admitted also by the chief contemporary annalist of the Reformers. Garnier is a writer of modern date, but his reputation stands high for accuracy, and for the most part deservedly so. We venture therefore to cite him in the first instance. “ *Outre leurs anciens vallées,*” says that Historian, “ *ils (les Vaudois) possédoient, dans le Comtat Venaissin la petite ville de Cabrière, dans la Provence le gros bourg de Mérindol et environ trent villages.* (Tom. xiii. p. 310.) If we turn next to the official documents relating to the massacre, we shall find that a complaint was lodged before the Parliament of Provence by the Dame de Cental, a great landed proprietress, who by the destruction of the proscribed villages, lost a rental of 12,000 florins. In order to evade her claim for compensation, the Parliament declared as follows:—“ *Que le Dame de Cental ayant beaucoup de terres à défricher vers la Montagne de Leberon en Provence, et ne trouvant pas tant sa compte avec les hubitans originaires du pays de Provence, avoit mandé venir des habitans des vallées de Piedmont, et surtout de celle du Luzerne, qui sont tous Vaudois: et que s'estant retirez en Provence, leurs Precheurs qu'ils appelloient Barbes, les venoient visiter et leur prêcher, infectant par communication les villages voisins.* This conclusive report is made by Honoré Bouche, whose *Histoire Chronologique de Provence* contains in the 2d chapter of its 10th Book, perhaps the fullest account any where given of *La grande affaire de Mérindol en Provence et de Cabrières au Comté de Venaissin.* Bouche's statement is amply supported, moreover, by a directly contemporary authority. Jacques Aubery, who was advocate for Henry II. in the *P'luidoyér*,

in 1551; arising out of the massacre, has left a very particular *Histoire de l'Execution de Cabrières et de Mérindol*, illustrated by many legal documents. We find it stated in one of the charges there advanced against those miserable villages, that *plusieurs Vaudois sont venus du pays de Luzerne habiter en Provence sous couleur de labourer la terre inhabitée en lieux vaquans, ou ils auroient long tems celé leur damnée secte et heresie, feignant riére comme bons Catholiques*. Also that, after this settlement, there were *venus plusieurs faux prescheurs appelez Barbes que, sachans les dits Vaudois estre desia devoyez de la Foy, les servoient venus secretement prescher* (71).

If it be objected that all these testimonies proceed from adversaries, we may appeal, at once, to the Huguenot writer of the *Histoire des Eglises Reformées dans la France*; a work of indisputable authority, part of which was composed, as there cannot be a doubt, by Beza himself; and the whole of it, as is most probable, submitted to his correction. In those pages we are told that some of the Vaudois, on their first dispersion, found asylums in Calabria and Bohemia, and *les autres es vallées de Piemont, dont ils se sont espars es quartiers de Provence depuis environ deux cens septante ans, principalement a Mérindol, Cabrières, Lormasin et quartiers d'alentour* (Tom. I. p. 35). Whether, therefore, the colonization was of later or of more ancient date, it is manifest that the recent author of the *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, is fully borne out by a cloud of witnesses in his assertion that such a colonization really took place.

Another remark, that "Mr. Smedley does not seem to have been aware of the result and influence of these branches of the primitive Church of Gaul," may, so far as we understand the position, admit a somewhat longer discussion. We say, so far as we understand it, because we really do *not* understand what is meant by "the result of these branches of the primitive Church of Gaul." How little "influence" Mérindol (which, be it remembered, was by far the more important place wherein Heresy was denounced,) was likely to possess over the remainder of France; how unfitted were Apostles from its rude caverns to work conviction in such minds as those of Coligny, d'Andelot, and Condé, may be determined from the words of one who lived among them, who was intimately acquainted with their habits, and who must have been inclined by all the strength of Provincial prejudices (and few prejudices are stronger), to depict his neighbours in the most favourable colours which he could venture to employ without imputation of positive falsehood. Nevertheless, in the *Chronique de Provence* of Cæsar Nostradamus,

himself *un Gentilhomme Provençal*, we read of Merindol as *un petit et malotru village à l'autre bord de la Durance*, and of its inhabitants as *gens ignorants et demy sauvages* (p. 766). In other words, Méridol was *then* very much what Dormilleuse is *now*; and the Noblesse of France would probably receive the doctrine which issued from either of them with similar attention.

The style of this volume is perplexed and cumbrous. We have read somewhere of a pious Monarch who ordered the entire Apocalypse to be embroidered on his coronation robes; and we have been reminded of that deformity of holiness by the ambitious patchwork of Scriptural phraseology, with which almost every consecutive sentence before us is overlaid. Occasional apt citation, or that dexterous allusion by which the cunning of a master-pen recalls to mind the splendid imagery of Holy Writ, are among the choicest secrets in the Art of composition, and the words of Inspiration, thus presented, are as honey to the mouth. But when the diet is *altogether* honey, or when the honey is offered unseasonably, we nauseate its very sweetness. Again, one of the most powerful instruments at the command of an accomplished writer, is *transition*. When wielded artfully, and with a nice and delicate skill, we follow its movements with delight: but place it in hands less adroit, and it will go hard with them to escape with uncut fingers. Neff reminds Mr. Gilly of Oberlin; and it is natural enough that he should do so; the passage from one to the other is smooth and easy, and the parallel may be fittingly and gracefully drawn. It is perhaps a little hazardous to advance even one step onward, and to connect Neff and Oberlin with a discourse about "the noiseless course" of English ministers and "indefatigable country clergymen." But alas! when we descend from the general to the particular—when the profession is merged in the individual—when the Hautes Alpes are abandoned for Devonshire—biography for private friendship—and Felix Neff for a Senior Wrangler! *Verbum non amplius*. Our readers will be satisfied with a conclusion in verse, and that verse from Robert Montgomery!

"At the moment I am writing this, my mind is full of the meritorious and self-denying services which a young clergyman, who took the highest honours at Cambridge, is now rendering to the cause of religion, as a village curate in the west of England. If 'Oxford' had not been the title of one of R. Montgomery's beautiful poems, in which the subject is introduced with all the force of poetry and truth, I should have thought that Mr. M. had been in his eye when he composed the subjoined lines:—

' Ah little know they, when the harsh declaim,  
Or folly leads to scorn a curate's name,



In hamlets lone what lofty minds abound,  
To spread the smiles of charity around !  
It was not that a frowning chance denied  
An early wreath of honourable pride :  
In college rolls triumphantly they shine,  
And proudly Alma Mater calls them, mine !  
But heav'nlier dreams than ever fame inspired  
Their spirits haunted, as the world retired :  
The fameless quiet of parochial care  
And sylvan home, their fancy stooped to share :  
And when arrived, no deeper bliss they sought  
Than that which undenying heaven had brought.  
On such, perchance, renown may never beam,  
Though oft it glittered in some college dream :  
But theirs the fame no worldly scenes supply,  
Who teach us how to live and how to die.'—p. 260, 261.

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ART. VI.—*The Sháh Námeḥ of the Persian Poet Firdausí, translated and abridged in verse and prose, with Notes and Illustrations.* By James Atkinson, Esq. of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Medical Service. In 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1832.

THIS abridged translation of the most celebrated poetic work, of the Mohammedan East, is one of the valuable series of works, printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund, of this country. It is to us, who have a sincere respect for solid and valuable literature, a source of high gratification to observe, in these days of Penny Magazines, Cyclopædias, and such like bit-and-scrap illuminators of the public mind, a series containing so much that is really curious, valuable and instructive, proceeding from a British press ; and we look forward with joyful anticipation to the light which the labours of this society promise to cast on the history, geography, manners, opinions and literature of the Oriental world ; matters highly important in the eyes of the scholar, the philosopher and the divine. We, at the same time, must express our participation in the wishes of the orientalists of the continent, that the society, if their funds permit of it, would, as they have done in the “ Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazín,” publish the originals as well as the translations, of at least, a portion of the works which they are giving to the world. This course, we think, should be adopted, particularly in the case of those works, the MSS. of which are rare, and out of the reach of orientalists in general.

Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to be able to extend these general praises to each particular work, but candour

obliges us to say, that the expectations with which we opened Mr. Atkinson's volume, were completely disappointed. In the epitome of a great poem, like that of Firdausí, in verse and prose, we looked to find some of the finest and most poetic passages of the original, versified in the same kind of metre as that used by the Persian poet;—a species of verse sufficiently familiar to our ears,—and a general air of poetry spread over even the prose portion of the narrative. Instead of this, we have a tolerably meagre *précis* of the poem in prose, frequently couched in that style of flippancy and assumed superiority, the tendency to which seems to be the besetting sin of our epitomisers of old romances of chivalry and similar works, who vainly hope to attain the gentlemanly ease and playful elegance of the accomplished Ellis. In verse Mr. Atkinson revels in variety, and one might suppose, from the morsels with which he has favoured us, that every species of poetic measure, of which the muse of Persia is possessed, was enlisted into the service of the prince of Persian poets when he would sing of the ancient glories of Irán. But Mr. Atkinson's more usual course is to employ a rugged species of blank verse, and to relate in it matters which might just as well be told in simple prose; indeed, very frequently we find the same passage given in both ways, for, as in Italian operas, we constantly meet a sentiment expressed in simple *versi sciolti*, and then expanded into a beautiful lyric; so here we at times encounter a passage, first in prose and then in blank verse, the difference in poetic merit being to us inappreciable. On the whole, we are of opinion that Firdausí\* is under very little obligation to his translator, and fear that those, who ridicule the idea of his being a poet of the same *genus* with Homer, will, by the perusal of this translation only, feel themselves the more strongly confirmed in their false doctrine. We regret this much, for the bard of Toos is beyond question a poet of a very high order, a fact, indeed, we think sufficiently proved by his having commanded, for a space of more than seven centuries, the admiration of a people of such mental endowments as the Persians; and though the difference is great between oriental and occidental taste in literature, his beauties are such as must, when clearly comprehended, extort the approbation of the most fastidious critic of the West. Surely neither ancient nor modern literature can show any thing superior in pathos to the tale of Sohráb, and more beautiful romance is no where to be found than in the early history of Zál, the father of Rustem, the Seven Stages of this last named hero, and those of Isfendiyar, and the adventures of

\* We follow Mr. Atkinson's orthography of the proper names. The accented vowels are all long; *i* being *ee*, *e* *oo*, *u* *ow*, as in *how*.

Saiawush and Byzun, to say nothing, as Mr. Atkinson says nothing, of the romantic history of Bahram Ghúr, or of Khosrau Purvîz and the fair Shírín.

Those who are so happy as to be able to read the original Persian may now, thanks to the pains and assiduity of Mr. Turner Macan, and to the munificence of the present king of Oude, at whose cost it was printed, after the patronage of the East Indian government had been most ungenerously withheld, peruse the Sháh Námeih in an elegant form, a beautiful type, and with a degree of correctness, the result of a comparison of seventeen manuscripts, such as has never yet been seen. To those who, unacquainted with the original language, would wish to acquire some idea of the contents of the Sháh Námeih, in preference to this work of Mr. Atkinson, we would recommend the German epitome of that poem by Görres, named the Heroes' Book of Irán, (*Heldenbuch von Iran*) which is far more copious, and being throughout in a kind of measured prose, and clear of familiar phraseology, will give an infinitely more favourable idea of what the effect of the original must be. Still, however, the echoing rhymes and rapid movement of the Persian poet's verses will be missed, and an approximation to them will only be found in the specimens translated by that distinguished orientalist Jos Von Hammer, in the *Mines de l' Orient*, and elsewhere. Once more regretting that truth will not suffer us to speak more favourably of the labours of Mr. Atkinson, we proceed to our task of giving our readers some insight into the celebrated Sháh Námeih. First we will speak of the poet, and of the sources whence he derived his materials, and then we will consider the pile of verse which he has erected.

We have not the means of ascertaining what the state of literature was in Persia, in the time of the monarchs of the house of Sassan, but we know to a certainty, that for the first four centuries of the dominion of the Khalifs, the language and literature of that country were condemned to inglorious silence. Arabic was the language of the court, the church and the state, and though Persian works were translated into that dialect, by the men of letters who adorned the court of Al Mansoor and his son and grandson, no original works were composed in a language which, in the pride of ignorance, they very probably despised. It is curious to remark, that though the Turks are among the most irreclaimable of barbarians, princes of Turkish dynasties have been among the most zealous patrons and cultivators of literature. The present Shah of Persia, for instance, belongs to the Turkish tribe of the Kajers, and he and the king of Bavaria are, we believe, the only royal authors of the present day; several of the first

Ottoman sultans were poets themselves and encouragers of poetry in others. The house of Seljûk was equally distinguished for its patronage of learning.

Accordingly we find, that the first efforts of the muse of Irân were made at the impulsion of a Turkish prince, of the family of the Samanee, who, in the end of the tenth century, established an independent dominion in the north of Persia. Hearing of the book presently to be noticed, which contained the old tales of the wars between Irân and Turân, or the Persians and Turks, he issued his mandate to a poet, named Dakíkí, to put the tales into Persian verse. The poet yielded obedience and commenced the task, but had reached only his two thousandth line when he was assassinated by one of his slaves. The prince probably knew of no one able to continue the labours of Dakíkí, and he gave up his design of having the wars of the olden time made to live again in verse. The Samanee dynasty passed away *more orientulum*, and one of its slaves, named Sebuktajín, became the founder of one still more famous, but equally short-lived, the Ghisnvide. His son Mahmúd; the conqueror of India, eclipsed in glory all the monarchs of his time. The splendored court of Ghizni was the resort of the learned and the ingenious; Mahmúd heard of the celebrated *book*, and he resolved to illustrate his reign by conferring on all, who spoke the tongue of Irân, the blessing of a national poem. Portions of it were given to the three most distinguished poets of his court, and each read before the sultan the verses which he had made: those of Unsarí which told the pathetic tale of Sohráb, slain by his own father, Rustem, won all voices in their favour, but Unsarí feared to undertake the formidable task of versifying the whole work; and did not a fortunate chance reveal the man for whom the glory was reserved, the desires of Mahmúd had probably never been fulfilled.

This poet was Abú-'l Kasim, son of a man in humble circumstances at Tús, in Khorassan, he was surnamed Firdausí, *i. e.* Paradisal, but whether from the beauty of his verse or from the occupation of himself or his father, is a matter of uncertainty.\* It is equally uncertain how he came to the court of Mahmúd; one account saying that he abandoned his farm at Tús to escape the persecutions of an enemy; another, that the fame which he had acquired by his versification of one of the most celebrated of the old legends, had reached the ears of Mahmúd, who forthwith invited him to Ghizni. Be this as it may, we are told that as he approached that city he happened to pass by a garden where

\* *Firdaus* is a *park*, whence the Greek word, for which we have our word *Paradise*; and as it is applied to the Garden of Eden, it is nearly equivalent to the *θεος* or *divinus* of the ancients.

Unsari and his two brother poets were sitting drinking wine. The custom of the East authorises a stranger to join a party of pleasure, and they feared that by his presence he might interrupt their festivity. One proposed to scold him away, but this intemperate counsel was rejected by the others, and the gentler and more legitimate course of shaming him by convicting him of ignorance or want of genius was adopted. Having arranged their plan, when he drew near they saluted him, and saying that they were engaged in making extemporaneous verses, added, that if he could follow them up he should be one of their party. Unsari then made a line, to the last word of which the language, as they thought, afforded but two rhymes:

“The light of the moon to thy splendour is weak ;”

the second said—

“The rose is eclipsed by the bloom of thy cheek ;”

then rejoined the third—

“Thy eye-lashes dart through the folds of the joshun,” (*coat of mail*)

“Like the javelin of Giw in the battle with Poshun,”—

quickly, to their utter amazement, subjoined the stranger.

They knew not the story to which he alluded, but on inquiry discovering that it was from the book containing the records of Persian fame, and hearing him repeat his version of the entire passage, they were filled with delight, and most generously took him and introduced him to the sultan. His first occupation, according to this account, was to versify the story of Isfendi-yar and Rustem; and Mahmud was so delighted with the specimen, that he charged him to versify the whole work, ordering at the same time his treasurer to pay him at the rate of a miskal (drachm and half) of gold for ever couplet.

It is needless to mention the subsequent history of the poet, or to tell how he was defrauded of the promised reward, lost the favour of the sultan, and finally, died, just at the time when Mahmud's sense of justice being awaked, his envoy entered Tus bearing to the poet 60,000 golden dinars. The ashes of Firdausi repose in his native city; the monument, *are perennius*, which he raised to his own fame and that of his country, will endure as long as the noble language of which it is the brightest jewel shall exist, and translations will spread his renown over regions of whose existence he could never even have dreamed.

The celebrated Jos von Hammer has written two most able and instructive articles on the Shah Nameh, in the Vienna *Jahrbücher der Literatur* for 1820. In these he asserts, and undertakes to prove, that three great errors have prevailed in both the

East and the West respecting Firdausí and his poem. The first concerns the sources whence it was derived; the second, the time occupied by Firdausí in its composition; the third, the rank in life of the poet. As these are curious points, we will lay them before our readers.

The first error into which, according to Mr. Hammer, critics have fallen is in supposing that the Abú-'l-Mansur Abd-ul-Risak, who, as the preface to some copies of the poem tells us, directed his vizir to collect the ancient histories into one volume, was Mansur I. of the house of Samanee. This Mr. Hammer disproves by showing from their genealogies that the two Mansúrs were of quite different families, and perhaps more convincingly, by adverting to the fact that Nasr, the founder of the Samanee dynasty, directed Dakíkí to versify this book, which consequently must have been in existence before his time. The exact time at which Abú Mansúr, who appears to have been a prince of Khorassan of genuine Persian descent, flourished, cannot be fixed, but as Nasr, the Samanian, commenced his reign A.D. 874, and the Khalif Mamún died A.D. 833, and as Mocaffaa, the person who wrote one of the works from which that in question was formed, was, as we are assured, stimulated to it by the success of his translation of the fables of Bidpai in the reign of Mamún, Mr. Hammer thinks he may venture to assign the middle of the ninth century of the Christian æra as its date. The authorities from which it was composed were, according to the historian, Hajjee Khalfa, the Arabic history of Mocaffaa, just alluded to, named the Syur-ul-Múluk, and those of some Múbids or priests of the Magian religion. The preface to the Shah Nameh mentions none but pure Magian authorities, and this is most probably the more correct account. Another preface, which is followed by Mr. Atkinson, gives the highly improbable tale, when we consider the troublous times in which he lived, of Yezdijird III., the last prince of the house of Sassan, having taken great pains in collecting all the chronicles, histories, and legends of Persia, and having them formed into a book called the Syur-ul-Múluk, or Bastan Nameh, which book was found in his library by the Mohammedans, and after passing through various hands in Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, and being continued down to the reign of Yezdijird, at length attracted the attention of the Samanian king, who directed Dakíkí to versify it. We will only just observe on the gross blunder of giving an Arabic name (Syur-ul-Múluk) to a book made in Persia before the Arabian conquest, and on that of confounding this last with the genuine Persian Bastan Nameh. The Bastan Nameh (*Old Book*) is the work



which, as has been already shown, was compiled by order of the Khorassanian prince Mansûr-abd-ul-Risak.

The question of the origin of the *Old Book*, whence Firdausî derived his materials, being thus disposed of, Mr. Hammer next proceeds to consider the length of time employed by him in the composition of his poem. The common opinion of both East and West is, that the poet devoted thirty years to his task, and when we consider that the poem contains about 60,000 rhymed couplets, that is about 120,000 lines, and reflect that Statius devoted twelve years to his *Thebais*, and that Virgil, Ariosto, and many other great poets, did not work much faster, that period seems not an unreasonable one. But Mr. Hammer startles us by the assertion that Firdausî devoted but a third of that space of time, namely *ten*, not *thirty* years to the formation of this huge mass of verse, and he undertakes to prove it by the poet's own words.

Mr. Hammer, differing from Mr. Atkinson, says that the first portion of the poem presented to Sultan Mahmud was *The Story of Saiâwush*, at the commencement of which, speaking of himself the poet says,—

“Fruitfulness will after me remain,  
Which ever will bear fruit on the plain,  
I now am *eight-and-fifty* years old;  
O'er my head have gone wonders manifold.”

This story contains 5,200 verses: at the termination of it he thus commences the account which is brought to Kai Kâûs of the death of his son Saiâwush:

“As I now to *sixty* years am shrunk,  
Give no wine, for years make a man drunk.”

In another place he speaks of himself as being sixty-three, in another as being sixty-five, and then sixty-seven, and finally closes the romantic tale of Khosrau and Shirin, his swan-song, the last he sung, with these verses:

“At *sixty and six* years is willing to rest,  
The man whom enmity hath oft oppressed:  
To a book so renowned having given birth,  
By the might of words I shall rule o'er the earth:  
I die not, but live to the latest times,  
Since abroad I have scattered the seed of rhymes.  
Whoever hath faith, understanding and sense,  
Will, when I am dead, praise my excellence.”

Hence then Mr. Hammer concludes that at least five-sixths of the work must have been written in the time between the poet's

fifty-seventh and sixty-seventh year, which gives exactly ten years for about 100,000 lines, or 10,000 lines a year; or, supposing the poet to have worked 300 days in the year, from 30 to 35 lines a day on an average, which would in reality be no extraordinary achievement in a style of verse so easy as that employed by the Persian poet, did we not recollect the richness and vigour of description and the harmony and high polish which Persia has always admired in the verses of her Homer—qualities never to be attained without long meditation and frequent revision. After all, is it not possible that the traditional account may not be inconsistent with Mr. Hammer's deductions? The poet, in his address to Mahmud, when beginning the story of Isfendiyar, says,—

“ The word *twenty years* I have kept by me,  
To see of that treasure who worthy might be;  
The jewel is now come to the day,  
The lock of the treasury I have taken away.”

and Mr. Hammer supposes that the first 20,000 verses of the poem may have been composed during these twenty years. But why not a much larger portion of it? Is it to be supposed that Firdausí passed the far greater portion of his life in comparative idleness? Here, however, Mr. Hammer can reply to us with the example of Saadi, who devoted the first thirty years of his life to the pleasures of youth, the next thirty to travel, the following thirty to meditation on what he had learned, in his ninetieth year he began to write, and in the twelve years which remained of his life produced a good sized folio volume of poetry. We must, therefore, leave the question undecided, expressing, however, our belief, that Mr. Hammer has made it very probable that Firdausí, if he did not write, brought to the light 100,000 verses in the space of ten years.

The third question is one of philology. Firdausí, in speaking of himself, frequently uses the word *Dikhán*, which signifies *peasant* or *farmer*, and it is very probably this which has given occasion to the notion of such having been his rank in life. Mr. Hammer, however, shows most clearly, by a sufficiently ample induction, that this word is equivalent to *Persian*, and he very naturally derives this application of it from the fondness of the ancient Persians for agriculture, which Xenophon so frequently notices, and which, we may observe, was strongly inculcated by the religion of Zoroaster.

In the examples given by Mr. Hammer, we find *Dikhán* opposed to *Tázi* (*Arab*) and *Rúmí* (*Greek*). Thus:

“ None e'er hath been born for aught but to die,  
Of the Persian (*Dikhán*), Arabian, or Greek family.”

And again towards the end of the poem, in a part apparently not by Firdausí :

“ Of Persian (Dikhan) Arabian, and Grecian race.”

We think there cannot remain a doubt of this being the true meaning of the word in the Shah Nameh.

Returning to the subject of the materials of this great poem, we will say that the fullest credit is to be given to Firdausí when he asserts that the various incidents and adventures which he records are not his own invention, but have been faithfully extracted from the *Old Book*, and this book, we have seen, was compiled from still older books, which, as Persia was a country in which writing was always practised, may have been indebted for their materials to books of a date still more remote. But as a very large portion of the Book of Kings of Persia consists of fictions of a very wild and extravagant character, and most alien from true history, it is a curious inquiry at what time they were invented. Now we know that Moses of Chorene, the Armenian historian, who wrote about the middle of the fifth century of the Christian era, in the first book of his Chronicle, speaks of the absurd legends which circulated among the Persians, and he mentions one in particular, which is precisely the story of Zohák and Feridún, as it is related in the Shah Nameh. This was therefore a popular tale in Persia nearly five centuries before the compilation of the Bastán Nameh, and in the second century of the dominion of the house of Sassan, who mounted the throne A.D. 226; and Moses of Chorene says of these fables, which he treats with the most supreme contempt, that they were “ very ancient matters, and little understood even by the Persians themselves.” It is therefore evident that they could not well have been invented in the time of the Sassanians, for in such case the historian would have deemed them utterly undeserving of his notice.

The great object of the house of Sassan was, as is well known, to restore Persia to the condition in which it had been in the time of the Achæmenides, from whom they boasted a descent. The Magian religion, with its fire-worship, was therefore restored to its pristine dignity, all the old associations of fame and national glory were evoked, and in all probability the ancient poetic legends and literature of the country were revived, as is the case in various parts of Europe at the present day. But the Sassanian period stood in a relation to the times of ancient Iran somewhat similar to that of the Byzantine emperors to those of ancient Greece. They could both preserve the literature which had been transmitted to them, they might even add to it new fictions and new history, but these additions would be in a different tone and

spirit; and we might as reasonably expect of the Greeks of the empire to invent the War of Troy, and the Return of Ulysses, as of the Persians of the same period to devise the marvellous adventures of Feridún and Zohák, Zál and Rustem, which bear impressed on them the seal of remote antiquity as strongly as any part of the mythic tales of Greece.

There is just as little likelihood of the tales of the Shah Naméh being the production of the age of the Arsacides, the Parthian rulers of Irán. They were themselves little imbued with a Persian spirit, and inclined rather to imitate the Greeks and the Sassanians, showed such a determined spirit of hostility to every thing belonging to the preceding line, that a system of romantic tradition which had obtained their favour would hardly have escaped the general fate. That such would have been the case is evident, for Firdausí could find no materials of that period of the history of Persia. "Of all these," says he, speaking of the Parthian kings, "I have read only the names in the Book of Kings." We have no more reason or probability on our side, if we go to assign the time of the Græco-Bactria dominion as that of the origin of these national tales of Irán, for they would not have met with encouragement from these princes of a foreign line, who were to Persia what the Ptolemies were to Egypt, and were therefore careless of the old renown of their subjects. We therefore find ourselves at the time of Kaianians or Achæmenides, and have some reason for saying that in that period we must go as far back as the days anterior to the reign of Xerxes, and thus find free scope for our imagination to extend its flight through centuries, and to suppose that the courage of the Persian Pehlwan (*heroes*) who bent the bow and wielded the mace at Marathon and Platæa, may have been excited, as in modern times, by spirit-stirring strains which celebrated the prowess and glorious deeds of Sâm and Rustem. It is indeed utterly impossible to fix the date of the mythic legends of a people, all we can do is to assign some point anterior to which they *must* be, but beyond which all definite notions of time and space disappear, and imagination is at liberty to spread her wing and fly till fatigue obliges her to seek some momentary place of rest.

One supposition, however, still remains. It may be said that though the Greek and Parthian monarchs did not favour, and their Greek and Parthian subjects did not frame, these legendary tales of Irán, the Persians, who, bowed beneath their yoke, may have consoled their feelings of national degradation by inventing tales of ancient Persian glory. This certainly may have been the case, for something like it seems to have been done in Ireland, whose ancient history, as it appears in Keating's History, a work

not one whit more credible than the Shah Nameh, has evidently been, for the greater part, invented by the monks in the middle ages. But the legends of the Shah Nameh are of a totally different character: they are as decidedly of ancient national growth as the mythic tales of Greece or Scandinavia; and any one who reads them will see that the hypothesis, which transfers them to a most remote age, is the only one that is tenable. When set and viewed in a proper light, they are among the most valuable portions of literature for the philosopher, though not for the historian, who, sooth to say, will find in them but little to his purpose; for we very much doubt if the magic darkness which enveloped Kai Kaús and his army in Mazenderán be the eclipse of the sun foretold by Thales, and we are equally suspicious of some other of the historical facts which it is said are to be found in the Shah Nameh.

This huge poem, only equalled in length by the great epics of India, is written in rhymed couplets of triple measure, the accent usually falling on each third syllable; or, to use the language of prosody, each line is of four feet, each foot consisting of two or three syllables, the accent falling on the last syllable of each foot. This measure, it is plain to see, is free from the languor and monotony of our English heroic verse; and it speaks but little for the taste of Messrs. Champion and Atkinson that they adopted the latter in the versions which they made of some portions of the Shah Nameh. In fact, a translator of taste will always, if possible, (and in the present instance there was no difficulty whatever,) retain the measure of his original, for there is some mysterious connection between the external form and the internal substance of thought and harmony. Some excuse, however, may be made for those who adopt heroic verse in their translations, on account of the authority of Dryden and Pope; but what are we to say to a translator of Tasso, who renders *ottava rima* into Spenserian stanzas? Of the common measures of our language we should be most inclined to recommend to a translator of Ferdusi, who feared to adopt that of the original, the octosyllabic form of verse employed by Sir Walter Scott in his narrative poems, a form sometimes used by Mr. Atkinson, and which is not ill-calculated to give a tolerable idea of the energetic rapidity of the Persian poet's lines.

Mr. Hammer, who appears to us to be the critic, who best understands the nature and character of the Shah Nameh, regards it as being divided into two great portions of nearly equal length, each distinguished by commencing with an invocation to God, which is to Moslem poetry what the call on the Muse was to that of Greece. This division depends, not on a change in the line of Iránian monarchs, with which it however nearly coincides, but

on what is of far more importance in the eyes of Orientals, on a change in religion. The poem and the first division commence with Kaiúmers, the first monarch of the world; the second part begins with Gushtásp, in whose reign the great reformation in religion was effected by Zerdusht. Each of these is again divided into two parts, also depending on religious views, and into twelve eantos or songs, as we may term them, whose beginning or termination is always indicated by the poet's stopping to take a view of his own condition or of that of the world. The poem may therefore be regarded as consisting of twenty-four great epics, or tales of love or glory, to a certain extent independent of each other, and of the reign of the monarch in which they are placed. Of some of these we will now give an account.

We pass over the poet's account of Kaiúmers and his immediate successors, of the glorious reign and miserable fall of Jemshid, the tyranny of Zohák and his overthrow by Feridún, of the reign of this model of Iránian monarchs, and the lamentable death of his favourite son Irij, slain by his own brothers Sélim and Túr, the original cause of all the furious wars between Irán and Turán, which fill the first part of the poem. All these we leave and come to the story of Zál, the father of the renowned Rustem.

Sám, a warrior of prowess and fame, sprung from the royal race of Irán, was long childless, and his heart yearned for offspring. At length, a moon-faced beauty of his harem conceived, and brought to the world a child like the sun, but whose hair was white as the snow of the mountains. Appalled at this prodigy, the mother and her women kept the secret for a week, but at last one of the nurses sought the presence of Sám, and told him that a son was born to him, whose body was like silver and his cheeks like Paradise, one only defect was in him—his hair was white. Sám, in agony, then raised his eyes to Heaven, and expostulated with its ruler, asking if he had sinned and furthered the faith of Ahriman that he should thus be cursed with a child of Demon-race, with face, hair and head like the jessamine-flower. He resolved not to be, on account of this monster, an object of derision to all people, and directed that the babe, whom his mother had named Zál, should be exposed and left to perish.

Sám's attendants conveyed the guiltless babe to the mountain Alberz, the abode of the celebrated bird Simurgh, and left it to its fate. It lay there for several days, at one time crying, at another sucking its little fingers. At length, the Simurgh, roaming in quest of food for his young, saw the infant, and taking it up, carried it away to his nest. But God infused pity into the bosom of the Simurgh and his young ones, and they loved the helpless Zál and shared with him their food. He sucked blood instead of milk, and he abode in the nest and grew to be a youth of great strength and beauty. He was tall and straight as a cypress, his breast was a silver-mountain, his waist like a reed. The



caravans, as they passed over the mountain, saw him with amazement, and his fame was spread widely abroad. It reached the ear of Sám, and he mused who the wondrous youth might be. One night, he saw in a dream, a horseman from Hindústan, who brought him tidings of his son, and when in the morning he assembled his Múbids (Magians) and laid the dream before them for them to interpret; one of them, after reproaching him with his cruelty to the innocent babe, assured him that his son was still alive, and bade him pray to God for pardon. Again Sám dreamed, and saw a silken banner waving on the mountain of Hind, a handsome youth, followed by an army, came after it; on his left was a Múbid, on his right a mighty warrior. One of them addressed him, asking, 'was white hair a sin, when his own would one time be of the same hue?' and telling him, 'that God had had compassion of the babe he had deserted, and had given it a bird for a nurse.' Sám awoke with a loud cry, and in the morning hasted away himself to the mountain in search of his son.

He beheld a mountain, whose top reached to the Pleiades, on it rested a huge nest, beyond the malignant influence of Saturn, and formed of cypress and sandal-wood woven together. He knelt down in prayer before God, laid his cheek to the ground, and confessed his sin. The Simurgh saw him from his nest, and knew wherefore he was come, and told Zál, that the time was come when they must part. 'I have been thy nurse,' said he, 'and have given thee the name of Dustán; thy father is the hero Sám; I will bring thee to him.' The water gushed from the eyes of Zál, his heart was filled with grief, he was prudent and pious; the Simurgh had taught him language, and he said, 'Thy dwelling is my glittering house, thy wing my helm, thee I praise and serve God.' The bird assured him he would rise to such dignity that he should think but little of the nest; and, taking a feather out of his breast, gave it to him, telling him 'that whenever he should be in distress, if he threw that feather into the fire, he would come to his aid.' The Simurgh then took up his *protégé*, and flew down with him to where Sám was still shedding tears. The hero was profuse in his expression of gratitude to the wonderful bird, who flew back to the summit of the mountain; then turning to his son Sám admired his beauty; he prayed that what was passed might be forgotten, and promised in future never to offend him. They then descended the mountain together, and were greeted with joy and jubilee, and clash and clang of music as they advanced through the plain. The extraordinary tidings were conveyed to Minúchihir, the reigning monarch of Iran, and he sent his own son Nauder with a splendid train to meet and welcome Sám and Zál on their approach to the royal city. The monarch sat on his throne, and Zál, adorned with a helm and coat of mail of gold, was brought before him. Sám related the wonderful tale, and the Múbids having, at the king's command, examined the stars, declared that a fortunate constellation shone over him, and he would be a 'lord of the sword, the mace and the noose,' that is, a great warrior. Presents then were heaped upon him by the Shah: Arabian horses and Indian swords, gold stuffs, incense, rubies, boys from Rúm (Greece), cups of topaz, goblets filled with musk,

and amber and camphor, breast-plates, coats of mail and saddles, bows and arrows, chairs of state and golden girdles, and a letter, conferring the rule over Kábul, and Zábul, and Ind. Such was the mode in which the Kaianian Shahs of Irán rewarded exalted merit. Sám blessed and praised the Shah, and departed for Zabul, where, 'all who loved him, came to meet him and wished him joy, and praised the youth and strewed precious stones over him.' Soon after Sám was ordered by his sovereign to lead his troops to Mazenderán, and he committed the government, during his absence, to his white-haired son, charging him to attend to the counsels of the Múbids, and to acquire wisdom; and the young prince hearkened to the voice of the wise, and on earth there was not his like.

But love was now to exert his power over the heart of the nursing of the Simurgh. There was a prince named Mibráb, the ruler of Kábul, whose cheeks were like spring, his shoulders those of a hero—the spirit of the Múbids was upon him; in other words, he was generous, wise and brave, but he was of the hated race of Zohák. This prince paid an annual tribute to Sám, and he now came from Kábul with treasure and jewels. Zál advanced to meet him, and prepared a feast; and the princes sat at it long and enjoyed themselves. Then one of Mibráb's train came and spoke secretly to Zál, saying—'Know that thy guest has in his harem a daughter, like ivory from head to foot; her stature is like a plane-tree; her lips like honey; her cheeks, cherries; her silver bosom bears two pomegranates; her eyes two narcissi of the garden; her eye-lashes, dark; her eyebrows, as of the raven's wing, two bent bows. Look at the moon, it is her face; smell the musk, it is her breath; ringlet within ringlet her locks curl, like snakes, downwards; her neck is like a silver reed; her heart is full of knowledge, and joy, and pleasure.' This glowing description of oriental beauty made, as was natural, a very strong impression on the imagination of a youth, who, it is probable, had never heard any discourse of the kind from his feathered nurse, and it occupied his thoughts all through the night. In the morning Mibráb entered his tent, and prayed him to visit his house in joy and friendship; but considerations of state here interfered, and Zál replied—'In thy house my place cannot be.'

Mibráb returned home full of the praises of the young hero; his attendants spread abroad the fame of Zál, and it reached the ears of 'the concealed one' in the harem, and filled her heart with love, and she resolved that he should be her husband. When Mibráb entered his harem, his wife Sindokht, and his daughter Rudábeh, came to welcome him, and Sindokht asked him what he thought of Zál. 'There is on earth,' cried he, 'none like him; he is lion-hearted; he strews gold about him on the throne, beads in the fight; in hate he is a crocodile, a dragon in war; blemish in him there is none, saving only his white hair.' This glowing description from the tongue of her father achieved the conquest of Rudábeh's heart, and her only thought was now how to capture that of Zál. To the five maidens who waited on her Rudábeh told her love, and asked their counsel and aid; but they told her how the whole world was filled with the fame of her beauty, and expressed

their amaze that she should seek the nurseling of a bird, when, if she wished, she might have a spouse even out of the fourth heaven. This flattery pleased her not: her heart was moved at their words like fire by wind, and in anger she declared that she would espouse no monarch of Chín (China) or Irán; the youth Zál was her body and soul; his face and his hair were what she loved. The maidens seeing her so determined, instantly changed their tone, and vowed that they would run like the roes, and fly like the birds, to bring the prince to the bright-beaming Moon of Kábul; and then Rudábeh smiled like 'a tree blooming with rubies.'

It was now the spring, and blooming and fragrant as the season the maidens went to the river, on whose banks lay the army of Zál. They walked hand in hand along the stream, flinging roses on the water. Zál, who was sitting on a lofty throne, beheld them, and asked who they were. He was told they were hand-maidens sent to Gúlistán (*Roseland*) by the Moon of Kábul. His love revived, and taking a single attendant with him, he hasted to the bank of the stream. When he saw the maidens, he took his bow and alighted to shoot: a duck was swimming on the river; he bent his bow, shouted, and shot the bird as it rose. His attendant, at his order, got into a boat and crossed the stream, to pick up the bird which had fallen on the other side. The maidens instantly inquired who the lion-armed sportsman was; and on being told that it was the Shah of Nímruz, the noble Dustán, matchless on earth, they smiled, and said—'Mibráb has a moon in his harem; her figure is nobler than that of thy Shah, her cheeks are lilies: she, above all, should have joy and health, and yet affliction is her lot. Would that Zál shared the grief of Rudábeh! So might her coral-lips be joined with his!' Zál's servant replied, that the gleaming sun was with the mild moon; that love awoke in each heart when destiny had fixed a union: the wise and brave man, therefore, who seeks a wife, remains calm and patient; and he left them with a smile, and went back to his lord. Zál then sent him back to say to the maidens—'Go not away from Gúlistán till ye have plucked roses in the garden of jewels;' and he sent them gems and gold, and bade them say nothing of it. But one of the maidens said, that could not be a secret which was known to more than two. Among themselves they said—'The lion is in the net; Rudábeh's wishes and Zál's are one and the same.' The confidant went back, and Zál was rejoiced; and the Peri-cheeked ones came and cast themselves at his feet, and he commanded them to describe to him faithfully the Moon of Kábul, adding, if they spake the truth they should be to him as the light of his countenance, but if they were false they should be trodden beneath the feet of his elephants. Again art and nature were laid under contribution for a description of the beauty of Rudábeh, and the Sipehbed (*chief*) spake soft words to them, said his heart and soul were full of love and of longing to see her face, and asked them if it were possible for him to get a sight of her. They readily promise to go back at his command, and 'drive her musk-breathing head into the net,' and bring her lips into contact with those of Zál. The maidens came to their mistress, with bunches of roses in

their hands, extolling Zál, enlarging on his love for her, and telling her to think on the means of having an interview with the hero. Rudábeh smiled : ' Go back to him this evening,' said she, ' and say—" May God fulfil thy desires.'

The lovely princess had a rural retreat, which was adorned with the portraits of her ancestors, and this she bade her maidens to set in order. They strewed the floor with onyx and emerald, with violets and roses, narcissus and peach-blossoms, and with branches of jessamine gleaming like silver. The rose-cheeked maiden entered it, the attendants closed the door of her chamber, the key was lost, and they sought the presence of Zál. He hastened with them to the lofty castle, where Rudábeh stood waiting for him, ' like a cypress with the full moon on its top.' When she beheld him she opened the curtains and greeted him joyfully. The hero looked up, and seeing the beauty of Rudábeh was filled with rapture. No time was to be lost. The daughter of Mihráb loosed her luxuriant pomegranate-hued hair, and curl after curl it wound down from the balcony to the ground. ' Take,' she cried, ' what is thy own; 'tis for thee I have nourished it—head and hair are thine.' Zál kissed in extacy the musky locks, and by their aid ascended the balcony.\*

Here we will drop our own narration, and let Mr. Atkinson speak in very respectable blank verse, and describe a scene which may remind us of Romeo and Juliet.

" Then hand in hand within the chamber they  
Gracefully passed. Attractive was the scene.  
The walls embellished by the painter's skill,  
And every object exquisitely formed,  
Sculpture and architectural ornament,  
Fit for a king. Zál with amazement gazed  
Upon what art had done, but more he gazed  
Upon the witching radiance of his love—  
Upon her tulip cheeks, her musky locks,  
Breathing the sweetness of a summer-garden—  
Upon the sparkling brightness of her rings,  
Necklace and bracelets glittering on her arms.  
His mien, too, was majestic : on his head  
He wore a ruby-crown, and near his breast  
Was seen a belted dagger. Fondly she  
With sidelong glances marked his noble aspect,  
The fine proportions of his graceful limbs,  
His strength and beauty. Her enamoured heart  
Suffused her cheek with blushes; every glance  
Increased the ardent transports of her soul :  
So mild was his demeanour, he appeared  
A gentle lion toying with his prey.  
Long they remained immersed in softest pleasure,  
In mutual bliss. At length the warrior rose,

\* Something like this we have read in a fairy-tale—we think in the Neapolitan *Pentamerone*.

And thus addressed her. 'It becomes not us  
To be forgetful of the path of prudence,  
Though love would dictate a more ardent course.  
How oft has Sám, my father, counselled me  
Against unseeming thoughts, improper deeds :  
Always to choose the right and shun the wrong !  
How will he burn with anger when he hears  
This new adventure ! How will Minúchihr  
Indignantly reproach me for this dream,  
This waking dream of rapture ! But I call  
High heaven to witness what I now declare—  
Whoever may oppose my sacred vows,  
I still am thine, affianced thine, for ever.'

And thus Rudábeh—'Thou hast won my heart,  
And kings may sue in vain, to thee devoted ;  
'Thou art alone my warrior and my love.'

Thus they in mutual raptures passed the hours  
Till dawn appeared, and then voluptuous kisses,  
And lustrous eyes bedimmed with pearly tears,  
Bespoke the parting moment. 'O thou sun,  
The glory of the world, why with thy beams  
Intrusively divide two happy lovers ?'  
Thus they exclaimed. Then Zál, with fond adieus,  
Softly descended from the balcony,  
And hastened to his tent."

We have given the above as rather a favourable specimen of Mr. Atkinson's blank verse; but how one misses the resounding rhymes and joyous rapid career of the triple measure of the original, which dances along like the opening of Moore's *Light of the Harem* ! To proceed with this romantic tale.

Zál lost no time in calling his *grandees* and his *Múbids* to counsel. He expatiated largely on the blessings of mutual love, and the fame which children of renown threw back on their parents. He then revealed to them the secret of his attachment to the lovely daughter of Mibráb, and his fears of the disapprobation of Sám and Minúchihr. 'Be he high, be he low, who seeks a bride, his choice should be always decided by truth and virtue,' says the hero. The lips of the *Múbids* were sealed in silence when they heard the name of his beloved, for Mibráb was of the hated race of Zohák. Zál was troubled, and he implored them to give him counsel ; and at length the wise men spake, and advised that he should write to Sám and tell him all that had happened, and so all might yet go well. The letter was written, and in it Sám was reminded of his promise made on Elberz never to thwart the wishes of his son. The bearer of it made all speed, and found the old warrior at the chase. The contents of the letter filled the heart of Sám with grief and uneasiness, for mixing the blood of Feridún and Zohák was like mingling fire and water. He laid the case before his assembled *Múbids*, and bade them seek for him the counsel of the stars. During the length

of a day the wise men consulted the stars: then came they smiling to Sám, and said that both Zál and Mihráb's daughter were born under fortunate stars; that a mighty hero would be born from them, who would set the throne of the Shah on the back of the clouds, drive evil from the earth, reduce Mazenderán and afflict Turán; while Irán should experience nothing but good at his hands. Sám's heart rejoiced at these tidings, and he prepared to set out for Irán, and use his influence with the shah in favour of the lovers. Zál lost no time in communicating the glad tidings to his beloved Rudábeh, by means of a woman who was their confidant; and Rudábeh, by the same envoy, sent an answer and some presents to Zál. But it chanced that Sindokht saw her as she was leaving the chamber of the princess, and, suspecting that she was about no good, called her to her: the envoy was not to be taken by surprise; she was, she said, one who earned her bread by selling clothes and jewels to the great, and Rudábeh had sent for her that she might see her wares. Sindokht however, would see the contents of her package, and when she beheld her daughter's clothes and jewels, she fell into a rage, caught the envoy by the hair, thumped her in the face, and gave her in custody to her women. She then summoned Rudábeh to her presence, and the princess, shedding tears, told her the whole tale of her love for Zál, and how the stars prognosticated happiness from their union, and Sám had sanctioned their loves. Sindokht was not in her heart displeased at the love of Zál, but she feared the resentment of the Shah of Irán. She went full of trouble to her husband, who, observing it, inquired why her cheek was like a rose-leaf. She told him how her thoughts had been all for the weal of her family, 'but the tree which should bear balsam, yields us poison: we planted it, and bedewed it with water in the drought, and when it should yield us shade from the sun, it bows its head to the earth.' Mihráb sought to console her, and then she told him the story of his daughter's love. Trembling with rage he jumped up, his cheek became blue, and seizing his sword he vowed that he would shed Rudábeh's blood. In vain Sindokht sought to bring him to reason; he bellowed like a raging elephant, menacing the life of his daughter if she came before him, and lamenting the evil which the vengeance of Sám and Minúchihir would bring upon Kábul. Sindokht's assurance, however, that Sám knew and approved of his son's love, calmed his apprehensions a little, and he demanded to see his daughter. Having exacted a promise that he would do her no injury, Sindokht went smiling to Rudábeh, and dressed and adorned her, and led her to her father, who marvelled at her surpassing beauty as she stood before him silent and in tears.

Meantime intelligence of the loves of Zál and Rudábeh had reached the ears of the monarch of Irán. He sent his son and heir Nader, to summon Sám to his presence, and when the warrior came before the throne he inquired of his successes against the Diws (*demons*) of Mazenderán: Sám then told of his victories, and the Shah was rejoiced, and he made ready a banquet, and the night passed away in joy. Next morning Sám spake to him of Zál, but Minúchihir, in anger, commanded him forthwith to march and lay Kábul waste and



destroy all the race of Zohák; Sám made no reply, but led his troops to Zábul. As he drew near home Zál came forth to meet him, and his eloquent remonstrances moved the hero to write a letter to the Shah, of which he resolved that Zál himself should be the bearer. In this letter Sám recounted his services to the crown from his youth up, more especially in the destruction of a huge monster that had been the terror of Irán. The only reward he craves for all these services is, that the Shah should regard his son Zál with an eye of favour, and consent to his union with the beautiful Rudábeh.

Fame still spread more and more throughout Kábul the tidings of the march of Sám, and the heart of Mibráb sank within him. But Sindokht embraced the bold resolution of waiting in person on Sám, and appeasing his anger. She took out of the treasury 300,000 dinars, a hundred horses harnessed in gold, fifty female slaves, girt with gold, and with golden collars about their necks, sixty others, each with a golden cup in her hand filled with musk and camphor, with rubies and precious stones, forty robes, adorned with rich embroidery, Persian and Arabian horses, a hundred yellow-haired she-camels, a helm spangled with precious stones, a golden throne, glittering like the canopy of heaven, two hundred Indian swords, adorned with gold, and four Indian elephants, which bore the gifts. Sindokht, herself, placed a golden helm on her head, and mounted a wind-footed steed. The noble Sám received her with every demonstration of respect and honour, and after being entertained for three days at the camp of the Pehlwan (*hero*) she departed with the assurance that Rudábeh should be the wife of Zál.

Love meantime had given speed to Zál, and he was arrived at the court of the Shah; he bowed his head to the ground, and the monarch bade it be raised, and his face be sprinkled with musk. The Shah having read the letter of Sám, said with a smile, that all should be as he wished. The banquet was spread according to the usage of Irán, and the wine-cup was filled. But in the night the Shah pondered on the dangers of an alliance with the race of Zohák, and he resolved to send Zál to wars whence he might never return. In the morning however he consulted the Múbids, and for three days they inquired of the stars, which again replied, that the offspring of Zál and Rudábeh would be great and glorious in battle, that his love would be to Irán, and he would spend his days in war against Túrán. Minuchihr then dropped all thoughts of impeding the union thus approved by Heaven, but he resolved to make trial of the wisdom and the strength of the youth.

He called Zál to him in the morning, and they sat down with the Múbids, one of whom thus began: 'Twelve cypresses stand in a circle and glitter in verdure, on each are twelve branches, never doth their beauty decay or their number decrease in the land of the Parsi (Persians).' After a little reflection Zál said, 'twelve moons are in the year, and each month hath thirty days.' The second said, 'there are two excellent horses, black as pitch the one, the other bright as crystal, they both run from each other with speed, never doth the one overtake the other.' 'They are day and night,' replied Zál. Another said, 'there is a garden full of verdant plants, a man with a scythe goes

about in it; and diligently mows down both the green and the dry, neither lamentation nor submission will keep him off.' Another added 'in that garden are two cypresses, which rise like sea-grass out of the waves of the sea, in them a bird hath his nest, when he sitteth thereon there proceedeth from him a fragrance like musk; one of the trees is evermore green, with leaves and fruit, while the other is in decay.' Zál made answer: 'the two cypresses are the two hemispheres of heaven, the bird is the sun, from whom cometh all hope and fear upon earth, the nest is the sign of the Ram, from which proceedeth the verdure when the sun hath enveloped it in his beams, if it rises at even, darkness and gloom return. The man with the scythe is Death: green and dry, all fear him: make what shifts thou may he gives thee not up; his is the grandsire and the grandson, he runs down all the game that comes before him.' Another said, 'I saw a strong city on the mountains, in which dwelt the wise, and in silence they had raised their head towards heaven; but nobles and servants went out of the city down to the plain, and they came into a land of thorns. On a sudden there was a loud cry, fire had come forth, and great apprehensions seized the souls of all.' 'That city,' said Zál, 'is the house of continuance, the land of thorns the abode of evil here below, where together are mingled joy and pleasure, pain and woe; in yonder town are numbered the respirations of thy bosom. A storm cometh thence, an earthquake rocks the ground, loud sounds ascend from the deep, but all evil remains in the land of thorns, and man goeth to the city in the clouds.'

The sagacious answers of the youth drew forth the applauses of the monarch, and coloured with joy the cheeks of all present. A splendid banquet, at which all bore roses in their hands, closed the day. Next morning Zál craved permission to depart, but the Shah would see proofs of his strength and dexterity. The lists were prepared, the Shah sat as judge, and Zál easily overcame all his opponents at mace, and bow, and lance. He then was dismissed with rich gifts and a letter to Sám, commending to him the interests of his son. Zál soon reached his home, the joyful tidings were speedily conveyed to the court of Mihráb, and all Kábul exulted at the happy fate of the lovely Rudábeh. Sám and his son soon after set out for the court of Kábul, where the wedding was celebrated, and the feast was prolonged for a week. Then Mihráb and Sindokht accompanied their daughter to Nimrúz, the city of Sám, where the feast was spread during three days, after which Mihráb returned to Kábul. Sám also set out for Karugsár, and the government of Zábul remained in the hands of Zál.

After four months grievous pains seized on Rudábeh, her spring faded, her rosy cheeks grew pale, she felt as if 'her skin was filled with stones, or with iron.' Her mother saw her sufferings with anguish, and mingled tears with hers. As the time of labour approached her affliction became intolerable, and it was told to Zál how 'the leaf of the cypress-form was withered.' He went to her bed and wept, he tore his hair, and wrung his hands, the whole house was filled with lamentation, the advice of sages and mediciners was given in vain. Then Zál called to mind the Simurgh, he smiled and bade Sindokht be of good

cheer. A fire was lighted, he cast the feather into it, instantly the sky was darkened, and like a cloud raining pearls came the Simurgh. To the joyful greeting of his nurseling he replied, by foretelling the future prowess and renown of the babe about to see the light. But the future hero was not to be born in the ordinary way; a dagger was to be prepared bright and keen, wine was to be given to the Moon-cheeked to deprive her of sense, then her side was to be opened, and the babe taken out, and the wound dressed with musk and milk, and rubbed with the feather of the Simurgh. The prophetic bird cast a feather from his wing and mounted into the air; a 'smooth-handed' Mubid having given the narcotic liquor to Rudábeh, opened her side and drew forth a babe strong and fair, and when she awoke she said, "my childbirth (*Restem*) is cured of pain;" therefore Zál named the child Rustem. All Kábul and Zábúl were filled with joy at the birth of the wonderful child, a full-length picture of him was made on silk, the sun and the morning star shining from his cheeks, as he sat on horseback, a mighty dragon, with lion's claws rearing itself under him, a lance on his arm, in one hand a mace, in the other a bridle, so was he represented, and the picture was sent to Sám, and the hair of the head of the old warrior stood on end with joyful surprise.

It boots not here to tell how Rustem grew in strength and stature, how he required the milk of ten nurses, how in his fifth year he ate as much as a man, how when but a youth he killed, with a single blow of his mace, the huge elephant which had broken loose, and was trampling down and destroying all the people, or how he became the lord of the renowned steed Rakush. Space admits not of our dwelling on the deeds of the great hero of Irán, we have only proposed to give a specimen of the mythic tales of that celebrated region.

Some grave admirers of the severer features of truth may here object to us, that we have been detaining our readers in the flowery regions of fiction, instead of communicating to them real and solid knowledge. But is it not knowledge to learn the nature of the tales which are firmly believed by a polished and ingenious people, such as are the inhabitants of Persia, not one of whom has a shadow of doubt on his mind respecting the wonderful nurture of Zál, and the strange birth and marvellous achievements of Rustem, and would deem the man who cavilled at them as dangerous a heretic as he who refused his assent to the heaven-descended Suras of the sacred Korán. These tales are to Persia what the legends of Hercules, Theseus, and the other heroes of its mythic cycle, were to ancient Greece. The Iranian warrior is at the present day stimulated to perform deeds of valour by dwelling on the deeds of Rustem; Feridún is still the model of a just and upright king, Zohák the representative of a cruel and impious tyrant, the blacksmith Kávah still retains the fame of a

loyal and intrepid patriot, and it is faithfully believed that the Durefsh-e-Kávani, his jewel-set leathern apron was the banner of the empire from the days of Feridún to the fatal day of Kudsiah, when it and Persia fell together into the hands of the conquering Arabs. It was thus that in Greece, in her most glorious period, the deeds of Theseus were the theme of the Attic orator's panegyric, and were quoted by ambassadors as undoubted truths; the labours of the son of Alcmena found little scepticism to contend with, the wars of Thebes and Troy were as undoubted a portion of the national history as those with Túrán and its King Afrasiyab are of that of Persia. What the Homeric and their kindred poems were to one people, the Shah Namah is to the other, and no one will deny the powerful influence which the verses of Homer exercised in Greece, and what an irreparable loss they would be to the inquirer into the political and social relations of ancient Hellas. Equally injurious to him who would form an adequate conception of the nature and character of the people of Persia, would be the loss of the mythic tales which have come down to posterity, embalmed in the verses of the Homer of Irán. In them the ancient Persians live and move before us far more distinctly than in the more sober accounts of them transmitted to us by the historians of Greece, which, however, they strongly illustrate; and though they may furnish but a very scanty catalogue of real events, they display most clearly how the nation thought and felt, lived and acted.

Another reason which has led us to select the story of Zál is, that as it is anterior to the time of Kai Khosrau, who is supposed to have been the Cyrus of occidental history, it is in all probability one of the most ancient legendary tales of the country, may have existed in as romantic a form as it does at the present day in the reigns of Darius and Xerxes, and have been chaunted in the camps of the Persians previous to the battles of Marathon and Plataea. Strange it would have been, if the one host had been roused to deeds of valour by the *ágiotélai* of Diomedes and Ajax, the other by the puissant feats in arms of Zál and Rustem! Yet the case is by no means an impossible one.

We must pass over a number of highly-romantic and interesting tales, such as the Seven Stages of Rustem and of Isfendiyar; the affecting story of Solráb, a tale, as the poet says, full of "water of the eye;" the melancholy fate of Saiáwush, the Hippolytus of Persia. Fain, too, would we relate the history of Kai Khosrau, and examine how far it agrees with that of Cyrus. But this we must leave, referring our readers to the work under consideration, and to Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia; our remaining pages shall be chiefly devoted to the Persian version

of the history of the "Pellæan Youth," the conqueror of their country. And here we hope to throw some light on occidental as well as oriental literature.

The conquests of Alexander the Great had a most powerful effect on the destinies of the world; they laid open the East to the inquiring gaze of the intelligent and acute Greeks; and the cities which he founded, and the states which arose out of the fragments of his empire, were a phenomenon such as the world had not yet witnessed. Viewed in the simple light of truth, the actions of the Macedonian prince are little less than marvellous, but, as we may see in the pages of his Greek historians, fiction early began to claim her part in him, and he who was regarded as the follower and the rival of Hercules and Dionysus, must be supplied with adventures corresponding to theirs. It is probable that, as in all similar cases, these fables were separate and independent inventions, and gradually accumulated; but in the eighth century of the Christian era, as it would appear, they were all collected into one work in the Greek language, and made to correspond to a certain extent, in order of time and event, with the real history, by some one who assumed the name of Callisthenes. This book, like other portions of Byzantine literature, made its way westwards, probably during the time of the crusades, and was translated into Latin under the title of *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, and it fell in so completely with the spirit of romantic adventure at that time so prevalent in Europe, that it was translated, and long poems formed from it in almost every European language. Thus the life of Alexander is the subject of a long poem in Sanchez's collection of ancient Castilian poems; the French Alexandriad is said to have been so popular, as to have imposed its name on the twelve-syllable form of verse, which is the heroic measure in that language. Portions of an English poem on this subject may be seen in Warton's History of English Poetry, and Mr. Keightley has, in his Fairy Mythology, quoted some lines from an old Swedish poem on the famous gests of the son of Philip. We do not recollect any German Alexandriad, but feel quite assured that such a work must be in existence. In reading all these different occidental poems, it is curious to observe how completely the great Alexander is converted into a knight of romance; all vestiges of Grecian life and manners have most completely disappeared; Arthur, Charlemagne and Amadis of Gaul are not more genuine *preux chevaliers* than Alexander, who is also joined closely in the bonds of affinity with many of the errant knights; we recollect that he is one of the most distinguished characters in the romance of Perceforest, and many valiant knights whose names we need not record, boasted a descent from him.

The romantic tale travelled also eastwards. Possibly long before the time of Firdausi, Sikander, as the hero is called in the East, was the subject of many a popular tale and ballad, for the impression he made was too strong for his name ever to fall into oblivion among the conquered people. But Firdausi's authority, either mediately or immediately, was the aforesaid Greek work, which gave origin to the European romances; for his narrative proceeds *pari passu* with the *Gesta Alexandrii*, some events however being omitted, and an oriental colouring given to the whole. As we may presume our readers in general not to be very intimately acquainted with the contents of either the eastern or the western tales, we will give an analysis of the former, which, besides gratifying curiosity, will have the effect of exhibiting a striking specimen of the manner in which true history has so often been converted into wild romance.

Persian vanity could not admit of the disgrace of conquest by a perfect foreigner. Accordingly, the Sikander of the *Shah Nameh*, and of all subsequent romances, is the brother of Dara, the unfortunate prince whose empire he won.

Dáráb, the King of Irán, being at war with Failakús, King of Rúm, (Philip of Macedon,) defeated him in a great battle, and forced him to take refuge in the fortress of Amúr, (Amorium?) the conditions on which the conqueror granted peace was the hand of Nahid, the daughter of Failakús, and having concluded the treaty he led his lovely bride to Irán. When Nahid felt herself in the way to become a mother she told the circumstance to no one, but having obtained permission to visit her father, set out for Rúm. She brought forth a son in her father's palace, and Failakús, who had no male heir, resolved to pass his grandson for his own son. Nahid's delivery was therefore concealed, her son was named Sikander, and as heir to the crown was most carefully educated, his tutor being Aristatalís, a disciple of the renowned sage Aflatún, (Plato) and he soon equalled his master in knowledge and ability.

Meantime, Dáráb had espoused the daughter of the Khákán of Chín (China), who bore him a son, whom he named Dara, and who succeeded him in his empire. This Dara was a prince of a haughty, cruel, tyrannic character, the terror of all his subjects.

On the death of Failakús, Sikander mounted the throne of Rúm; and when Dara sent to demand of him the tribute which had been paid to Dáráb, Sikander replied, that the bird which laid the golden eggs was dead, and it was now the turn of Irán to pay tribute to Rúm. To give effect to his words, he assembled a large army and invaded the dominions of Dara. He first entered Misr (Egypt), where, after an engagement of three days, he defeated the Persian host which encountered him. Without loss of time, he led his troops against Irán. Dara, on hearing of his advance, marched to the Frath (Euphrates) with so numerous a host, that 'the winds could not make a way through the squadrons.' Sikander was now within two farasangs of the camp of his



rival, and having received a haughty message from him, resolved to be his own envoy, and personally to inspect the condition of the Iránian army. Attended by only ten knights, he came into the presence of Dara, and told him, that Sikander sought not war; that his only object was knowledge, his wish to go through the earth and see what it contained. Dara, struck with his majestic presence, assumed that the envoy must be Sikander himself; but the disguised prince said, that it ill seemed a monarch like Sikander to be his own envoy, and that in the army of Rúm there were thousands superior to himself. At the feast which followed, Sikander did not, as was usual, return the cup to the cup-bearer when he had drunk; and on Dara's inquiring the cause, he replied, that in his country, once a cup had been placed in the hand of an ambassador, it was never demanded from him. Dara laughed, and the counterfeit envoy had gotten four rich cups, when the person who had been Dara's envoy to Rúm entered, and secretly told the king of the real quality of his guest. Sikander, whose quick eye had marked the altered mien of his host, jumped up, seized the four cups, sprang to horse, and aided by the darkness of the night, eluded all pursuit, and reached his own camp in safety. He displayed to Aristatalís and the rest of his ministers and soldiers the four goblets in triumph, told them that he had examined and seen the weakness of the Persian host, and that victory, for which he bade them prepare, was certain.

The whole of this adventure is to be found in the *Gesta*. There his father Ammon appears to Alexander in the form of Hermes, and bids him to visit the camp of Darius, dressed as he saw him (the god), adding, that he would be his aid in danger. Alexander, accompanied by Eumelus, rode to the river called, in Persian, Strangaia, which in winter and spring froze during the night and thawed in the day. At the interview with Darius, all proceeded nearly as narrated by the Persian poet; when Alexander rushed from the hall, on being discovered, he snatched a torch from a boy who was standing at the door, and guided by its light, reached the river, while his pursuers knocked against the trees and fell into pits; he urged his horse across the ice, which cracked as the steed's feet were leaving it, the thaw having commenced. Meantime the golden statue of Xerxes, which stood in the hall where Darius sat, had fallen from its pedestal of itself.

The Persian narrative proceeds—

At sun-rise Dara led his army to battle. Sikander drew up his troops to oppose him, and a furious conflict terminated in the defeat of the Iránians. Sikander passed the river and made himself master of the camp of Dara. Again the monarch of Irán assembled a numerous host, and again he met with defeat, after a combat of three days. Sikander pursued the fugitives, calling to them to return peaceably to their homes, and they would have nothing to apprehend from his troops. The whole country then turned to Sikander. Dara came to Istakhar, and assem-

bled there the magnates of his realm, and it was resolved to make another effort for the independence of the country. On the approach, however, of Sikander, he retired before him, and the conqueror entered Istakhar, where the harem of Dara became his prey. Here he received a letter from his rival, offering him the treasures of Gushtâsp and Isfendiyar, if he would abstain from war and restore him his family. Sikander sent a reply, stating that the captives were treated with all due respect, and that he would send some of them to him. He added, that he had learned the relationship which existed between them, and that it was unseemly for brethren to war with each other; that Dara need not thus be a fugitive from home, for Irân should be subject to him as heretofore. But Dara's heart was now lifted up with pride and confidence, he rejected the generous offer of his brother, prepared for another battle, and sent to Pañr (Porus), a monarch of Hindústan, inviting him to his aid. A third great battle terminated in the defeat and flight of Dara; and two Mubiks, named Mahiar and Khanjar, who were the companions of his retreat, conspired and murdered him, hoping thereby to gain the favour of the victor. They came to Sikander, who ordered them to be hung on gallows, where they were stoned by the people, and he had himself conducted to the place where the unhappy monarch lay weltering in his blood, he shed his tears over him, and Dara, who was still alive, grasped his hands, comforted him, and prayed him to marry his daughter Rushenk (Roxana), that he might have by her a son, who would renew the fame of Isfendiyar, kindle again the fire of the prophet Zerdusht, spread the Zendavesta over the earth, and preserve the fire-temples and the feast of Núrúz in all their lustre. A ready promise soothed the last moments of Dara, and all Irân yielded obedience to the great Sikander, who became the husband of the beautiful Rushenk.

All this accords tolerably well with the real history, and very exactly with what is contained in the Gesta; but what Firdausi next relates is purely oriental, and has nothing to correspond with it in the European narrative.

There was an Indian king, named Kaíd, who had various dreams which none of his sages could interpret; at length he heard of an anchorite named Mibran, who dwelt in a wood, and to him he repaired and told him his dreams, and received the interpretation thereof. The vision was this. - In his sleep, Kaíd had seen four men pulling a cloth with all their force, they tired not, and they rent not the cloth. The sage expounded the cloth to be the true doctrine and religion, and four are they which lay hold on it, one on each side. The first is the worshipper of fire, the second the follower of the law of Músi (Moses), the third the Greek, a pure faith (the Mohammedan) will be the fourth, and will raise the heads of those who consider above the earth. 'Now,' continued the anchorite, 'are come the days of Sikander, and to escape his power thou must give him thy four jewels.' The conqueror soon approached, and sent a letter demanding submission. Kaíd wrote in reply, to say that he should offer no resistance, and that he had in his possession four jewels, the like of which the world did not contain, and

which were at the command of the great Sikander. These were his daughter, unrivalled in beauty; a cup, which, when filled with wine or water, would never become empty; a physician who could tell the state of a person's health by the slightest symptoms; a sage who knew all that could be between the sun and moon, that is, on earth. Sikander granted peace, and sent ten wise men who were to make trial of the jewels, and bring them to him if they approved of them. When the sages arrived in India, and saw the maiden, they were so enchanted with her beauty that they could not remove their eyes from her, and they wrote to Sikander, and told him marvels of the jewels, and at his order they brought them to him, and when he beheld the maiden he also was ravished with her loveliness. To make trial of the wise master, he sent him a cup full of oil to anoint him therewith; the sage cast into it a thousand needles, and sent it back to Sikander, who had a ring formed out of them, which he sent to the master, who polished it bright as a mirror and sent it back. Sikander had it laid in a damp place till it rusted, the sage polished it anew. They now explained the mute dialogue. Sikander had intended to say, 'I am wiser than all the philosophers;' the Indian had replied, 'Sikander and his knowledge are transitory;' the king had sent the ring to signify his power; the sage had set a mirror before him that he might see himself. The trial of the physician was equally satisfactory; last, the cup was filled with water, and Sikander and his whole court drank from it, from morning till night, and yet it remained full as at the first. The Indian sage, when called upon to explain this wonder, told how astrologers assembled from all parts had formed it during many days and nights, beneath the influence of the stars, and that now it drew from heaven an unfailing supply of water.

The conquest of Arabia, a legend apparently of Arabic, at least of Moslemic origin, and to which there is nothing to correspond in the Gesta, follows: the war with Faúr having been previously related, in which that prince falls by the hand of Sikander.

The Gesta and the Shah Nameh now again run a parallel course.

There was at this time a mighty and a warlike queen, named Kidáfah, who reigned in Berda, in Presita (Prasiana, or the Ganges in the Gesta). This queen sent a painter to Misr, where Sikander now was, who took the monarch's likeness on silk, and sent it to her. Soon after came an envoy from Sikander, demanding submission; but confiding in her strength, the queen, who had at her command 100,000 warriors, returned a denial. Sikander led his army against her, and after a month's march, he came before one of the frontier fortresses of Kidáfah's realm. The fort was taken after a siege of a week, and among the prisoners was a son of the queen. Sikander directed one of his officers named Nitkún (Ptolemæus in the Gesta) to place himself on the throne, as if he were Sikander, and have the prince led before him, and condemn him to die; while Sikander, under an assumed name, was to intercede for

and save him. All was acted as arranged, the prince was set at liberty and repaired to his mother's court in company with Sikander, who, under the name of Nektikàn (Antigonus), went as his own ambassador to endeavour to move Kidáfeli to submission. The queen, to celebrate the return of her son, made a splendid banquet, at which she recognised Sikander from his likeness to the picture, and had him seized and bound. She then told him how she had known him; and, delighted with the boldness of his reply, after having given him a good lecture, set him at liberty on account of her son, warning him at the same time against her other son Tinus (Caractor), who was of a hasty temper, and had been the friend of Faúr.

In the Gesta, the queen, who is called Candace, does not put Alexander in fetters; she takes him over her palace, and when he is in a remote apartment, which, by mathematic art is drawn by twenty artificial elephants, she names his name; and as soon as he has recovered from his surprise, he seeks a sword to kill the queen and then himself. We may pass over the reconciliation which takes place between him and Tinús, and his adventure with the Brachinans, which, as was to be expected, is narrated quite in the oriental style, and we will follow the conqueror in the route which both the Gesta and the poem give him.

After leaving the Indian sages, the great Sikander came to a people who were clad as women, spake an unknown tongue, and lived upon the fish of the adjoining sea. Out of this sea rose a shining mountain up to heaven; and when Sikander beheld it, he felt a longing to ascend it. But one of his múbids warned him against the danger, and he contented himself with sending some persons in a ship to ascend and examine it. As these, however, were on the way, there came a huge fish swimming from the mountain, which swallowed the ship and all that were in it, and the mountain instantly became invisible. The army then marched on and came to a lake surrounded with trees of a huge size, its waters were salt and bitter, and people dwelt in houses built of reeds in the water. Proceeding thence they came to a pleasant lake of sweet water, round which the earth was amber, covered with flowers dropping honey, here they encamped and enjoyed themselves and went to rest. But in the night there came out of the lake huge snakes and dragons with combs on their heads, hissing and breathing poison, which destroyed many of them though they fought manfully against them:—in the second watch of the night came white lions, larger than bulls, to drink at the water and they had to fight with them also. Next came wild boars with tusks an ell long, which killed many of them. Last came a monster stronger than an elephant, like a horse in shape, but with a black head and three horns, and attacked the army; the Gesta

say there came also scorpions, huge bats and other vermin also; and they could only defend themselves against them by setting fire to the reeds. Leaving this perilous place, they went on and came to a land where a people naked and black, of gigantic stature, came forth to oppose them, bearing bones for weapons; with showers of arrows they slaughtered and put these to flight; and then came to another naked people with inverted feet, and armed with stones, which they showered on the invaders. These however were soon cut to pieces, and as the poem, but not the *Gesta*, relates, Sikander reached a town full of joy, and pleasure, and beauty, whose people came with gifts to meet him. Before it stood a mountain reaching up to heaven, and the people said that behind this mountain abode a dragon that could wind itself twice round an elephant, and that every night they must give him an ox for food lest he should come over to their side. Sikander gave orders that no ox should be provided the following night; the monster missing his food came and destroyed many people, but they lighted a vast number of fires and made a great noise with horns and trumpets and drove him back to his hole. Against the next night Sikander had an ox's hide filled with poison and naphtha and left for him, and the dragon devoured it and burst shortly afterwards.

The next adventure is related differently in the poem and in the *Gesta*.

Sikander, says Firdausi, came to a mountain whose top was sharp as a sword; he ascended it and found there a golden throne, on which was seated an old man clothed in silk with a rich crown on his head. The old man was dead, and as Sikander stood before the throne he heard a voice which said 'O monarch, thou hast brought thy days on earth to an end, many foes hast thou slain, lands conquered, and princes overthrown. Now is the time come for thy retreat from the world.'

According to the narrative in the *Gesta*, Alexander came to a mountain of diamond, from whose side hung golden chains, five hundred steps of sapphire led to the golden palace and temple of the Sun on its summit. When Alexander and his grandees ascended it, they found in the palace an old man of majestic mien clothed in silk, with hair and beard white as snow, lying on a golden bed. His food was the fragrance of incense, his drink balsam; when they saluted him he said—"Of a surety ye would see the holy trees of the sun and moon—If ye are pure, follow me." He led them through the golden vineyard, which bore pearls for grapes, into the wood whose laurels and olives were a hundred feet high, from which ran balsam, and on one of them sat the phoenix with gold and rose-hued feathers, and in the midst of the wood they found the two prophetic trees, which wept at

the eclipses of the sun and moon, would tolerate no poison or evil insect near them, and spake in the Greek and Indian languages.

The two narratives now relate in accordance Sikander's visit to Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons. On his way thither he encountered a tremendous storm of snow, which destroyed numbers of his men, and this was followed by a burning wind, in which they felt as if they were going through fire—both raised, as they afterwards learned, by "art magique;" Sikander abode for some time in the capital of the Amazons, and was well pleased with all that he saw.

Firdausi, unsupported by the Gesta, next relates, that Sikander came to a city, whose inhabitants had yellow skins and yellow hair, and on his asking after the wonders of the place, an old man told him, that the well, into which the sun went down every evening, was in their neighbourhood; then came the Land of Darkness, in which, as a pious old man had told, flowed the water of Life; of which, whoso drank would never die. Sikander resolved to visit the precious spring; he led his army in the assigned direction, and soon came to a stately city; leaving his army here, he went to the well, and saw the sun descend into it, as he had been told. He returned to his camp, provided himself with a guide and provisions for forty days and set forth, accompanied by his vizir Khizr and a part of his troops, in search of the Well of Life. Two carbuncles, which the King and Khizr carried, directed their steps through the darkness, and on the third day, they reached the fount. Khizr went to it, washed himself in the water, and drank,\* and gave praise to God, and filling a cup with the precious fluid, brought it to Sikander. But just as he placed the cup to his lips a warning voice was heard to cry, "If thou drink, thou wilt not die, but thou wilt bring on thee a great evil. Thy years will accumulate, and thou wilt become weak and feeble, and thou wilt be weary of life and wilt long for death to free thee from evil, but God will not vouchsafe it to thee, thou wilt still groan under the intolerable burden, and every respiration will be to thee a new death." Sikander pondered awhile, then spilled out what was in the cup, and drank not of it. He went on and came to the verge of the Land of Darkness, and saw before him a bright mountain, with a pillar of aloes-wood on its summit; on the pillar was a nest, in which were two birds, who called to him, in the Rûmi (Greek) language, to come to them, and when he drew near they said "Why dost thou wander thus about, without ceasing, in this world of misery? Wert thou to raise thy head to the clouds, still will it fall back devoid of sense. Now is come the time of trial and trouble, and the end is at hand."

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\* Hence, according to the tradition, he became immortal. See note in p. 125 of Mr. Duncan Forbes's translation of the Persian romance of *Halim Tai*, one of the series published by the Oriental Translation Fund.



They then bade him go to the top of the mountain, and when he came thither he saw an elephant's head holding a horn, and a voice of thunder called to him, "O slave of cupidity, trouble thyself not about throne and crown, the time is come for thee to prepare for thy departure." He returned to his people, and again a voice pealed so loud as to fill them all with dismay. Some of those who were with him brought costly stones out of the Land of Darkness.

The Gesta tell of Alexander's attempted ascent to heaven, by means of Griffons, and his descent, in a diving bell, into the depths of the sea, and of various combats with mermaids and other monsters of the deep—on all which points Firdausi is silent. Both, however relate the following adventure. Sikander came to a town whose inhabitants complained to him of the evils which they sustained from Gog and Magog, (Yajúj and Majúj), monsters, they said, covered with hair, with breast and ears like those of an elephant, and each of their females bore a thousand young ones. They were numberless as the leaves and as the sand. Sikander summoned a hundred thousand smiths from all parts, and made them frame gates, five hundred ells in height, and a hundred paces in breadth, and he set them up in the mountains, and thus confined the wild people to their valleys. Soon after, he came to a city, where he was told of two trees, the one male the other female, emitting sweet odour, and endowed with the gift of speech; the one of which spake by day, the other by night. These, we may observe, are the trees of the sun and the moon, to which the Gesta, as we have seen, assigned a different situation. Sikander would see them: on the way he found the skins of a number of animals, which he was told had served for food to the servants of the trees. When the sun rose, a voice came from one of the trees, which the interpreter, (for the tree spake in the tongue of India,) expounded to this effect, "Why doth Sikander hasten thus? When twice seven years of his reign are gone, then must he die." He remained troubled in mind till midnight came, and the moon arose, then began the other tree, "Ambition and avarice cause thee much care, why dost thou thus mislead thy heart and soul? Soon must thou quit the world, but a short time hast thou to abide in it. Do not therefore thyself darken thy day." He asked if it was permitted him to die in Rúm, near his mother, "That will not be," was the reply,

Our readers may, perhaps, deem that they have been detained over long with these romantic adventures of the son of Philip. We will therefore pursue them no farther, more particularly as we have now nearly reached the limit which we had set to our lucubrations on this subject. What we had proposed is accomplished, we have given a more correct account than is perhaps elsewhere

to be found in our literature of the origin and character of the Shah Nameh of Firdausí; in the romantic tale of Zál and the birth of Rustem we have presented a specimen of the purely mythic portion of Persian history, and the adventures of Sikander will show the manner in which, in the mytho-historic part, fable and real history have been confounded. The source of this portion of the Persian poet's narrative has, we apprehend, been hitherto unknown to our Orientalists in general. The two great divisions of the Shah Nameh may not unaptly be compared with those of Grecian history anterior to the Persian War; the first, which is mythic, answers to that of the times before the Dorian Migration; the second, the mytho-historic, corresponds with the period between that event and the war with Persia. It is curious that Greece, Persia and Scandinavia, almost the only countries which possess an ancient history and religion, the genuine produce of their own soil, will be found to offer a marked resemblance in the phases which they present; so uniform are the workings of the human mind!

In conclusion, we will attempt to convey to our readers some faint idea of the vehicle of verse in which Firdausí has transmitted to posterity the mythic and historic events of his country. We select the song of the Diw, who comes disguised as a musician, to lure Kai Kaús to his destruction in Mazenderán, by exciting in his bosom the desire of becoming master of that enchanting region.

His hand from the lute hath its melody drawn,  
 And thus rose the song of Mazenderán :  
 May Mazenderán, the land of my birth,  
 Its hills and its dales ever flourish on earth.  
 For evermore blooms in its gardens the rose,  
 On its hills nods the tulip, the hyacinth blows :  
 Its air ever fragrant, its earth flourishing,  
 Cold or heat is not felt, 'tis perpetual spring.  
 The nightingale's lays in the garden resound,  
 On the sides of the mountains the stately deer bound,  
 In search evermore of their pastime and food.  
 With fragrance and colour each season's bedewed :  
 Its streams of rose-water unceasingly roll,  
 Whose perfume doth gladness diffuse o'er the soul.  
 In November, December, and January,  
 Full of tulips the ground thou may'st every where see :  
 The springs unexhausted flow all through the year,  
 The hawk at his chase every where doth appear.  
 The region of bliss is adorned all o'er  
 With dinars, with rich stuffs, and with all costly store.  
 The idol-adorers with rich gold are crown'd,  
 And girdles of gold gird the heroes renowned :

Whoe'er hath not dwelt in that region so bright,  
His soul knows no pleasure, his heart no delight.

A paraphrase of this song, in octosyllabic verse, will be found in Mr. Atkinson's work; the only superiority we claim for our version is superior fidelity and similarity of metre to that of the original.

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ART. VII.—*Thoughts on the Trinity, Second Edition, corrected and considerably enlarged; Charges; and other Theological Works. By the late Right Reverend George Isaac Huntingford, D.D. Bishop of Hereford, and Warden of Winchester College. Edited, according to the directions of the Author, by Henry Huntingford, LL.B. Fellow of Winchester College. Cadell, London: Blackwood, Edinburgh. 8vo. 1832.*

THE selection from the late Bishop Huntingford's papers now offered to the Public by his nephew, was made previously to his Lordship's death by the venerable Author himself. It consists of a reprint of his well-known, learned, and most convincing *Thoughts on the Trinity*: two Charges delivered before Ordinations; seven Charges at Episcopal Visitations between the years 1813 and 1831: three Discourses; five Charges at Confirmations; and a short Address at the Consecration of a Burial ground.

The life of Bishop Huntingford was strictly that of a student, of which the epochs (if we may employ so large a word) are marked no otherwise than by his publications, and, happy are we to add, by the rewards which his Learning and Piety most deservedly attained. George Isaac Huntingford was born at Winchester, on the 9th of September, 1748. After receiving his education at the great Foundation College of his native City, and at New College, Oxford, he succeeded a deceased brother in the Mastership of Warminster School, in 1772. In 1782 he first appeared before the Public as Author of some Greek Monostrophic Odes, of which, during the year before, he had circulated among his friends a private impression. To publish in Greek is at once to throw down the gauntlet to professed Scholars, and to challenge the most searching Criticism. In the *Monthly Review*, therefore, the late Dr. Charles Burney most elaborately, and in more than one Number, subjected these Odes to rigid investigation. His objections were partly answered and partly admitted by Mr. Huntingford, in an *Apology*, which deservedly called forth the loudest praise, even from the Critic himself. The labour which Dr. Burney expended upon these Reviews may be estimated by

an inspection of two interleaved copies containing his MS. notes, now preserved in the British Museum; and the controversy, if it can be so called, between these two eminent scholars, instead of producing that interchange of vituperation which has too often disgraced literature on similar occasions, must have generated mutual esteem.

The same year which saw the publication of the *Monstrophics* gave birth to a less ambitious but most useful Work, which has since been naturalized in all our great Schools. The *Introduction to the writing of Greek*. In 1785 Mr. Huntingford was chosen a Fellow of Winchester College, of which Body four years afterwards he became Warden. The Bishopric of Gloucester was conferred upon him in 1801, during the administration of his former pupil, the present Viscount Sidmouth; and in 1815 he was translated to the See of Hereford. His publications, after promotion to the Bench, were chiefly professional; and several of them were directed against concessions to the Roman Catholics; a measure which Bishop Huntingford felt convinced was delusive in its promise of conciliation, and pregnant with infinite danger on general principles.

The Bishop died unmarried on the 29th of April, 1832; and was buried, according to his own desire, in the village of Compton, near Winchester. A Tablet to his memory, in the Church of that Parish, bears, after the name and date, the following simple inscription from his own pen, in which it may be truly said that *he being dead yet speaketh*. "In the early part of his Priesthood he was Curate of this Parish. From that time he always entertained a regard for it. And he now wishes to remind its Parishioners that the salvation of their souls is to be attained only by believing what is taught, and doing what is commanded in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

A vigorous and masculine understanding, sound and accurate learning, plain and unobtrusive habits, assiduity in performing the duties of his Episcopal charge; and munificence in dispensing its revenues, were the chief characteristics of this very amiable Prelate. Of the Church to which he belonged he was a fearless and powerful advocate; and the extracts which we shall subjoin from the present volume will show his opinion on certain points connected with its discipline, which have been a good deal discussed by others, and sometimes not with equal wisdom. The first passage offers a very seasonable and rational caution to our younger brethren on points which not unfrequently have called forth advice in a tone far too overstrained.

"In the concerns of life many things might be mentioned, which, if they could possibly be taken in the abstract, and were totally uncon-

needed with all dependencies of persons and effects, would be in themselves indifferent. If, however, they are considered, as they must be considered, with reference to collateral circumstances, and according to the influence with which they may operate either in a smaller or a larger circle of the community, they become, from their relation and tendency, matters of importance.

“ In the article of dress, for instance, we know that the outward garb can make man internally neither better nor worse. Taken therefore in the abstract, dress is a thing indifferent. But living, as we do, in society, and in the view of others, we are not at liberty to be guided merely by the refinements of abstract reasoning. We are bound to consider what is required of us by that society, in which we are situated; and we are expected to bear it in our recollection, that even our outward appearance will have its weight, either to beneficial or injurious ends. If to a certain kind of dress society has by long (and, if you please, fanciful) prejudice, annexed an idea of that gravity, which is suitable to persons engaged in the sacred ministry, every prudent man will yield to that prejudice, and adopt what the public opinion has sanctioned. For that minister offends society, brings disrespect on his order, and thereby weakens the general cause he has undertaken to support, who appears habited in apparel, which through usage is thought improper, and which occasions him to be censured as light, vain, and conceited.

“ From dress, let us pass on to amusements.

“ There are many amusements, which, if they could be followed without danger of being made precedents for misapplication of them, would in themselves be innocent. But we know there are some, who, through pravity, avail themselves of the slightest encouragement for their own improprieties. Others there are, who, in their imprudence, cannot discriminate between times and places. Whenever our example, either through the misinterpretation of the corrupt, may be pleaded as an excuse for culpable excess, or through want of judgment in the undiscerning, may be the cause of unsuitable and unseasonable conduct, the innocency of our amusements, producing effects thus injurious to morals, becomes questionable, and it is highly expedient to desist from them.

“ But far more questionable will become their innocency, and much greater will be the expediency of relinquishing our amusements, if we are assured the pursuit of them disgusts persons of tender conscience. It behoves every minister to be circumspect, and to be thoroughly acquainted with the sentiments and disposition of those among whom he is placed. If he perceives worthy and pious people disturbed, that their minister is engaged in diversions which correspond not with their opinions of the decent demeanour required in him who is to be an example of regular and quiet deportment, he will show his good sense, his value for reputation, his regard for the credit of his order, and, above all, his Christian charity, by sacrificing his diversions to the higher consideration of not giving offence.”—pp. 160, 161.

The second extract relates to the much disputed compatibility of the Clerical with the Magisterial office.

“ The fourth Apostolical Canon lays on the clergy this inhibition ; ‘ Let not a bishop, priest, or deacon, take on himself worldly cares ; if he acts otherwise, let him be deposed.’ The seventy-fourth ordains, that he was to be deposed who should wish to be at the same time a Roman magistrate and a sacred minister. With these corresponds our seventy-sixth canon ; ‘ No man being admitted a deacon or minister, shall from thenceforth voluntarily relinquish the same ; nor afterward use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication.’ If not guided by contemplation of these canons, yet clearly actuated by the principle which pervades them, some have contended that, in any case, or under any form, the exercise of civil magistracy is improper for a clergyman. It is, indeed, impossible not to respect the motives in which such an opinion originates ; to many, however, it may appear questionable if that opinion be founded on good reasons, and thence be correct.

“ On all occasions it is most advisable to consider cases precisely as they are in their nature and tendency. With respect to the question, whether consistently with their holy office the clergy can act as magistrates ? the case stands thus : on the one hand it must be admitted that, in general, professional studies and spiritual attentions have a paramount claim on the prime hours of every day in the life of a parochial minister. On the other hand it may be averred, that except in cures, which on account of a numerous population demand continual and laborious discharge of parochial duties for the young and for the old, for the well and for the sick, for the living and for the dead ; except in cures of such description, it may be averred that the most diligent and attentive pastors must find, in every week, some portion of time at their own command. Now, whether seasons of leisure are passed in a manner unclerical, if they are devoted to purposes resembling some objects of magistracy, shall be decided by that eminently pious minister whose name was Herbert. In his work entitled ‘ A Priest to the Temple,’ we read this passage ; ‘ The country parson desires to be all to his parishioners ; and not only a pastor but a lawyer also. ‘ Therefore he endures not that any of his flock should go to law ; but, in any controversy, that they should resort to him as their judge. To this end he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience and by reading some initiatory treatises in the law.’ If in opposition to what is intimated by the concluding words of the passage just quoted, it should be urged that Bishop Warburton discouraged his clergy from the study of law, two answers are obvious. In the first place, it is one thing to make law a study, but another and very different, to collect from compendious works that degree of legal knowledge which may be adequate for general use. In the next place, Warburton was not so well acquainted as Herbert with civil exigencies in rural situations ; and, therefore, he was less sensible of the practical utility derived in those situations from the minister’s having attained a moderate share of skill in jurisprudence. By the authority of Herbert we may abide. He had presupposed that the pastor had omitted nothing sacerdotal either within or out of his church ; that being the case, ac-



rording to his conception in the abstract, administration of justice becomes one of the secondary duties incumbent on a parochial minister.

“ Let us proceed to a view of real life and to consideration of fact.

“ Having laid it down as a principle of strictest obligation, that due attention must be faithfully paid to all religious concerns; and having taken it for granted that such principle is exemplified with the utmost observance requisite and possible; let us ask, ‘ not if it will be culpable in a parochial minister to direct his thoughts from private to public good?’ for such a question could originate only in a mistaken idea, that a parochial minister must cease to be influenced by human feelings, or to be interested about human affairs, beyond the limits of his own parish. We will ask, if a parochial minister consults public good when he acts as a magistrate for a district more extensive than the boundaries of his own parish? That the reply must be in the affirmative, the following reasons will demonstrate.

“ During a considerable part of each returning year, the lay magistrates residing in their respective counties are comparatively few, in proportion to the business perpetually arising, which by law must of necessity come under judicial cognizance. If, then, parochial ministers are excluded universally from commissions of peace, there will ensue a retardation of legal proceedings; a delay which must be injurious to the local community where the impediment happens, and thence to the nation at large. But if those to whom is consigned authority for appointment will continue to nominate, as in right judgment and sound policy they should nominate, clerical equally with lay magistrates, the system of government, so far as internal regularity and order are concerned, will be properly conducted without interruption. The beneficial result of such arrangement will be, that law and religion, which in the enlarged import of their respective terms are both of divine origin, will be maintained and secured by ministers more especially devoted to the constitutional service of their country and to the glory of God.

“ Connected with the preceding remark is this, which comes next to be made. However nearly situated lay magistrates may be, still in a moral and religious point of view the exertion of clerical magistrates is desirable. The clergyman, from the very nature and in consequence of his sacred function, is bound to particular vigilance and conscientious superintendence for the prevention of practices detrimental to morality, and leading to the neglect of religious ordinances. He knows, that if incipient regularities are not checked, their progress to enormities will be rapid, and then suppression will be at least difficult, if not impossible. It is on that account required of him to notice what others perhaps might be disposed to overlook as immaterial; and by his being invested with a controlling power, he is enabled effectually to prohibit and restrain whatever is of pernicious tendency if it violates law.”—pp. 285—289.

Our last citation may be read with advantage by all parties at the present most appalling crisis of our Church. It neither admits addition, nor requires comment.

“ ‘Meddle not with them that are given to change,’ is the maxim of one who was endowed with deep knowledge and much experience of men and things. That, however, like other brief sayings, is to be interpreted according to the exigencies of time, and the dictates of common sense. So judged our ancestors; to whom, under Divine Providence! we owe, what are the blessings and glory of this country—the Reformation and Revolution. But, taken with reference to the ordinary course of civil and religious polity, the proverb will mean this:—‘Have no concern with them that are fond of change, either from caprice, or from impatience of what is established, and avidity for somewhat novel; or from self-conceit, the companion of inexperience; or perhaps from some motive sinister in its end.’ Brought by the Reformation to the full enjoyment of Christian liberty, we are not involved in difficulty, we are not reduced to a dilemma, by pronouncing our church infallible, and thence precluding ourselves from possibility of improvement, even if such be requisite. To ascertain, however, the seasons, and to decide on the particulars which will so urgently require improvement, as to demand attempts for amending what resulted from the anxious labours of the most learned, the most wise, the most religious among our predecessors, and what was prepared by them for public use; this is, indeed, a concern momentous, and assuredly deserving more than a common degree of reflection. Whatever may be thought of accommodation, occasionally adapting itself to change of import in the words of our language, or to greater refinement and delicacy of sentiment, or to difference of custom, which may have an influence on the appointment of certain hours for the discharge of sacred duties, however expedient it may be conceived to depart from adherence to matters thus external and unessential; yet that infringement should be made on the distinguishing characteristics, the vital principles, the main body of our church, is most earnestly, most anxiously to be deprecated. And before commencing even such accommodation, as variable circumstances in themselves indifferent may seem to recommend; the difficulty, perhaps too the danger, of the undertaking should be well considered; the utter impossibility of giving universal satisfaction should not be so entirely forgotten or disregarded as to carry with it no weight; the degree in which, beyond comparison, the excellencies of our church preponderate against its minor imperfections, should be continually had in forcible recollection; the duty of regulating procedure, according to the decision of legitimate authority, should be remembered and observed as indispensable. Ignorance is usually accompanied with temerity; and when those two mental infirmities united are precipitate for alteration, they are heedless of what may ensue from the attempt. Experience leads to deliberation. Both pause before they enter on the problematical work of removing what has been long established; lest in aiming at the attainment of ideal perfection, they should sacrifice substantial and really existing good. The nicely adjusted proportions of an edifice, large in dimensions, cannot be fully comprehended without examination continued for a sufficient time, and conducted with skill by the rules of architecture. The well-ordered polity of our religious constitution cannot be appreciated as it should be,

without inquiry into the combined circumstances of its fitness for the sacred ends proposed; of its suitableness to the dispositions and opinions of the people for whom it is intended; and of its congeniality with the nature of that civil government, from which it receives, and to which it gives support. Investigation of subjects thus complicated in themselves, and thus extensive in their influence on society, cannot be pursued with success, if the mind be not adequately instructed, patient of research, and capable of forming correct judgment. Those, however, who do come prepared with requisite qualifications, and who study with attention the peculiar aptitude of each arrangement for constituting the whole of our religious system; such men, as they progressively advance in years, proportionably entertain increased affection for the Church of England. Under a strong sense of that feeling, this discourse shall now conclude with an exhortation, conceived in the spirit and expressed in the language of the good and pious Whitgift; 'Pro ecclesiâ, pro ecclesiâ, be offered our constant and fervent prayers to Almighty God!' " —pp. 330—333.

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ART. VIII.—*Selections from the Choric Poetry of the Greek Dramatic Writers. Translated into English Verse.* By J. Anstice, B.A. Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, London, and late Student of Christ Church, Oxford. London: Fellowes. 1832. pp. 246.

Few tasks which a writer can propose to himself are more difficult than that of embodying in a poetical English garb the spirit of a Greek Tragic Chorus. We do not call to mind one instance of complete success. In every attempt at transfusion which we recollect somewhat either of strength or of flavour has evaporated; and although the wine which we quaff from the goblet may be sparkling, it invariably wants the raciness with which it was impregnated while in the cask. It is no disparagement, therefore, to Mr. Anstice, if we observe, that the English reader who confides in his volume will never be acquainted with the real character of the Greek Tragedians; for that character, as we fully believe, is no otherwise to be learned unless by direct resort to the originals. The translation here given abounds in beauties, although they are not Grecian beauties: and it may be read with pleasure even by the self-denying Critic, who is bound by the rules of his craft and mystery to investigate faults. Mr. Anstice has sufficiently evinced in it the soundness and ripeness of his scholarship, and the dexterity with which he commands great variety of metre. That he has largely dilated and freely paraphrased may render him a less faithful copyist, but it by no means follows that he is on that account a less attractive poet.

The selection commences with three translations from the

*Agamemnon* of Æschylus, a dark, obscure, and difficult, but most noble Tragedy. The first of its choric songs is of portentous length in the Greek; for, according to any arrangement, it exceeds two hundred lines. In the present English translation it is increased by another century. The third version is from the Denunciation of Helen in the same Drama (664); and its few opening lines may be cited as a proof, once for all, how hopeless is the endeavour to render the original into any other language, unless perhaps it be the almost equally compound-loving German.

“Helen! who, in early youth,  
Named thee with too perfect truth?  
Was it not, from starry sphere,  
Some viewless spirit lingering near,  
Bade thy virgin title be  
Matched with thy dark destiny?  
Helen, wooed by warrior's spear,  
Widow's curse, and orphan's tear,  
Let thy name thy story tell;  
Thou, who, like a yawning Hell,  
In the abyss hast swallowed down  
Fleet and phalanx, tower and town.”—pp. 39, 40.

Eight lines of Greek are here converted into twelve of English; two words, such words as Greek alone can furnish, become expanded into two lines; and yet the phrases—

“wooed by warrior's spear,  
Widow's curse, and orphan's tear”—

by no means adequately represent the simple and most powerful *δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ'*. The last quatrain is substituted for a play upon words which of course altogether defies translation; and which, so far as we can judge, is a little beneath the dignity of Tragedy: *ἐλέναυς, ἑλάνδρος, ἐλέπτολις*.

We do not like the break in the sense which Mr. Anstice here makes, as if the paragraph terminated with the last of the above words. They plainly are nominatives to the following verb, *ἔπλευσε*, and as such, we believe, they are always punctuated. Neither are we satisfied with his rendering—

*ἐκ τῶν ἀβροπῆνων  
προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε —*  
“From her richly woven tent,  
Forth a faithless bride she went.”

Even if *προκάλυμμα* in this place is not to be referred, as *κάλυμμα* is afterwards (1149), to the bridal *flammeum*, it means the curtain suspended at the doors of the nuptial chamber.

The following musical lines seem to us very remote from the original :

“ Bride of Paris, such art thou !  
 To Ilion when thy venturous prow  
 First bore thee o’er the ocean brine,  
 What melting loveliness was thine !  
 A spirit like the breathless calm,  
 When summer’s gentle air is balm ;  
 Eyes, darting many a tender glance,  
 An unassuming elegance,  
 Whose quiet charms new beauty lent  
 To grace each costly ornament ;  
 Love’s very flower, whose bloom invites,  
 Yet stings the gazer it delights.”—pp. 42, 43.

παρ’ αὐτὰ δ’ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν  
 λέγοιμ’ ἂν φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμον γαλάνας,  
 ἀκασκαῖον δ’ ἄγαλμα πλούτον,  
 μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος  
 δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος  
 παρακλίνουσ’.

Instead of Helen employing her eyes to “ dart tender glances,” we understand her to be represented as coquettishly half closing the lids.

In a similar manner we think the following passage in the opening Chorus of the *Choephora* mistakenly paraphrased :

ῥοπή δ’ ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας  
 ταχεῖα, τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει,  
 τὰ δ’ ἐν μεταίχμῳ σκότου  
 μένει χρονίζοντα βρύει·  
 τοὺς δ’ ἀκραντος ἔχει νύξ.

So far as we can determine, these words do not mean anything more than that, sooner or later, retributive Justice overtakes the guilty, although the season at which she strikes is uncertain ; it may be noon, it may be twilight, it may be midnight. Mr. Anstice appears to understand them as containing a far more extensive metaphor.

“ But Justice holds her equal scales  
 With ever-waking eye ;  
 O’er some her vengeful might prevails,  
 When their life’s sun is high ;  
 On some her vigorous judgments light,  
 In that dread pause ’twixt day and night,  
 Life’s closing twilight hour ;  
 Round some, ere yet they meet their doom,  
 Is shed the silence of the tomb,  
 The eternal shadows lower.”—p. 53.

Surely Æschylus never intended, in the last of the above lines, to allude to the doctrine of a future judgment.

As affording a short specimen of an entire Chorus, we subjoin the translation of—*Αὔρα, ποντιαὺς αὔρα*—from the Hecuba of Euripides :

“Thou gale! thou ocean gale!  
That waftest light our shallop o’er the waves,  
Where shall the fluttering sail  
Convey a weeping band of captive slaves?  
    Shall Dorian land,  
    Or Pthian strand  
Inure our youth to toil,  
Where, sire of mighty waters, feeds  
Apidanus the flowery meads?  
Or shall the loudly-dashing oar  
Conduct us, mid the billows’ roar,  
    To weep on Delian soil?  
Where palms their earliest bloom display,  
Where rears its sacred shade the bay,  
That erst on lorn Latona smiled,  
Now loves to grace her deathless child,  
Must we, mid Dian’s virgin ring,  
Her bow and golden fillet sing?  
Or shall our lot be fixed by Fate,  
Within Minerva’s Attic gate,  
To bid the forms with meaning rife  
Start on the canvass forth to life?  
Deck the rich web with patterns quaint,  
Thy mimic chargers, Pallas, paint,  
And yoke them to thy radiant car,  
Or trace the Titans’ impious war,  
Who sunk to sleep beneath the brand  
The Thunderer launched from either hand?  
My children! take my parting tear;  
    Take it, mine ancient sires!  
My land! where rages Græcia’s spear,  
    Mid ruin, smoke and fires:  
Now Europe’s handmaid!—far from thee,  
    They’ll taunt me as a slave;  
Oh! ill exchange such agony  
    For chambers of the grave!”—pp. 149, 150.

To pursue our minute criticisms here. We doubt much whether Euripides intended to describe Apidanus as a “sire of mighty waters,” which would rather overwhelm than irrigate: *καλλίσανυ δάτων πατέρα*, is justly applicable to the powers of fertilization by which he enriches the neighbouring glebe, not to the production of a torrent which would desolate its harvests.



In no instance do we think Mr. Anstice has so widely deviated from his type as in the four lines—

“Where palms their earliest bloom display,” &c.

ἔνθα πρωτόγονός τε φοινῖξ  
δάφνα θ' ἱερὸν ἀνέσχε  
πτόρθους Λατοῖ φίλα  
ὠδῖνος ἄγαλμα δίας.

He entirely loses sight of the mythological allusion in *πρωτόγονος*; for the reader would suppose that instead of commemorating the creation of the palm-tree to assist Latona in her travail, the Poet only meant to imply that it blossomed early in Delos. The third line is unintelligible, and the fourth is gratuitous.

What authority is there for representing Jupiter as ambidexter? The Titans sunk (sank) not beneath thunderbolts launched from both Jove's hands, but under fire blazing on all sides—*ἀμφιπύρρῳ*. The last line of the original Chorus—*ἀλλάξας Ἀἶδα θαλάμους*—is far from conveying a plain meaning; but we seek in vain to accommodate it in any way to Mr. Anstice's interpretation.

In his versification, Mr. Anstice is a disciple of the modern school; his models are plainly to be found among our contemporaries, and we greatly miss throughout the regularity of construction which would be afforded by attention to the Greek Strophe and Antistrophe. His facile command of metre sometimes also leads him into caprices. Without stopping upon the obscure question of the mixture of dancing and singing which prevailed on the Greek stage, it may suffice to say that the songs were, beyond doubt, adapted to rhythmical movement. Phrynichus was a *maître du ballet* by profession; and Æschylus himself, like Messrs. Harte and Weippert, composed *πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχησικὰ*. Each of those accomplished Professors might, perhaps, have found some difficulty in arranging lines like the following to any grave figure-dance. They are taken from a Chorus in the *Alcestis*, throughout which the measure should certainly never proceed more quickly than the slowest *adagio*.

“Thy praise shall swell to mountain shell,  
And dirges due thy virtues tell;  
Thy name inspire the minstrel choir,  
The music of the seven-stringed lyre;

\* \* \* \*

So meet a theme for minstrel's dream  
The story of thy death shall seem.”

We reserve a *bonne bouche* for our conclusion. The Σὺ μὲν ὦ

πατρις Ἰλιάς is perhaps the most pleasing translation in the whole series.

“ My native Troy! to future ages,  
 Thine ancient title none shall tell,  
 The City of the Impregnable!  
 The spear, the spear, within thee rages;  
 Dark lowers the cloud of Greeks around thee:  
 Ne'er, ne'er again  
 May I tread thy plain;  
 Shorn are the towers that crowned thee,  
 Soiled is the vest that bound thee  
 With ashes' foulest stain.

The fatal hour was midnight's calm,  
 When the feast was done, and sleep, like balm,  
 Was shed on every eye;  
 Hushed was the choral symphony,  
 The sacrifice was o'er;  
 My Lord to rest his limbs had flung,  
 His idle spear in its place was hung,  
 He dreamed of foes no more:  
 And I, while I lost my listless gaze  
 In the depth of the golden mirror's blaze,  
 That my last task was aiding,  
 Was wreathing with fillets my tresses' maze,  
 And with playful fingers braiding.

There came a shout!  
 Through the noiseless city the cry rung out:  
 'Your homes are won, if ye scale the tower,  
 'Sons of the Greeks! is it not the hour?'

I caught the wild alarm;  
 I fled arrayed,  
 Like Dorian maid,  
 With a single vest thrown o'er me;  
 At Dian's shrine my suit preferred,  
 But ill my prayer the Goddess heard,  
 They slew my Lord before me;  
 I was dragged along by a ruffian arm,  
 To the briny deep they bore me:  
 Thence, as the vessel o'er the wave  
 Heaved on its homeward way,  
 To Troy one parting look I gave,  
 Then sunk and swooning lay.

Helen! I woke to curse thy sins,  
 Base sister of the Godlike twins;  
 Thee and thy craven Paris, nursed  
 Mid Ida's hinds and herds, I cursed.

Your wedlock, demon-planned,  
 Hath driven me forth to roam,  
 Hath swept me from my father's land,  
 Unhoused me from my home.  
 Wedlock!—nay, let its title be  
 That foul fiend's dark malignity!  
 But ne'er may Helen, o'er the billow,  
 Be safely borne to Greece,  
 Nor in her father's palace, pillow  
 That guilty head in peace."—pp. 153—155.

Mr. Anstice will, we doubt not, receive the few comments which we have thus hazarded, in the same friendly spirit in which they are offered. It is not worth while to take the trouble of finding fault with mediocrity; but the powers developed in this little volume are of no ordinary promise, and fully justify us in expressing anxiety that they may be cultivated to the utmost.

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ART. IX.—*Saturday Evening.* By the Author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm.* London. Holdsworth and Ball, 1832. Svo. pp. 491.

THE Author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm* has presented us with another work, under the enigmatical title of "*Saturday Evening.*" The time was, when the title conveyed some intimation of the contents of a book. This fashion, however, seems to be growing "antiquated, and decrepit with age, and nigh to its final disappearance" (p. 13); and is, accordingly, held in sovereign contempt by the author of the book before us. In his former work, "a *History of Enthusiasm*" would have been an intelligible title, though not, perhaps, strictly applied to *his* production; but what a "*natural History of Enthusiasm*" could be, we did not, and do not now, perfectly comprehend. In the present instance, we must again candidly acknowledge "*Saturday Evening*" to be wholly beyond us, and must, therefore, make the author his own *Œdipus*.

"Although the Author dedicates his pen to the service of religion, he would not seem (layman as he is) to trench, either upon the season or the office of public instruction. But there remains open to him the SATURDAY EVENING, which devout persons, whose leisure permits them to do so, are accustomed to devote to preparatory meditation.

"The subject and spirit of some of the following pages may perhaps convey the idea that the title of the volume has a double significance, and is intended to refer to the expectation now so generally entertained among Christians, that our own times are precursive of the Era of

Rest which has been promised to the Church and to the world. The Author does not deny that an allusion of this sort has been present to his mind; and he will grant, moreover, that his belief on this head has at once furnished no small part of the motive of his undertaking, and given direction, often, to his thoughts."

We do not think "the service of religion" is likely to be promoted by this system of publishing "Detached Thoughts," and "Fragments," on questions of so abstruse a nature as the present. The mysteries of unfulfilled prophecy are too important to be so superficially treated, and ought not to be thus dissected, lest, "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Having, however, entered our protest against this desultory style of theological writing, we must admit that, in some respects, the title is not unhappily chosen; for, while its primary meaning is "constructed upon the most liberal principles," and is expansive enough to embrace every possible topic of "preparatory meditation," its secondary allusion, which has furnished so much of the motive of the undertaking, invests the *membra disjecta* with an apparent importance, as parts of some beautiful theory in reserve. Impatient as he is of all restraint, our author is thus released from the stern necessity which restricts the digressions of ordinary writers, and is left unfettered to roam at ease in his evening retreat. Nor has he abstained from this indulgence. From his frequent obscurity we should imagine, that he had ever and anon wandered too far in quest of these midnight adventures, and, overtaken by the shadows of twilight, had been too often bewildered in the pursuit of some *ignis fatuus*.

The object of his first Essay is, to develop more fully the secondary "significance" attached to his title. It is called, "The Hour of Hope and Diffidence," with the motto, "*that day was the preparation.*" In illustration of this subject he refers to the dismay of our Lord's disciples at the very moment of his triumph, when "by death He destroyed him that had the power of death;" and he appeals to the dark hour of Pagan, of Mahometan, and of Popish persecution, which preceded the dawn of brighter days, in confirmation of his general rule:—

"That the hour of preparation for a better order of things is *not a time of favourable appearances*; but the reverse; and that, nevertheless, at such a time, human affairs are actually tending towards the approaching change."—p. 5.

This preliminary law being thus announced, upon which it is evident that the general character of the work must materially depend, we might fairly expect to see it minutely traced out, and its practical effects accurately explained. But what is the very next sentence?

"But shall it ever come within the reach of the sagacity of man to discern, beneath the surface of events, the undeveloped initiatives of good things to come? *Probably not.*"

Here, then, we have a general rule, the application of which is so entirely a matter of speculation, that the author himself cannot make up his mind, whether it is practicable or not! Of this happy uncertainty we shall find abundant proof in the course of our review. So anxious is he to display his "pre-eminence in the faculty of generalization," which, he says (p. 129) "constitutes what is termed the philosophic character," that he is ever promulgating some new law, which he has no sooner proclaimed, than he proceeds by his own doubts to render it null and void; his evenings are too often spent, like Penelope's, in undoing the web, which his own hands had woven; while his readers, like her admirers, impatiently looking for the "Rest, which he had promised them," though

"Disappointed still, are still beguiled."

The evil consequences of this indecision are strongly exemplified in the second Essay; which is called "The Expectation of Christians." The author's words in explanation of the subject of this essay are these:—

"Our theme is simply—That if there be *independent reasons* for surmising that a great and happy change, to be brought about by unusual means, is not very distant—*then*, the actual and unparalleled condition of mankind, in matters of religion, is worthy of profound attention; and may well be assumed as singularly corroborative of such an expectation. In a word—if it be conjectured that now, at length, the Sabbath made for man draws on, then does the aspect of the time we live in well suit the description of a 'day of preparation.'"—p. 15.

Now what is the description of a day of preparation given us in the *first* Essay? The hour of preparation, we were told, is an hour of darkness: we were taught, in the examination of the progress of religion, to disregard "*natural probabilities*," because, at the very moment when "nothing seemed more likely, *on the ground of natural probability*, than that the religion of which it was said that it was to endure for ever, should almost immediately cease to be spoken of among men, a new expansion of the Divine efficacy of the Gospel was at hand" (p. 5); or, as the same idea is elsewhere expressed; "while it shall seem as if God had indeed withdrawn himself from the earth, the persuasion of his presence shall be the most vivid." (p. 231.)

Let us now turn to the description of a day of preparation given us in the *second* Essay: "*If probabilities drawn from the state of the human mind are at all to be looked to*, should we not rather, for example, carry a mission into the heart of Persia or Turkey now, than in the age of Almamon and Almansor?" (p. 24.)

This self-contradiction arises from the confusion which the author has introduced between the miraculous and ordinary agency of Providence. He feels that without the Divine aid the efforts of man are but vain ; but he can discern the presence of God only in the wind, the earthquake, or the fire ; and thence he jumps to the conclusion that *natural probabilities are not to be looked to*. He sees the absurdity of attempting to confine the miraculous interposition of Providence within the range of human reason, but does not see that he is himself guilty of this very absurdity, when he calculates upon the *probability* of some future miraculous intervention, which shall dispel the clouds that darken the approach of “ a better order of things.” No rational human agent can, we conceive, act in defiance of human experience ; nor can he reasonably hope for success, without a full and perfect reliance, *not* on the *extraordinary* support, the stretched out arm of an Almighty King, but on the *constant and uniform* wisdom and goodness of an All-merciful Father, who not only hath created all things, but also ever preserveth them all.

To reconcile this discrepancy we should state his argument thus:—(of course we have nothing to do with the *truth* of his premises *now* ; at present we neither admit nor deny them : but we merely wish to state his argument as fairly as possible:—) “ The decay into which all the ancient superstitions of the world have fallen, leads us to hope that the time may not be far distant when Christianity will be more rapidly and extensively diffused over the world. It is not, however, to be expected that the transition from a false to the true religion will be immediate, or that it will be unattended with much of infidelity ; for it cannot but be that many, who, under a fair exterior, have been, in fact, only nominal believers in any religion, will then be exposed to mankind, as they must long have been to their own hearts, to be ‘ without God in the world.’ Such instances, however, numerous as they may and must be, cannot weaken the former position, that the decay of the superstitions, which have long too successfully resisted the truth, encourages us to hope for the speedy accomplishment of the prophecy, that “ the kingdoms of the earth shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ ! ” We believe this to be a very favourable representation of the Author’s argument ; and if so, we can only say that he has done all in his power to mystify a very plain subject : and that he has not the merit, either of discovering any thing new, or (which is, perhaps, not less worthy of praise,) of presenting that which is old in a more simple and attractive dress.

From the antiquated state of every existing superstition, three inferences are drawn : the Atheistic, the Evangelic, and the Pro-



phetic. By the Atheistic Inference is meant the conclusion which may be deduced, that "the faithful are rapidly minishing from among the children of men." This is justly dismissed as unworthy of reply. Under the second head, the Evangelic Inference, the zealous Christian is encouraged in the work of conversion. But here again the exaggerated statement in his first Essay comes in his way, and his present reasoning is diametrically opposed to the principles previously assumed.

"In this sense, the present era may justly be deemed the *day of hope* for the Gospel. No such singular conjuncture of symptoms, throughout the world, has ever before invited the activity and zeal of Christians. And if the pressure of responsibility is at all times great upon them, in this behalf, it has acquired now a treble weight; inasmuch as it seems as if the antagonist powers were fast drawing off from the field. Looking out to the long and many-coloured array of ghostly domination, as it stretches its lines across plains and hills, we discern movement;—but it is the stir of retreat. Encampments are breaking up; barriers are trampled upon; standards are furled; the clarion of dismay is sounded. This—this, then, is the hour for the hosts of the Lord to snatch their weapons, and be up! Ours, then, is 'a day of preparation' in the sense of missionary enterprise; and on *this* ground, notwithstanding all discouragements, it may be hoped, not feebly, that the Sabbath draweth on.'"—p. 25.

Is this animated picture of the victory of the hosts of the Lord the description of that "*time of unfavourable appearances*,"—that "*hour of darkness*,"—that "*thick gloom spread on all sides*," (p. 8,) in which "the true indications" of a better order of things are to be seen?

The third Inference is the Prophetic, by which the Author means the expectation, which *he* entertains, of the early approach of the promised times when the whole "earth shall be covered with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea:"—he seems even to suppose that the generation is now living which will witness the conversion of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America; he pictures to himself "*a general and simultaneous revolution in the religious state of all nations*;" he sees "old things passing away, and all things becoming new;" he soars far above the weak prejudices of those who fondly imagine that some good may be found even in that which is old; he

"Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world,"  
and issues his oracular warning:

"Let the fond admirer of his own Church, whatever may be its pretensions, assure himself, that the conversion of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, and America, will so raise the temperature, spiritual and moral, of the world's atmosphere, as *must dissolve, to its very elements, every*

*community now calling itself a Church.* All principles shall then invest themselves in new power, all notions of good and evil be recast, all forms and constitutions be new modelled. We shall, indeed, believe the same things as now; but in another manner: we shall practise the same virtues, but at a different rate, with firmer motives, and under the guidance of an extended exposition of every precept. Instead, therefore, of cherishing a blind attachment to phrases, modes, usages, opinions, which are separable from the substance of religion, wise and docile spirits, though they may not hope fully to anticipate in imagination, the changes that are to be effected, will at least preserve with care a state of feeling, such as shall prove the best preparative for joining in with whatever may attend the expected 'times of refreshment.'—p. 27.

We shall, in our progress, meet with abundant occasion to recur to the Author's views of the present condition and future prospects of the Church. If the task of reforming the Church of England is to be entrusted, in temporal things to Lord Henley, and in spiritual things to Dr. Arnold, it is not improbable that those views and wishes may be realized. When we find an Equity Judge wantonly trampling upon the sacred rights of property, and gravely cautioning us, not to be "led away and blinded by attending to names rather than to things, lest we lose the essence of Christianity in solicitude for its ornaments and outward shows;"\*—and a Doctor of Divinity, when enumerating, "what, and how many, those points are, on which *"all Christians are agreed,"* entirely omitting all belief in the Holy Ghost;† declaring it to be "certain, that something *more attractive* is needed than the mere uniform reading of the same prayers, and *going through the same forms day after day*, both in the morning and the evening;"‡ and confessing that *he* sees "no reason why the National Church should not enjoy a sufficient variety in its ritual, *to satisfy the opinions and feelings of all;*"§ we cannot wonder that the wise and docile "Author of Natural History of Enthusiasm," while he foresees *the dissolution of every community now calling itself a Church*, (as if the mere name of a Church were hateful to him,) should confess that this is but a *part* of "the changes that are to be effected," the *whole* of which he "cannot *hope fully to anticipate* in imagination." We recommend to the *practical* consideration of these writers the following remark, with which the Author has introduced the passage just quoted, and in which, we need hardly add, we fully concur; that, "*no sound mind would draw, from views like these, definite surmises, which must almost certainly prove fallacious.*"—(p. 26.) The Author of Saturday Evening and his two learned co-adjutors differ materially on some

\* Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform, 7th edit. p. 97.

† Dr. Arnold's Principles of Church Reform, p. 29. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 67. § *Ibid.* p. 68.

points; but there is a marvellous agreement in their eagerness to detect blots and imperfections in the Established Church, and a strange rivalry in their expressions of attachment to the Establishment which they have discovered to be so imperfect:—amidst all their jealousy and suspicions their war-cry is

“Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul,  
But I do love thee!”

The III<sup>d</sup> Essay is entitled, “The Courage peculiar to Times and Places.” The *ostensible* object is, to trace the influence of education upon that moral firmness which he rightly considers so prominent a feature in the character of a perfect Christian. After some allusions to the different kinds of courage, which distinguished John, Peter, and Paul, the boldness of the other Apostles is described as emanating from the “want of erudition;” and the following inference is deduced:—

“We must not deny that the want of knowledge is a disparagement, *lest we seem to take part with the despotic advocates of ignorance.* Nevertheless it must be admitted that on special occasions, when the most momentous truths have to be manfully asserted in opposition to splendid and erudite errors, there may be an advantage in that sort of rude or blunt force which deprives specious sophistry of all its power over the imagination. Plain and insensitive vigour of mind may perhaps trample heedlessly on some things which deserved a measure of respect; but it takes the right course—reaches an impregnable position, and leaves a host of frivolous sophisms in the rear—powerless, though unrefuted.”—p. 35.

In another essay the same idea is thus repeated:—“Uncultured and ingenuous minds happily escape certain perplexities which, groundless as they are, often obstruct the course of excursive and even of powerful understandings.” (p. 370.) The above remarks are followed by a masterly character of St. Paul, the length of which alone deters us from quoting the most eloquent passage in the whole book. Much, however, as we admire this highly-finished sketch, we are only so much the more perplexed when we come to the sober question, “What is the practical lesson to be learnt?”

“The human mind,” he says, “is so constituted as to admit freely the play of independent and conflicting motives, even if it obeys always the one motive that is paramount. And high culture much increases this susceptibility of the mind towards diverse or contradictory impulses; so that while the uninstructed, when borne onward by a ruling principle, forget all secondary considerations; the more intelligent, *though not less steady and consistent in action (perhaps more so,)* yet continue to hold converse with reasons they have repudiated; and to traverse again and again the ground of their firmest convictions.”—p. 36.

Now, what are we to learn from all this? Are we to adopt for our model the *insensitive vigour* of the illiterate Galilean, who, forgetting all secondary considerations, “reaches his conclusion as if by a leap over the ground:” (p. 43,) or the *nervous firmness* of the accomplished Jew, who, *not less, perhaps more steady and consistent in action*, however independent and conflicting may be his motives, *always obeys the one motive that is paramount?* After wandering through fifteen pages of doubts, in the anxious expectation of some solution of our difficulties, we arrive, in the last page, at the *real* object of the Essay,—the attack upon the Established Church.

“It must not be affirmed,” says our author, “(after a very few instances are excepted,) that the accomplishments and mental power of the religious body, or of its leaders, are so fairly on a par with the learning and science of the times, as to leave no room for the consciousness of inferiority. It is not with us now as it was in the age of the Reformation, when the champions of the Gospel were men of gigantic understanding, and of unrivalled attainments;—men who had no competitors or rivals to fear, in any walk of learning;—men who ruled the philosophy as well as the religion of their times. Nor is it as it was in the age of Jerom; and Augustine, and Ambrose, and Gregory, and Chrysostom, when the church moved foremost on all grounds of honour and merit, and when Pagan philosophy had scarcely a laurel left on its brow.”—p. 44.

In answer to this, we admit, that, in many departments of learning and science, the Clergy are not now, as formerly, without competitors or rivals. But by what process of reasoning is it thence deduced that they are not on a par with the philosophy of the times?—that, because they claim not an unrivalled superiority, they must necessarily feel a consciousness of inferiority? We admit that the clergy are not without competitors. But why is it so? How came it to pass that this acute reasoner did not inquire into the cause of this change? Could *he* have overlooked so simple a question, arising so directly out of his own argument? or was it, that this was not “a part of *his* philosophy?” Could he not discover that “human sciences have been the gainers by this change?”\* Could he not understand, that, as there was a time when, among the laity, learning was “no where to be found,” there must also have been a time when she first was reared, when in infancy she was nursed and fostered, in youth supported and encouraged, until at length she reached at the measure of the stature of her present fulness? And who were her nursing fathers, and who her nursing mothers? We refer him to the words of Dr. Chalmers, the testimony of no partial, no ill-informed witness.

\* See Pusey on the Benefits of Cathedral Institutions, p. 12.

“ It is highly instructive to mark the progress of these two great literary institutes (the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge). One cannot do so without being convinced that, but for the liberalities of patriotism or piety, *the education of the land never would have risen to its present altitude*,—that, *in no one instance*, has their CONSTANTLY GROWING scholarship been indebted for any new addition to the encouragement of an anterior demand, or market for science from without; but that it has originated in the emanating force of some additional endowment from within,—that the learning which now wells out upon the nation from these venerable fountain-heads, did not arise at first in the shape of a previously required service by the country, and for which the country was willing to pay; but that it arose in the shape of a gift, which had to be pressed for acceptance on the country, and which had to be urged perseveringly, and against the opposition of many moral, and many natural difficulties, ere the country would be prevailed on to accept it.”\* We would advise the Author of Saturday Evening honestly to amend his question in his next “ thousand,” and to ask, not why the Clergy do not still stand forth as giants in understanding, but why the Laity are not still infants. Let him say to his old schoolmaster, “ Sir, I well recollect that, when I was a boy, you knew so much more than I did; but now, I think, I know as much as you.” And, perhaps, he may learn that his teacher has not, by raising him, depressed himself.

As to the former part of his accusation, in which he charges “ the religious body and its leaders” with the “ consciousness of inferiority;”—*First*, if by “ the religious body” he means *the lay members of the Church*, we have yet to learn that the lawyer or physician, the man of letters or of science, is either the better or the worse, so far as their respective studies only are concerned, for being a dissenter or an infidel. If he means *the parochial clergy*, we have only to resort to the usual mode of confuting this writer, *by quoting his own words*. In the very next page the fourth Essay thus commences:—“ Nothing would be more calumnious than to say that the principal articles of Christian belief are not now (and in very many quarters,) clearly, ably, and faithfully announced. *There is no room for any such allegation or complaint*. On the contrary, in a multitude of instances, how much soever we may be perplexed by the paucity of the fruits, *we should be quite unable to assign any considerable defect as the probable cause of the want of greater success*,” (p. 45.)—*Secondly*, if by “ the leaders of the religious body” he means the

\* Chalmers on Endowments, § 32.

clergy in contradistinction to the laity, we have already convicted him out of his own mouth;—if he means the most distinguished members of the Church, lay and clerical combined, we refer him again to Dr. Chalmers. So far from any “consciousness of inferiority,” *he* speaks of their scholarship as *constantly growing*; he describes no dazzling meteor of learning suddenly bursting forth at the Reformation, and then as suddenly setting to rise no more, but a “long and bright train of descendants.” This great and good man has no difficulty in finding *many* “Champions of the Gospel, of gigantic understanding and unrivalled attainments,” not in one, but in all ages of the Church. “We cannot,” he says, “conclude this passing notice of the Universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement, the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who, within their attic retreats, received that first awakening which afterwards expanded into the aspirations and the triumphs of the loftiest genius.”\* We will not offend our readers by drawing any comparison between Dr. Chalmers of Glasgow, and the anonymous Author of Saturday Evening. We wish our limits would allow us to quote the glorious catalogue of mighty names recorded in Mr. Pusey’s admirable Pamphlet.\* If the author still desires to know why the great and learned men, in whom this age confessedly abounds, are more silent than formerly, we cannot account for that fact in better language than in his own words:—

“Those who, under the ancient order of things, would have written from spontaneous impulses, and at the call of direct motives, and *who would have occupied the arena almost alone*, stand now in a position essentially unlike that of their more fortunate predecessors. For *not only* have they to sustain a dubious comparison with competitors, more likely than themselves to win immediate applause; but the utmost degree of success which they are likely to obtain, consisting in the admiration of a small class in their own and other countries, now appears *so mean a thing by the side of vulgar celebrity*, that it takes to itself the shame of positive failure. The peril of this sort of disgrace outweighs (it is probable,) in some *highly-gifted minds*, the ambition of distinction, and retains them in obscurity. While we are rejoicing in the numerous band of accomplished men who so ably occupy the press, *we should pause and ask, whether some of its legitimate masters are not holding back and refusing to exercise their function.*”—p. 109.

\* Chalmers, § 53.

† See Pusey, pp. 79. 92.



The IVth Essay contains some excellent remarks on the danger of supineness in religion; not, however, without some sneers at "certain personages being reluctant to assign the work of popular evangelization to the alleged indiscreet zeal of sectarists." (p. 55.)

The VIth Essay is called "The Church and the World," in which the author enters upon the question of the good or evil to be expected from the general diffusion of knowledge. Much as he has talked of decision, he has exhibited but little of it in practice; and yet, within the narrow limits of twenty-three pages, does this bold writer venture to debate, or rather to agitate, the great questions of National Education and Church Reform. We have already laid before our readers his reluctant expression of approbation of "the march of intellect;" he would "not deny that the want of knowledge is a disparagement, *lest he should seem to take part with the advocates of ignorance.*" What is the result of his more mature deliberation in the Essay before us?

"A certain order of intelligence (*not founded on principles and open to impulse on any side*) has, as every one knows, spread rapidly through all orders."—(p. 84.) "The statement of the general fact of the intellectual advancement of the people is now trite; nor can it be well called in question. But what is the bearing of this state of things upon Christianity? verily we believe it to be favourable;—*if those causes are taken into account which lie quite beyond the range of secular calculation. But far otherwise if secular and visible causes only are to be looked to; AND IT IS WITH THESE ALONE THAT HUMAN AGENCY IS CONNECTED.*"—p. 85.

Verily this is the strangest piece of reasoning which this age, so prolific in eccentricities, has yet produced! Really "this is not the place," to use his own words, (and indeed at all times we are at a loss to find any confutation more unanswerable than what the author has himself supplied,) "this is not the place for bringing into calculation the irresistible efficacy of the Divine Spirit; an efficacy *equally indispensable in all cases*, and to which all difficulties are the same, (p. 239.) If we are to disregard those causes with which *alone* human agency is connected, and to regard only those which are *quite beyond* the range of our calculation, why should we debate any question at all? If the miraculous interposition of Providence is at hand to rectify all our errors, *καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἀκλητος*, we may as well save ourselves the trouble of exercising common forethought in our daily concerns, satisfied that "whatever is, is best." But let us listen a little more to this friend of Universal Education, who thinks the present state of things so "favourable to Christianity."

"The sad truth is most conspicuous, that though the diffusion of knowledge has not alienated from Christianity those who were already

effectively acquainted with it, (far otherwise,) and though multitudes, to whom the recent light has scarcely reached, remain nearly where they were, in matters of religion—that is to say, as ignorant of it as Caffres; *there is a great body of the people of every class, whom it has served to detach or to disaffect, or to prepare for any sort of impiety,*”—p. 85. “ . . . . Untaught, unguided, and in suspense on all momentous subjects, myriads of the English people, who have learned to think, but who receive no sound instruction, listlessly contemplate the speckled Christianity of our times—uncertain what part to choose; *and, therefore, actually choosing the part of impiety, or of fatal indifference.*”—p. 86.

We offer no comment upon this extract. Our opinions on the subject have been long before the public; and, if at any time we have thought it right to express our disapprobation of the present state of general education, we have done it fearlessly, and have not shrunk from our duty, afraid “lest we should seem advocates of ignorance.” The author of “Saturday Evening” has unwillingly approved and unwillingly condemned:—we remind him of his own words: “This is no hour of leisure and facility, and soft persuasion.—*Whoever dares not speak explicitly and boldly, had better not speak at all.*”—p. 82. Up to this point it is difficult to discover what is the author’s object in the passages just cited. He might conscientiously hesitate to condemn, while he might as conscientiously hesitate to commend the system which has been adopted. But there was no necessity, in a collection of detached essays, to bring forward a subject on which his doubts were so strong. Why, then, did he volunteer so stern a reproof, and afterwards volunteer an apology for it? The sequel will answer the question. Whither, he asks, should the “untaught, unguided myriads” resort?

“Not to the teachers of atheism.—What then are the alternatives? Shall this detached mass, rife as it is with conceit, as much as with intelligence, quietly yield itself to be moored back to the haven of established forms, to which it has already become strange? Shall those *whose prime lesson, in all that has been taught them of late, is, that whatever is ancient is therefore faulty,* accept anew as good and right, a system which the lapse of centuries has not benefited by a single amendment? *It were well if it could be so.* Would to God that the erring or dubious thousands of the people might even now, and under almost any condition, fall back upon the *Great Truths which the Reformation gave us and which the National Church preserves!*”

We will acknowledge this compliment presently.

“But alas! can we seriously anticipate such a movement?—In a sense we grant it to be probable:—those who hope well for what they term “The Church,” are thinking only of the most meagre and insincere conformity. *This is all they care for—all they understand.*”—p. 86.

The heavenly host, who announced the first coming of the

Prince of Peace, proclaimed, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good-will towards men." If the author sincerely believes that His kingdom will so soon be universally established;—if he is indeed persuaded that "the Sabbath is drawing on;"—if the *least* that we ought to do is, "to preserve with care a state of feeling such as shall prove the best preparative for joining in with whatever may attend the expected "times of refreshment;"—p. 28—surely that preparative cannot be a feeling of rancour and ill-will; surely he ought to be glad, because he will so soon be at rest,—to breathe the accents of joy and peace rather than the notes of envy and malice. Let us, however, proceed to the examination of what he calls "simple facts."

"But even if the slenderest sort of conformity were all that we cared for, the course we pursue is very little adapted to secure it. What are the simple facts?—In the hearing of the people the original defects of the national forms, and the abuses that have grown upon the establishment, have lately been talked of with the utmost freedom.—The people have listened, while men, the best informed and the most moderate (not the enemies of the Church, but its friends,) have confessed the necessity of revision—have implored attention to the great question from those who should first take it in hand.—But all this discussion, all these entreaties, come to nothing! Nothing may be hoped for. Pertinacity is to have its triumph—perilous triumph! *It is a point of honour to spurn amendment.* To change an iota would be to acknowledge that the Fathers of the English Church were not inspired—were somewhat inferior to the Apostles. That which indeed is venerable and good in the national forms and modes (and it is much) must be put in peril for the sake of enforcing from the people *an irrational homage to certain excrescences which all men inwardly abhor.*"—p. 89.

Behold what this writer calls "simple facts." As he rather piques himself upon the exuberance of his fancy in devising new words, we may appear presumptuous in offering any advice on this subject; but, in all humility, we beg to submit, that, throughout the whole of the passage just quoted, *there is not one single fact*: from the beginning to the end it is altogether matter of *opinion, or fiction, or any thing but fact.* In reply we will present him with a specimen of what *we* call "simple facts." So far from all these entreaties and discussions coming to nothing;—so far from it being a point of honour to spurn amendment;—it is "a simple fact," that "Ecclesiastical Revenue Commissions" are now sitting both in England and in Ireland, and are most actively engaged in investigating "the abuses that have grown upon the Establishment:"—it is a "simple fact," that in 1817 St. Bees College was founded for the Education of Candidates for Holy Orders in the four Northern Dioceses,—that in 1822 a

similar college was incorporated at Lampeter for the Diocese of St. David's,—and that, at the very time when the author was inventing this gross calumny, the present pious and munificent Bishop of Durham was occupied in establishing a similar college at Durham;—it is a “simple fact,” that in 1831 an act was passed for the Augmentation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, which “very considerably enlarges the powers of ecclesiastics to charge benefices, &c. for the increase of the revenues of their poorer brethren,”—and that, in moving the second reading of that bill, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that “this was no new thought, no sudden proposition, but that he had prepared it two years before, *as one of a series of measures for the improvement of the Church;*”<sup>\*</sup> it is a simple fact, that on the 24th June, 1831, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, “to restrain and regulate the holding of a Plurality of Dignities and Benefices by Spiritual Persons,”—that this measure met with so much vexatious opposition in other quarters, that it was deferred till the following session, that it was then extensively modified, and eventually lost: it is a “simple fact,” recorded in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioners for building New Churches, that during the last year 20 churches and chapels have been completed, capable of accommodating 26,361 persons,—that on the whole, 188 churches and chapels have now been completed, and therein accommodation provided for 257,728 persons, including 142,121 free seats,—and that there are 19 churches and chapels now building, and that plans have been approved for building eight more:—it is a “simple fact,” stated in the King’s Letter and in the last Report of the National Society, that the annual average expenditure of that society is upwards of £6,000,—that in its connexion there are upwards of 3,000 schools, containing little less than 400,000 scholars, and that the whole number of children now receiving religious education under the Established Church exceeds 900,000. It will be our painful duty to extract other passages from the work before us, surpassing even the foul libels which we have already cited, but we trust that the few “simple facts” which we have here hastily put together, will be more than a sufficient reply to volumes of vague assertions: the very extravagance of the language, unsupported as it is by the slightest shadow of proof, carries with it the conviction of its own falsehood.

“While the people are daily falling off from Christianity, *because their highest welfare is not thought of—because their actual state is not considered*—BECAUSE THE SALVATION OF MILLIONS OF SOULS IS A TRI-

<sup>\*</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury’s Speech in the House of Lords, 29th July, 1831.

**VIAL MATTER**, if it implies the giving up of this or that childish prejudice—while these things are happening, our creeds and forms shall be preserved—to a tittle; and to secure so high and worthy an end—to secure it in the actual state of the country, all the corrupt motives of acquiescence must be doubly stimulated: the people, in the many modes which state policy is skilled in, must be bribed to quietness and silence. And especially, they must be taught that, in matters of religion, if man be but pleased—God is always easy. All this must be done;—yes, and it shall prosper—if *the Almighty has consigned us to desolation!* And is it so then, that our sons, and theirs again, are to be driven down the steep of unbelief: *because, forsooth, the jealousies of the imbecile, and the emoluments of the corrupt must not be touched!*”—p. 90.

In another place it is asked;—

“Shall we affirm then that none but the priest is by nature a persecutor; and that the atheist has no fang? Vain conceit! *The priest, indeed, curses this or that rival sect; and would fain exterminate his foe, &c.*”—p. 228.

We want the inventive power of the author to enable us to express our indignation at this wicked calumny. That a man who prides himself on his popularity and reputation for eloquence, and who really has some character to lose, should degrade himself by resorting to inflammatory bombast, fit only to be addressed to an infuriate mob,—and that a Christian, who “dedicates his pen to the service of religion,” should be so totally destitute of that charity which “thinketh no evil,” as to rejoice in iniquity rather than in the truth, is truly a matter of no small astonishment.

The VIIIth Essay, “The Hidden World,” describes the pleasure which we derive from “gathering general principles from a multitude of diversified forms or appearances.” The point which he endeavours to establish, is, that we may safely apply the same power of abstraction by which we ascertain the laws of physics, to the moral and spiritual world, and thus discover the hidden laws which guide the counsels of the “High and Holy One that inhabiteth Eternity.”—In the IXth Essay, “the State of Seclusion,” the same idea is somewhat more expanded; but here again, dismayed by facts, while spell-bound by theory, he “doubts yet dotes, suspects yet fondly loves.” *On the one hand*, he argues, that, though the industry of science is able to develop the great laws which govern the material universe, it is not so with the moral system, of which we see so small a portion, that

“there is in what is seen so much apparent anomaly, so much confusion, disorder, and variation, that *general principles are almost entirely hidden, or lost among ambiguous instances, and exceptions.* This is so

much the fact, that *it is not without painful and dubious efforts of abstruse reasoning*, that the invariable laws of the moral world, or what may be called the axioms of virtue, are to be gathered in the way of induction, from the course of human affairs."—p. 138.

*On the other hand*, near the close of this same Essay, his words are :

"But how much soever of ambiguity or confusion may attend universal moral principles, so far as they are to be gathered by each individual from his particular experience, *neither those principles, nor the method of establishing them, are really invalid or vague.*"—p. 151. And again, "*those maxims may be ascertained and established on the most satisfactory grounds.*"—p. 156.

The XIth Essay, on "the Vastness of the Material Universe," is an answer to the astronomical objectors to Revealed Religion. This field had been already gleaned by Dr. Chalmers, and little is to be learnt from the essay before us, unless in the following novel opinion: that "*no real enfeebling of the foundation of religion is implied in the atheism of scientific men.*"—(p. 173.) The argument in support of this opinion is as follows: The man of science, from the long habit of watching the laws of nature, and of observing how all created things ever obey them without any "variableness or shadow of turning," becomes imperceptibly accustomed to regard these laws, not as the will of the Creator, but, if we may use the expression, as the Creator Himself. The author denies that any man can be so really and literally an atheist as to attribute the systematic order, which reigns throughout the realms of boundless space, to no cause at all. Assuming, then, that all men *must* admit the existence of some First Cause, he maintains that no rational being can for an instant suppose that that Cause could have been any thing less than an Intelligent Creator. But this is "the foundation of religion." *Ergo*, scientific atheists do not in reality enfeeble the foundations of religion.

"The two notions of intelligence and power become so closely associated with certain abstruse mathematical principles, and these principles, in presenting themselves again and again as the Ruling Causes of all that is taking place in the Universe, *supplant the higher truth of a First Cause*, and reconcile the mind (from other motives easily persuaded) to *the most enormous of all absurdities*—the denial of that truth. But it is especially to be noted that this perversion of right reason, *how great soever it may be*, does not imply that there is no irresistible and invariable impulse in the human mind, obliging it always to look up from effects to causes, and leading it from the contemplation of the Universe, to the belief, yes, the persuasion of a First Cause and Intelligent Creator. On the contrary, *this primary instinct of reason is as truly at work in the bosom of the philosophical atheist, as in that of the*



*theologian.* But like every other instinct, it is liable to misdirection, or perverted action. The atheist, let him boast as he may, though an impious, is not a godless man (for no one can be such\*); but the Deity—the invisible and potent intelligence that floats before him, and which he unnaturally worships, is the system of abstract truth he seems to see sitting mistress of all worlds.”—p. 175.

So then, “a mental delusion,” as it is termed, (p. 173.) which “reconciles the mind to the most enormous of all absurdities,” does not “enfeeble the foundations of religion!” And “the primary instinct of reason,” which irresistibly leads us “from the contemplation of the Universe to the belief of a First Cause and Intelligent Creator,” is “as *truly*” and, of course, as *effectually*, (for it is said to be *irresistible*,) “at work in the bosom of the philosophical atheist, as in that of the theologian!” And will it be believed, that this absurd defence of infidelity is advanced in order to calm the uneasiness of those persons, who think the arguments in proof of the being of a God virtually nullified, or much weakened by the avowed atheism of men of high intelligence! If there is one iota of truth in the doctrine of the harmlessness of atheism set up by the author of Saturday Evening, then, indeed, St. Paul is wrong, when, in writing on this very subject he says, that such men “are without excuse, in that when they know God, they glorify Him not as God;” (Rom. i. 20, &c.) *he* not only declares that “they do not like to retain God in their knowledge,” but that “*they change the truth of God into a lie*”—and yet the foundations of religion remain unimpaired! Cordially, indeed, do we concur in the truth of his own remark, that it is no transient injury inflicted upon the cause of truth, when evil principles (his own words are “debauched principles and flagitious practices”) “link themselves, *by means of bad logic*, with the abstruse points of religion, and gravely demand for themselves the respect that should be paid to well-digested and well-defended systems.” (p. 234.)

From the XIIth essay to the XIXth, we find a sort of running commentary on 2 Pet. i. 5—7, with a digression, in the XVth and XVIth essays on the present state of the Christian Ministry, which he calls “the Living Power of Rebuke.” It is not to be expected that the author should be satisfied with any class of preachers. Dealing only in extremes, and delighting in

\* And yet the author, when speaking of the religious fatalist, says, “he excludes the notion of the Divine character entirely from the circle of human ideas; and this is one and the same thing as to deprive the mind of man of the only conceptions it can form of God;—it is atheism—all but a name.”—p. 288.

the exercise of his "faculty of generalization," he divides them all into two great parties, both equally unlike the *beau idéal* enthroned in his imagination.

"The tendency of the Christian ministry is always to move down from the high and arduous place which belongs to it, of a Remedial Function, to the lower and more grateful position of an office of delectation; either intellectual or spiritual."

Assuredly if such is the tendency of the Christian ministry, it demands their constant watchfulness. But, hold,—"the *School-master* is abroad;" *he* thinks otherwise. "Not only," says *he*, do the various tastes and degrees of knowledge amongst men require varieties in the form of their religious services; but the very same men are not always in the mood for the same things: there are times when we should feel most in unison with the deep solemnity of the Liturgy; there are times, also, when we should better enjoy a freer and more social service; and for the sake of the greater familiarity, should pardon some insipidity and some extravagance. And he who condemns this feeling, does but lose his labour, and can but ill appreciate one great attribute of God's works,—their endless variety."\*

"Who shall decide, when doctors disagree?"

"Wherever much refinement and good taste prevail, the preacher is likely to become the organ of that species of grave and graceful entertainment which befits 'the Sunday;' and so long as he keeps in view the rule which, by a tacit compact, he is bound to observe—that of furnishing an hour of pleasurable meditative excitement; he may take a wide range, as to style or subject:—he may be argumentative or imaginative; epigrammatic and familiar, or lofty and ornate:—he may assume a low position, or a high one, in theology:—he may be emblematical, or literal; mystical and profound, or neological and perspicuous:—[what a strange combination!] 'the wide world is all before him, so that he is but skilful in gathering blooming flowers always from the surface over which he passes. But how shall any such honeyed lips utter (except as matter of gorgeous eloquence) the appalling verities of Divine justice? Nature forbids the incongruity: and more—the Renovating Spirit refuses to yield the energy of His power to the sway of a mere minister of public recreation.'—p. 244.

So much for those whose task it is to instruct the educated classes, and who are generally clergymen of the Established Church:—now for those whose lot has fallen among their poorer and more ignorant brethren, who, for a very obvious reason, are generally dissenting ministers of various persuasions.

"If, as is a far more frequent case, intelligence and taste be wanting in the preacher's circle, he must learn to furnish *spiritual*, instead of

\* Dr. Arnold's Pamphlet, p. 67.

intellectual entertainment; such as may be drawn from the conceits and ingenuities of mystic exposition—from the enigmas and tropes of the Rabbinical school; or from the soothing adulation which, after painting in the highest colours the honours and privileges of the believer, allows professors of all sorts to appropriate the fulsome description. There may, it is true, be heard from the pulpits of this class of preachers, much louder and more frequent thunders than roll from those of the intellectual class. But the peals of wrath, though often hoarse, are directed always at some distant adversary;—at opponents of the sect;—or at mankind at large;—or at the occupiers of the high seats of secular greatness:—but never, or very rarely, at the impure, the unjust, the rapacious, the malicious, who may be filling the pews around. A vigorous and impartial application of the law of God, backed by its tremendous sanctions, to the conduct and temper of the preacher's audience, would break up his method;—violate his tacit compact, and turn at once the whole tide of his popularity."—p. 245.

The XXth Essay is entitled, "Charity and Conscience," and contains some excellent remarks on the sinful obstinacy with which men, for very trifling causes, or even for no cause at all, dissent from "the general body of Christians."

"It is true," he says, "and must never be forgotten, that the factions which have divided the Christian body, have owed their vivacity and asperity, to the ill tempers, or the ambition, of a few individuals—*those demagogues and fanatics whom the Scripture designates as 'grievous wotces.'*" (p. 317.) "To allay in some measure the uneasiness which the obstinacy and contumacy of the Christian world occasions him, the dogmatist first enhances, by all means, his own inward conviction of the truth of his doctrine; and for this purpose he has recourse to the excitements of devotion, as well as to the corroboration of argument. Then he surrounds himself with coadjutors, flatterers (if he can); and after kindling the lights of their zeal from his own candle, comforts himself in the general warmth that is thus produced. Furthermore he confirms both his faith and his courage by uttering aloud his contempt and condemnation of all gainsayers; and lastly, to prove ostensibly the depth and sincerity of his convictions, he cuts himself off from the corrupt body of the Church, and solemnly turning to the train of his adherents, says—'come out, and touch not the unclean.'"—p. 324.

We strongly recommend this Essay to the attention of his admirers, and to the serious perusal of the author himself. We regret that our praise cannot be unqualified; for in this Essay also we observe the same inconsistency and singular self-contradiction which we have already had too frequent occasion to notice. Although we have quoted largely from this book, we must, to avoid even the appearance of disingenuousness, cite the passage to which we have here alluded; fortunately it is not, in this instance, long, for the contradiction is contained within the space of about ten lines! Speaking of the causes of dissent, he says:—

“ A case of another sort may easily arise, namely, that of individuals, or of small bodies, who, in much seriousness, and with entire sincerity, having unfortunately adopted *an initial erroneous position*, from which *they correctly derive inferences* that would be quite valid *if their first principle were sound*, are drawn on to think themselves obliged both to denounce the body of Christians as grievously corrupted in doctrine, and to separate themselves from their fellowship. Such individuals or parties may fully persuade themselves that any longer to associate with the Church at large would be to violate their consciences. In instances of this kind we have the double mischief of schism, and of schism without occasion; a feud is generated with all its inseparable virulence: but it is a feud devoid of reason: it is therefore an evil not compensated by any beneficial result; it is not remedial; not conservative. *And yet has it sprung from a sound principle*; and, moreover, the authors of it are men sincere and devout. Where, then, is the false assumption, or *false inference*, by means of which a pure evil has derived itself from good? It would be well indeed if this could be ascertained.”—p. 319.

Here is supposed a case, in which a conclusion or inference is granted to be correctly drawn from a principle granted to be unsound;—and within ten lines (for we have extracted the whole passage without any omission,) the principle is pronounced sound, and it is asked, with astonishment, where is the false (or rather *faulty*) inference!!

The XX<sup>th</sup> Essay is called “The Few Noble;” in which the author recurs to the principle assumed in the VII<sup>th</sup>, that the distinction between man and man, or between one race and another, consists in the powers of Abstraction and Imagination. We scarcely know which of these powers is most exercised in the following passage:—

“ Love—which is virtue in act—opens upon the mind the perception of truths as real and valid as any of the principles of mathematical science. Or love may be termed the mode in which the highest and most universal truths subsist in the soul.”—p. 348.

It is in the predominance of these two faculties that “the true ideal of magnanimity” is said to be found; a notion which furnishes the subject for the next Essay on the “Rudiment of Christian Magnanimity.” In the XXII<sup>d</sup> and XXIV<sup>th</sup> Essays, on “the Dissolution of Human Nature,” the author has been again largely indebted to his distinguished powers of imagination.

“It were presumptuous,” he admits, “and culpable to construct theories concerning that which is unknown, upon the ground merely of abstract analogies; nevertheless, so long as a due modesty is observed in such attempts, and especially while the dim intimations of Scripture are kept constantly in sight, mischief will hardly accrue from endeavouring to follow our meditations a step farther.”

So thought Cæsar when he paused on the banks of the Rubi-

con. On this one step depends our safety. Let us, however, turn to the next sentence, and examine this step. "What then, we may ask, shall be the rule of rank or order in that invisible world?" (p. 407.) And then, after all this show of caution, followed by a page of fanciful doubts, we come to the edifying conclusion, that "*these matters are all beyond surmise.*" In the XXVth Essay we are invited to "the Third Heavens." Having once taken the fatal step, all "due modesty" is soon forgotten;—he maintains that it is "a proper effort of the mind when, by revolving the rudiments of its highest affections, and by collating these with the evidence of Scripture, it labours to anticipate, in idea, its approaching destiny. If any be found blaming a labour of this sort, it will be the inert, the frivolous, or the sensual." (p. 431.) We will present our readers with a specimen of this praiseworthy labour, this "working of problems" (as he calls it,) "by the aid of those materials of cogitation which reason, and nature, and revelation afford." (p. 432.) His theme is, "In thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore;" which language, he says, "is tropical, and perhaps has more than one allusion. But the most obvious of these (if indeed there be more than one,) is to a kingdom or polity, consisting of many gradations or ranks, spread over an extensive surface, and in the metropolis of which are held the incessant festivities of Regal State." (p. 413.) The allusion to different gradations and ranks does not appear to us so obvious; but upon that allusion depends much of what immediately follows; for, because the resemblance is not strong enough in modern and western countries, he proceeds to compare the state of the blessed with an Asiatic Empire "the ranks of which are more widely severed." This is the harmless occupation which none but the inert, the frivolous, or the sensual can ever blame! It must not be supposed that, in defiance of such a denunciation, we have the hardihood to question the propriety of this effort of the mind. In writing on "the Dissolution of Human Nature, the author declares that "*except with a view to practical inferences, a theme like this would not here be introduced.*" (p. 382.) Our own obtuseness may be the cause why we cannot discover the practical inference to be deduced from his tropical problems on the Third Heavens; but the author cannot avail himself of this plea, when he recollects the remainder of his own injunction; "*Assuredly practical inferences in matters of religion must be drawn from facts or principles known to all men; or at least familiarly intelligible to all, when clearly stated.*" (p. 382.)

The last Four Essays are all connected with the subject of a Future State; and at the close of the work we return, after a

digression occupying twenty-seven of the twenty-nine Chapters, to the point from which we started,—the opinion so generally entertained that the Era of Rest is near at hand. Although “an allusion of this sort was present to his mind, and gave direction often to his thoughts,” freely indeed has the author rambled over the “wide world which was before him.” Nothing seems foreign to his subject; nothing without its use, in “moulding up such a mighty piece as this is:” and, if he has not disdained the *particula undique desecta*, he certainly has not forgotten to infuse the *vis insani leonis*. At the *beginning* of the book (p. 5,) enough appears to be known to justify the announcement of a *general rule*; “That the hour of Preparation for a better order of things is *not a time of favourable appearances*, but the reverse.” At the *end*, (p. 490,) when speaking, not of the approach of a day of triumph,—of an era of rest,—but of the hope that God will not utterly abandon his church, we are again referred to “the indubitable import of the prophetic Scriptures, declaring that, *notwithstanding all appearances of an opposite kind*, the ‘bright appearance of the Lord drew nigh.’” From the formal statement of the proposition to be proved at the commencement, and from the repetition of it at the close of the work, we might not unreasonably expect a general recapitulation of the whole argument, a very conclusive mode of reasoning, which has been well exemplified in Paley’s Evidences:—but what says our author? what is *his* conclusion of the matter? “But is our argument settled, and our path ascertained on this ground?” (that is to say, on “the indubitable import of the prophetic Scriptures.”) *None but the most presumptuous will say so.*” (p. 490.)

We have examined, with great attention, the whole of the volume before us; and we have presented our readers with copious extracts from various parts of it, and with correct outlines of the chief arguments advanced in each Essay. And our duty ought now to be to give a general summary of the author’s principles. But where are we to look for principles in a book, in which there is nothing fixed but the love of change? All things must become new; all institutions, whether young or old; all opinions, whether right or wrong. (For, like the satyr in the fable, who blows hot and cold with the same breath, this writer condemns and commends in the same page.) The conformist is wrong, because he conforms; the dissenter is wrong, because he dissents: “Ephraim may envy Judah, and Judah may vex Ephraim,” but both Ephraim and Judah must alike crouch before the spear of this great Goliath of Gath. Nothing is too exalted, nothing too insignificant to be changed: his own lofty



theories, like toys, are made but to be destroyed by the hand which made them; nay, the very words in which we have learned to express our hopes, our fears, and all our daily wants, must be purified in the alembic of this mighty alchemist:—for the decree has gone forth, that all things shall be changed.

It cannot be necessary for us, in support of this assertion, to recapitulate the very extraordinary contradictions which we have already sufficiently exposed. In the course of our review we thought it better to confine ourselves to the author's reasoning, and not to suffer our attention to be diverted by the fantastic dress in which it was clothed; we will now, therefore, offer some specimens of what it is the fashion to call fine writing.

“It is a law of the intellectual world—That the mental connexion between words or customary phrases, and the ideas or notions they represent, tends incessantly to dissolution; and that the rate of this dissolution is accelerated, or retarded, in proportion to the frequency with which such words and phrases pass over the lips of mankind. The *gravitation*, which brings the heavier substance (knowledge) down, as a *residuum*, and leaves the lighter (language) to float as a frothy crust on the surface, is to be counteracted only by *continual agitation of the mass*.”—p. 99.

Accordingly this universal legislator forthwith proceeds to agitate, agitate, agitate. The man of abstruse reasoning is called “*aborigin of all spheres of thought*” (p. 347); “*the clear and glowing sunbeams of a sultry day*” are described as “*falling upon the bosom of a reeking cloud*” (p. 302); a “*punitive debility*” is said to “*invade the mind*” (p. 377); the period of dissolution is called “*the season of denudation*” (p. 395); “*the devout affections*” of the blessed in heaven “*are incessantly in efflux*” (p. 398); the lowest classes of an Asiatic empire are depicted (an illustration, be it remembered, of the different gradations of future happiness), as “*furtively snatching from the dust an abhorrent sustenance*” (p. 414); while this life is “*a tentative only in existence*” (p. 446); in which we have recourse to the “*figment of a law of equality, in order to avoid the contestations of arrogance and vanity*” (p. 481).

Who would expect, under the title of “*The Modern Anchorite*,” Essay XVIII., to find a picture of *the religious fatalist*? Who would imagine that “*the state of seclusion*” means the distance that separates one planet from another, the distinctions between nations, and the subdivisions of nations into classes, of classes into families, of families into individuals? Yet all this, and this only, is the business of the IXth Essay. No doubt he is right,

when he says, "*no open correspondence must be allowed to be held with the upper world*" (p. 142); but we almost fear, *nequicquam Deus abscidit*; for he elsewhere says, that "*a mental trajet from world to world may be accomplished*" (p. 188); and we half suspect that our author has had some private communication with these airy beings; or surely

. . . . . "It is the very error of the moon;  
She comes more near the earth than she was wont,  
And makes men mad."

At all events, *he* must not be accused of "a blind attachment to phrases" (p. 28); "*he* scorns and lays aside the modest phraseology of one who simply declares a private opinion, and as modestly shows his reasons" (p. 326); well might he complain of "*the frigid timidity of the times, and of its love of palpable utility.*" (p. 117.)

If the author continues to employ his Saturday evenings as formerly, and is likely ever again to favour us with the fruits of his researches, we sincerely advise him not to change his own opinions quite so often, and, on no account, to deny at the end of a paragraph what he has gratuitously asserted at the beginning;—such indecision can gain him no credit, and must infallibly do much harm to his readers (and he takes good care to tell us in the title page of his last edition, how many they are; for he calls it, not *the third edition*, but *the third thousand*), by making them dissatisfied with every thing; by *agitating the mass*, as he terms it, till it becomes "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine." He may, haply, have "got possession of some single truths, more or less important, which the Church has forgotten or discarded, and which he asserts;" but if so (to continue the quotation), it is certainly as true, that "in so doing he mingles with them a considerable proportion of mere extravagance and folly" (p. 325). A wiser man than he has observed, ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις. (Thucyd. iii. 37.)

We have, already, by the statement of a few facts, more than sufficiently answered his virulent attack upon the Established Church; but we think it our duty to repeat one or two rather contradictory extracts on this head, in order to convince his admirers how little he is to be trusted on any subject, even on his favourite theme, "the dissolution of every religious community calling itself a church." In *one* page, so convinced is he that "it would be well" if the multitudes, who have been deluded with a mockery of education, "would return to the haven of established forms,"

that he bursts forth in earnest prayer, "*Would to God that the erring or dubious thousands of the people might even now, and under almost any condition, fall back upon the Great Truths which the Reformation gave us, and which the National Church preserves!*" (p. 87). In another, he declares that these venerable national forms are "put in peril, for the sake of enforcing from the people *an irrational homage to certain excrescences which all men inwardly abhor*" (p. 89). In one page, he asks, "Who would exchange *the laborious benevolence of our times* for the intellectual power of past ages?" (p. 118). In another, he complains that "our sons are driven down the steep of unbelief; because, forsooth, *the jealousies of the imbecile, and the emoluments of the corrupt* must not be touched" (p. 90). In one page, he confesses that "nothing would be more calumnious than to say, that the principal articles of Christian belief are not now (and in very many quarters) clearly, ably, and faithfully announced; that there is no room for any such allegation or complaint; that, on the contrary, in a multitude of instances, how much soever we may be perplexed by the paucity of the fruits, *we should be quite unable to assign any considerable defect as the probable cause of the want of greater success*" (p. 45). In another, the same paucity of fruits is accounted for by the very allegation, than which (it is his own confession) *nothing can be more calumnious*;—"The people are daily falling off from Christianity, because *their highest welfare is not thought of—because their actual state is not considered—BECAUSE THE SALVATION OF MILLIONS OF SOULS IS A TRIVIAL MATTER*" (p. 90). So true is the remark of Lord Lyttelton (a remark, which, much as he has studied the Natural History of Enthusiasm, seems to have escaped the Author of Saturday Evening), that, "it is the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues infinitely below the merit of faith; and of all moral virtues to value that least which is most particularly enforced by St. Paul, *a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace.*"\* So true is the author's own confession, that, "alas, it is neither the private and personal enjoyment of the true sense of Scripture, that contents the dogmatist; nor the full liberty to prosecute his enquiries; nor the unbounded tolerance of his public labours. *None of these things satisfy his zeal: nor is the fervour of his spirit at all assuaged by what (one would think) the pleasing spectacle of the general Church (though erroneous, as he thinks, in particulars) yet possessed of the fundamental principles of piety.*" (p. 323). No! "Conscience—conscience is the word that is to be employed. The '*truth of God*' is to be asserted, and de-

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\* Lord Lyttelton's Conversion of St. Paul.

fended, at all risks; and the '*enemies of Heaven*,' the contumacious impugnors of '*Divine Authority*,' are to be cursed, avoided, extirpated!" (p. 317.)

We say nothing about the author's motives; we are reviewing, not his motives, but his book; and the tendency of *that* cannot surely be questioned. "We say not any such contention there is. We desire to proceed, as the Apostle doth, without the least offence. He saith not, if any *be* contentious, but if any *seem to be*. That any *be* contentious, it may not be said. They will deeply protest that, from their hearts, they hate contention, and desire to walk peaceably. Be not then, but *seem to be*."\* When his adherents begin to cry aloud, "We will be revenged: revenge; about—seek—burn—fire—kill—slay!—let not a traitor live!" Then may this second Antony step forth, with

" Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up  
To such a sudden flood of mutiny."†

We will take our leave of the author in his own words, when speaking of the licentious abuse of evangelical principles.

" If the vulgar, who with so greedy a relish of whatever is rank and fleshly, drink in corrupt doctrine, and actually avail themselves of the indulgence that flows from their creed, could be entirely deprived of all the countenance and aid they receive from those of their leaders whose error is altogether of an intellectual kind, and whose conduct is better than their doctrine, they must almost instantly fall back from their standing within the pale of Christianity, and must very quickly merge, without distinction, in the general mass of irreligion. *It is to the wily and perverse intelligence, the ingenuity and chicane, the false sublimity and pathos, of a few divine sophists, that the licentious vulgar of the Christian polity owe their very existence, as professors of the Gospel.*"—p. 236.

. . . . . " Eheu !  
Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam !"

\* Bishop Andrews's Sermon on 1 Cor xi. 16.

† " No doubt, my lords, like those pernicious writers who address themselves to the inflammable passions of youth, and having excited their feelings, affect, by a cold moral, to quench the flames they have kindled—doubtless, like them, the Association of Volunteers, after working on the passions of the multitude, might offer a cool exhortation to the men whom they had maddened, to pursue their objects by legal means. But, my lords, I do not give the agitators credit for so little sagacity and knowledge of human nature as to believe that their cold recommendation to obey the law will quench the flame they have excited."—*Lord Grey's Speech in the House of Lords. February 15, 1833.*



**ART. X.—A Sketch of the History of the Church of England.**  
By Thomas Vowler Short. 1832.

To write an ecclesiastical history is a work of no ordinary difficulty; and the difficulties which attend the task are much increased when the historian confines his view to some particular or national church. Such a writer, if he is sincere and steadfast in the profession of his own opinions, will find that he has to contend with peculiar prejudices, from which the general historian is, in a great measure, exempt. He will find that no small effort is required to enable him to encounter the prevailing sentiments of his own party, and to judge with candour respecting the tenets and the conduct of men of other communities. To desire the approbation of those with whom we are most closely connected is a feeling in itself natural and laudable; but this feeling, unless its workings are carefully watched, will continually prompt the ecclesiastical historian to make his history do the work of polemical disputation. Again: if he is cordially attached to that form of ecclesiastical polity under which he has been brought up, he will naturally adopt the dying wish of father Paul, "*Esto perpetua*;" and, forgetting that all things human are necessarily in a state of continual flux and change, and that the institutions of former ages are perpetually requiring to be adjusted and adapted to the altered habits and opinions of modern times, in his zeal not to disturb what antiquity has made venerable, he will be disposed to represent its worst abuses as something too sacred and inviolable for the rash hand of innovation to approach them; and whilst he inculcates the useful lesson, that it is wise to "let well alone," he will be apt, in effect, to maintain, that we should let alone that which is not well, and which, unless it is timely repaired and supported, will inevitably fall to the ground. There are periods in which those who admire things ancient, not for their intrinsic excellence, but merely for their age, require to be reminded of St. Paul's maxim, τὸ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ.

If there is any truth in these reflections it is evident, that the historian of a church, especially when he is a minister of that church whose history he undertakes to write, is placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty. In every historian we require a sound and discriminating judgment, patient research, the most inflexible adherence to truth, and the strictest impartiality: we require him to search into every document that can throw light on his subject; on all disputed points to examine carefully, and to weigh with caution the chief arguments that have been adduced by men of opposite principles and parties; to trace back to their real or probable causes those events which have had the most

enduring influence in the affairs of nations, and to arrange his narrative in such a manner as to render those important topics the most prominent and conspicuous features in his history. A mere annalist, or chronicler, who encumbers his narrative with a farrago of trivial incidents, and, by crowding his canvass with a multitude of unimportant figures, distracts the attention from the principal groups, no more deserves to be ranked with the masters of historical writing, than the painter of an Indian screen, or a Birmingham tea-board, to be classed with Corregio or Raphael. For this reason, historical writings, composed at a period very near to that in which the events related took place, especially in a country so divided by political and religious factions as our own, are generally of no other value than as they preserve the memory of occurrences, which might otherwise have perished, and thus supply materials for some future historian. It is hardly possible, that a contemporary writer should be thoroughly acquainted with the secret springs by which the motions of the political machine are impelled and regulated; that he should not attach a disproportionate importance to events which have passed before his eyes; and that his private feelings, or his personal interests should not incapacitate him from judging impartially respecting the characters of those who occupied the principal parts in the stage of public life, and whose conduct or opinions may have strongly affected his own individual welfare, or the fortunes of his party. In all these respects the ecclesiastical historian has need of more than an ordinary share of caution and self-controul. If, indeed, his object is confined to recording the history of by-gone days, he will have an easier task, but he will also meet with fewer allowances. We shall then hold him almost inexcusable unless he draws the characters of his chief actors in their true colours, sets them before us in their just proportions, and assigns to their conduct, in different emergencies, its due measure of censure or of praise; and we shall account him unworthy of his office, if, for any party purposes, he should exaggerate their merits, extenuate their faults, apologise for their vices, and endeavour either to weaken our abhorrence of their crimes, or our admiration of their virtues. We have also a right to expect, that, in estimating the actions and opinions of such persons, he should habitually take into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed; that he should throw himself back, as it were, into the times in which they flourished, and should endeavour to arrive at such a judgment of their conduct, as might probably have been formed by an impartial contemporary, whose mind, like theirs, was affected by the common prejudices of the age—he should, at least,



take these prejudices into the account, and not measure their actions by the more elevated standard of modern opinion.

The historian, to be generally useful, should likewise propose to himself some distinct and well-defined object, of which he should never permit his reader wholly to lose sight. An attentive inquirer, who has some definite end in view, will, indeed, always be able to select from any history, however written, those facts which serve to illustrate the object of his pursuit, or have any direct or remote connection with it. The philosophical reader will keep his eye fixed on those persons, and on those events which have had the greatest influence in advancing or retarding the moral interests of mankind. The attention of the statesman and the political economist will be directed to those which have promoted the wealth of nations, and by which their complicated forms of internal and external polity have been gradually arranged, and fixed on their existing bases: whilst others will make it their business to investigate the causes which have contributed to the growth and consolidation of ecclesiastical establishments and received forms of doctrine, together with those which have called into existence the religious sects and the political factions by which those doctrines and establishments have been threatened and assailed. But as the great majority of readers have neither the power to discriminate, nor the patience to separate the more important points from the mass of trivial matter in which they are involved, it is necessary that the historian should undertake this labour for them; and that he should indicate to those, who are too feeble, or too indolent to investigate the matter for themselves, from what small beginnings, and by what slow and almost imperceptible degrees, society, under all its various aspects, has been brought into a state of comparative order and perfection, or of danger and alarm. By thus exhibiting a distinct view of events that are passed, he enables us to conjecture, with a nearer approximation to truth, or, at least, to probability, what will be the consequences of passing events, and by what conduct on the part of its rulers the peace and happiness of a country, under any existing circumstances, may be established on the best and surest foundations.

Of the style that is best adapted to historical composition, it can scarcely be necessary to say, that it should be grave, and simple and perspicuous; and that the flowers of a gaudy and meretricious rhetoric are hardly more offensive when they are displayed from the pulpit, than when they are scattered over the pages of an ecclesiastical history.

In all these points we consider Mr. Short's Sketch of the  
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**Ecclesiastical History of this country to be a publication of great merit. The want of a clear and compendious view of the principal events in the history of our church has long been felt, and the want is well supplied in the work before us. Strongly attached to the doctrines and constitution of the church of which he is a member, but not blind to its defects, his judgment is singularly impartial towards those who conscientiously dissent from its discipline and doctrines; so impartial, indeed, that, with those whose opinions run into extremes, we almost suspect he will sometimes incur the suspicion of lukewarmness—an imputation, which, even were it merited, as in Mr. Short's case it most certainly is not, would, perhaps, be more tolerable than that of bigotry. On every important subject, the question is always discussed with candour, and the arguments on both sides are stated with perfect fairness. The compressed form into which the work is thrown, has, almost of necessity, constrained the author to confine his view to matters of the first importance; and, consequently, the attention of the reader is never drawn aside from objects of the highest interest, or distracted among the perplexities of an ill-arranged narrative of doubtful facts and trivial occurrences. The author has been careful, in almost every instance, to give exact references to the authorities on which his statements are founded; and though his "Sketch" will not supersede, and is not intended to supersede, the necessity of consulting those original documents and ampler volumes, in which the parts of the picture are filled up in greater detail, it will be of use to the student of our ecclesiastical history, by serving as a guide to direct him in the perusal of those more copious stores of information, and by teaching him the habit of arranging systematically the knowledge which he may acquire from such sources. The style too is simple, flowing, and natural, and though it is sometimes inaccurate and negligent, never offends the sober judgment by its affectation of metaphorical prettiness, and rhetorical antitheses.**

It is fair, however, that we should allow Mr. Short himself to inform his readers with what design this work was written, and what they may expect to gather from it. He tells us, then, in his preface, that the professed object of these pages is to facilitate the studies of young men, who are preparing themselves for the offices of the church through their academical pursuits. But it is evident that a work of this kind, if it be well written, will be hardly of less benefit to other persons, who are desirous of acquiring a competent degree of knowledge in the history and constitution of our church, before they presume either to lay a rash and innovating hand on the sacred edifice, or refuse to repair its breaches.

The deficiency of such knowledge, which Mr. Short professes

with great candour, that he discovered in himself, after he had been admitted into orders, is, we apprehend, shared by multitudes, both without and within the church, who would be very unwilling to make the same acknowledgment, and have, very possibly, no suspicion of the extent of their own ignorance. To all such persons, especially to those who are designed for the work of the ministry in our established church, we earnestly recommend the perusal of these two volumes. To those also of her opponents, who are capable of reading them in the same spirit of meekness, and the same thorough-going love of truth and fairness in which they have been written, we would recommend them no less strongly; in the full assurance that both parties may be benefited by the reflections to which this history is calculated to give birth; that those on the one side may thereby be induced to make more reasonable allowances for the imperfections, either in her constitution or practice, which are inseparable from all institutions administered by human beings; and that those on the other side, who admire and love her, admitting these imperfections, and learning to avoid the errors of their predecessors, may lend their friendly aid to correct her abuses and to supply her defects.

The work itself, which is comprised in two moderate octavo volumes, consists of eighteen chapters, with five appendices, all of which are done exceeding well. The subject of the first appendix is the "Dissolution of Monasteries;" the second is on the "Doctrines prevalent at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.;" the third is a very clear "History of the Thirty-nine Articles;" the fourth, a "History of the vernacular translation of the Bible;" and the last, an account of the compilation of our reformed Liturgy, and the various changes which our public offices of devotion have undergone, before the Prayer Book was brought into its present state. To many persons these dissertations will appear to be the most interesting and important parts of the whole history, and there are very few candidates for ordination who may not gather from them the most valuable information. There is a sixth appendix, containing some interesting particulars, from Strype's Ecclesiastical Memoirs, respecting the death of Cranmer, with some notices from Fox's Martyrs, relating to the last acts in the lives of the reformers Bainham, Saunders, Frith and Tyn-dall. To the whole are annexed some "Chronological Tables," which are compiled with great care, together with six "Genealogical Tables" of the kings of England, from the Saxon Egbert to his present Majesty.

The first chapter, and this may be taken as a specimen of Mr. Short's sound judgment, embraces a period of at least nine hundred years, reckoning from the first preaching of Christianity in

Britain to the Conquest, A.D. 1066. When it is stated, that this island was blessed at a very early period by the dissemination of Christianity, possibly through the preaching of St. Paul; that it is certain, that the Gospel was generally received in this country before the end of the second century; that episcopacy was from the first established among us; and that the purity of the British Church was first corrupted by the diffusion of the Pelagian heresy, and its flourishing condition destroyed by the arrival of the Saxons, who were in their turn converted to the faith, by the labours of Augustine and his coadjutors, towards the close of the sixth century; when this is stated, but little remains that is worth the gleaning of an historian, who, in his pursuit of truth, cannot allow himself to draw certain conclusions from doubtful facts. Eusebius, the best of all authorities on points of ecclesiastical history, expressly asserts, in a passage which Mr. Short has quoted, that "the Apostles went even to the extremities of the habitable world, some of them to India, and others to the British isles beyond the ocean;" and yet, in the teeth of this direct assertion, and of the testimony of Theodoret, which is no less clear, and that of Clement of Rome, which is hardly doubtful, (for "St. Paul," he says, "preached the Gospel to the utmost bounds of the west,") many Roman Catholic writers have maintained, that Christianity was not introduced into Britain till the reign of Lucius, about the year 167: as if they thought, that when they had proved, what they are far enough from proving, that the Gospel was first received into this country from Rome, it followed, as a matter of necessary consequence, that the British Church must be for ever subject to the Roman See, and obliged to yield to all its usurpations, and to communicate in all its errors and corruptions.

As far as the British Church is concerned, the Roman Catholic writers have manifestly the worst of the argument: for the conduct of the British bishops, in their conferences with Augustine, proves unanswerably that they did not acknowledge the supreme authority of the Roman Church—which was in reality the true point at issue between them—and, consequently, affords the strongest presumption, that the British Church was not originally planted by Roman missionaries; or, if it were, that, in the earlier age, the doctrine of papal supremacy was not yet admitted as an article of the Christian faith, much less as one, which, in the words of Bellarmine, is the "*Summa rei Christianæ*," an article, on the belief of which the very sum and substance of Christianity depends.

But then, on the other hand, to make matters even, though it is certain that the Saxon Church was founded by Gregory the

Great, through the pious labours of Augustine and his coadjutors in that important mission, we have writers of our own communion, who have managed to persuade themselves, and have endeavoured to persuade others, that the Saxon Church acknowledged no dependency on the See of Rome, and kept itself free from the doctrinal corruptions of that great mother of spiritual harlotry. In short, they would have us believe, that these barbarians, in the midst of the increasing darkness which surrounded them, enjoyed the pure and unsullied light of the Gospel, and would have been perfectly willing to have subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, had they been proposed to their acceptance. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, who, as far as the dependence of the Saxon Church and its doctrinal agreement with the Church of Rome are concerned, have undoubtedly the best of argument, maintain with just as much confidence, and just as little reason, that the Anglo-Saxons embraced all the doctrines which the Church of Rome inculcates in the present day, and were as accomplished papists, as if the bishops, who meet in the synod of Whitby, had been fathers of the Tridentine council. The truth is, we hold it to be a matter of the least possible importance what doctrines were maintained by these ignorant barbarians, or in what degree they submitted to the papal supremacy. Dispute how we will about it, it will still remain certain, that the Pope not only claimed, but exercised the supreme power over the English Church; and with respect to doctrines, the only point of view in which the opinions of the Saxon Church are of the slightest importance, is, that they serve to prove, what no one questions, that the doctrinal corruptions of Christianity were in the days of Gregory I. few and trivial, and that the spiritual authority of the Papal See was not only tolerable but beneficial, when compared with the grosser errors and the tyrannical usurpation of a later age. The damning sin of the Papal Church is, not that she wandered from the truth during the night of ignorance and darkness, but that since the mist has been dispelled, and the light of knowledge has been restored to the world, she still adheres to her former errors for the sake of asserting her own infallibility. To her, however, as the instrument of her conversion, this country, in common with all Europe, owes a debt of inextinguishable gratitude, though the wrongs she afterwards inflicted on us may cause us to forget it, or make us argue that the debt is cancelled. We might have ridiculed the folly of a Jacobite pamphleteer, had he endeavoured to persuade us, that it was our duty to submit to the tyranny of James II., because of the benefits which the patriotism of Alfred had conferred on our country; but we should feel emotions much stronger than those of ridicule towards him, who

should argue, that we might be well excused from paying honour to Alfred's memory, because of the mal-administration of succeeding sovereigns.

Nearly the latter half of Mr. Short's first chapter is occupied in examining the principal differences, in point of doctrine, between the Anglo-Saxon and the Reformed English Church—such as prayer for the dead, purgatory, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of images and relics, and, connected with this custom, the abuse of pilgrimages, confession and penance, the celibacy of the clergy, and monastic establishments. All these questions are discussed with perfect fairness, and though but slightly handled, are treated in a manner that must render them interesting to the general reader. In some instances, however, he hardly does justice to the force of the Protestant arguments; as, for example, in treating of the celibacy of the clergy, having said, that “it is not clear, even now, whether the Church of Rome esteem it an apostolical tradition or an ecclesiastical law; i. e. whether it cannot, or can be dispensed with by the authority of the Church”—he adds—“a Protestant would say, that no church can possess the right of depriving a priest of his orders, in consequence of his marrying, because such a step would not be sanctioned by Scripture.” We can only express our hope, that few Protestants would have recourse to so silly an argument. The Church of Rome has a perfect right to enjoin, that the priests of her communion shall remain unmarried; and to require an express sanction of Scripture for such a matter of ecclesiastical discipline is at once absurd and mischievous. The expediency of the rule is quite another matter, still more so its necessity. The Church of Rome itself, whatever opinion on the subject it may now maintain, formerly allowed, that the celibacy of the priesthood was not necessary to the preservation of the sacerdotal character, when, in the Fourth Lateran Council, she decreed against the incontinency of the clergy, that “those clerks, who, according to the custom of their country, are permitted to marry, ought to be punished with greater severity if they become libertines.” It should be remembered, that in this Council the bishops of the Greek Church were present; and that Church, so far from prohibiting the marriage of the clergy, interprets literally the precept of St. Paul, that a Presbyter should not be the husband of more than one wife, into a command that he should once be married.

On the endowments of the Saxon Church Mr. Short has treated with more than his accustomed brevity: Respecting the pretended grants of tithes made by Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred, to which it is the fashion to appeal as the origin of the payment of tithes in England, his opinion is not very clear, nor satisfactory.



It is absolutely certain that tithes were paid a century, at least, before the time of Ethelwulf. The advocates of a quadripartite division of tithes refer us to the epistle of Gregory to Augustine. For a tripartite division of them we are sent back to a canonical epistle of Alfric's. Both these authorities prove that tithes were paid, and render it probable, that before the country was divided into parishes, and ministers were fixed in each to take the exclusive charge of their respective flocks, the tithes and oblations of the people were paid solely to the bishop, who took one part for himself, bestowed another on the small body of the clergy, who then resided with him at his cathedral, and applied the remainder to the reparation of the Church, and the relief of the poor. But as soon as the country began to be divided into parishes, and the lords of manors to build and endow churches, the bishops relinquished their right to the tithes, which they resigned to the use of the parochial minister. In these endowments the lords and patrons of the respective parishes most commonly exempted their own demesne from the payment of tithes—from whence we may conclude, with a near approach to certainty, that the grant of Ethelwulf was neither a donation of the tithes of all his realm—for these had been granted before, nor yet, as Mr. Short surmises, a liberation of his own possessions from every royal service and contribution—but that it was a grant of the tithes of the royal demesnes, which had hitherto been exempted from that payment. It is probable, however, that Ethelwulf granted two charters; one in 854, by which nothing was given but the tithes of the royal demesnes; another, in the following year, made by the consent of the bishops and nobles, and all the people, in which the payment of tithes was made universal, and obligatory throughout all the kingdom, and the clergy were exempted, as far as tithes were concerned, from all feudal services and taxes. We have examined this point merely as a question of antiquarian curiosity, rather than as being of the slightest importance towards determining the legal right of the Church to its present endowments. This right depends not in the smallest degree on the grants of Ethelwulf. The numerous laws which were made both here and in other countries to regulate the payment of tithes, before and since the reign of this Saxon, establish the right on incontrovertible grounds, and prove, at the same time, how difficult it has always been to enforce it. The clamour that now exists against this payment is raised chiefly by persons who object to tithes, not as a rent-charge on the land, but as a payment made in support of an established Church; or else by persons, who think all religion mere imposture and priestcraft, who would leave Christianity to its own resources, and call every shilling misapplied that is bestowed in

supporting its ministers, and inculcating its doctrines. But, beside these, whose attempts all good men would unite to defeat, there are others, who feel that this imposition is a severe check to agricultural improvement; and there are few of the parochial clergy who have not learnt by their own experience, that this mode of provision is exposed to strong practical objections, and who have not found it expedient to relinquish a large proportion of their dues, that they might not be brought into hostile collision with their parishioners, and thus, in great measure, destroy their own usefulness, and render their ministry of none effect. On all these accounts we earnestly hope, that the designs which have been set on foot for a permanent commutation of this payment will not be permitted to drop. Whilst we leave it to the wisdom of the legislature to devise the best mode in which this commutation may be effected equitably and safely, we may be allowed to express an opinion, that any measure of this nature will hardly meet the exigencies of the case, unless it extends to all tithes, without exception; and that though it should be rather enabling than compulsory, it should not be left in the power of individual caprice, cupidity, or prejudice, to defeat its objects.

Mr. Short's two next chapters carry us through a period of 443 years, from the conquest, 1066, to the preaching of Wicliff, 1356, and the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. 1509. They contain a just and philosophical analysis of the various causes which gradually raised the jurisdiction of the Roman see to such a height of power, as to render the princes of Europe little better than its slaves and vassals, and of the causes of its decline and downfall. It was under such circumstances,

*Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret  
In terris, oppressa gravi sub religione,*

that the intrepidity of Wicliff gave the first fatal blow to the monster that oppressed the world. The wealth and immunities, and, consequently, the power of the clergy, had attained to an enormous growth under the protection of the Saxon princes, and soon began to excite the jealousy and the cupidity of the Norman sovereigns. These immunities, indeed, were sufficiently embarrassing; for at the Conquest, it is said, that seven-fifteenths, *i. e.* nearly one half of all the land in the kingdom, was in the hands of spiritual persons; and the whole of this property was exempt from almost all the military services and taxes with which other lands were burdened. William, therefore, determined at once to make the property of the church liable to the same feudal services which were exacted from his other subjects, and, with his accustomed vigour, took other decisive measures to bring the clergy completely into subjection to his own authority; for ex-

ample, he forbade churchmen, without his express permission, to leave the kingdom, to acknowledge any one as pope, to publish letters from Rome, to excommunicate any persons connected with himself, to hold councils, or to make canons. But the successor of William, not content to rule the church with a strong arm, and to prevent its encroachment on the civil power, was continually occupied in acts of spoliation and injustice, and in abusing his regal patronage, by applying the temporalities of the church to the augmentation of his own revenue, and selling its preferments to the highest bidder. Before the conquest, as Mr. Short informs us in a note, the temporalities, during a vacancy, had been placed in the hands of the diocesan, or archbishop of the province. Under the conqueror, they had been sequestered in the hands of churchmen, who were forced to account for the proceeds; but Rufus kept them in his own hands, or let them out to farm for his profit. At his death he was enjoying the income of one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys. Such acts of encroachment and aggression, against which no ecclesiastical authority in England was able to contend, compelled the clergy to seek for protection from the court of Rome, and rendered the interference of the Pope not only necessary for the preservation of the church, but really beneficial to a large portion of the people. Any one who considers carefully the history of this period, in which a continual struggle was carried on between the ecclesiastical and civil power, will agree in the truth of Mr. Short's remark, that the influence of Rome owed its origin and extent chiefly to the vices and oppressions of the kings, who were in their turn the victims of it; and that the court of Rome would most certainly never have acquired that power, which was afterwards so misused, if the commencement of its exercise had not been really useful to many persons labouring under oppression. The most patriotic churchman, with a full conviction of the evils arising from such oppression, might justly have had recourse to any power which could redress the wrongs inflicted on the body to which he belonged; especially when his own sovereigns continually appealed to the same tribunal for support, and acknowledged its authority whenever they could make it subservient to their own interests. Thus William invaded this country under the sanction of a papal grant, and availed himself of papal legates to eject the Saxon clergy from their preferments. Henry II. accepted Ireland as a gift from the Pope; and John, when he was driven to extremities by his refractory barons, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of Innocent III., and had his crown again restored to him by the legate Pandulf. This last act of pusillanimity raised the papal power to the greatest height; and the

influence of the court of Rome, uniformly exercised to aggrandize the church, and to repress the injustice of the crown, would have become wholly irresistible, had not the insolence of power rendered her regardless of the only means by which that power could be permanently upheld, till, at length, the vices and corruption of the clergy became so scandalous, and their pride and profligacy so intolerable, that the illusion of public opinion was destroyed, and, being deprived of this support, their overthrow was inevitable.

A striking account of the political abuses of the church of Rome will be found in Chapter III. of the work before us; and the picture, by no means overcharged, which Mr. Short gives of the corrupt state of the church in this kingdom, both with respect to the conduct of the clergy and the doctrines which they maintained, shows that it was morally impossible that its reformation could be long delayed. We will extract the passage, not for any particular merit in its composition, but because it will afford our readers a very fair criterion of the general style in which the work is written.

"The pride and luxury of the higher ecclesiastics was excessive; they vied with temporal lords in all the vanities of life, and men who had forsworn the world, were on their journeys often seen accompanied by fourscore richly mounted attendants. Celibacy, which was strictly imposed by the ordinances of the church, led the clergy into divers snares and temptations; and the canons against incontinency are so numerous, that their very number proves their inefficacy. Those who had the cure of souls not only neglected their duty with regard to preaching, and instructing the common people, but most of the higher stations in the state were held by churchmen; many filled menial offices in the establishments of their patrons; and their ignorance was frequently so excessive, that numbers of them were unacquainted with the Ten Commandments, and could hardly pronounce correctly the words for the performance of the sacraments. These causes gave rise to the mendicant orders, who infested the church chiefly in the thirteenth century. They pretended to an extraordinary call from God to reform the world, and correct the faults of the secular clergy. To this end they put on a mighty show of zeal for the good of men's souls, and of contempt of the world; accused the secular clergy of famishing the souls of men, calling them *dumb dogs* and *cursed hirelings*; maintained that evangelical poverty became the ministers of the gospel; that it was unlawful for them to possess any thing, or to retain propriety in any worldly goods. As for the public orders of the church, they would not be tied to them, alleging that themselves being wholly spiritual could not be obliged to any carnal ordinances. They broke in every where upon the parochial clergy; usurped their office; in all populous and rich places, set up altars of their own; withdrew the people from communion with their parish priest; would scarce allow the hopes of salvation to any but their own disciples, whom they bewitched with great pretences of sanctity,

and assiduity in preaching. These artifices had raised their reputation and interest so high in a few years, that they wanted very little to ruin the secular clergy, and therewith the church. But in less than an age the cheat of these impostors became manifest to all men. They procured to their societies incredible riches; built to themselves stately palaces; infinitely surpassed the viciousness of which they had themselves (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy; and, long before the reformation, became the most infamous and contemptible part of the church of Rome.

“Nor were the doctrines of this period less exceptionable than the political or private characters of the churchmen. Idolatry had become excessive, the people neglected the weightier matters of the law, and placed their hopes of acceptance with God on pilgrimages, which were esteemed the more meritorious in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered on the way. Another method by which the beguiled multitude hoped to obtain for themselves the favour of Heaven, consisted in their purchasing an absolution for their sins from the chief minister of the church, who claimed to himself the power of binding and loosing, without reference to the conduct of those who made themselves the objects of these papal remissions: not that the infallible head of the Christian community could act contrary to the ordinances of God, but that the Almighty would ratify his servant's decree, whatever might be its nature. The doctrine of transubstantiation must not here be omitted, which subsequently formed so ordinary a subject of persecution. It was asserted, that under the form of the bread and wine, the very same body of Christ was presented which had been born of Mary, and had suffered on the cross, and that the elements after consecration no longer retained their material substance, while it was added, that he who would not believe this, would have disbelieved Christ to be the Son of God, had he seen him in the form of a crucified servant.

“These numerous abuses, much as they must have injured the commonalty, and offended those who, from their situation, were most capable of judging of their destructive tendency, seemed to admit of no remedy, since the interests of the parties concerned appeared to be so much at variance with each other. Whatever might be the wish of her conscientious members, the church of Rome was little likely to reform abuses productive of so many temporal advantages to herself.”—pp. 79—83.

Against these abuses Wicliff stood forward as the champion of Christianity. He was not, indeed, the first who had raised his voice against the corruptions of the church, for Robert Greathead, or Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, more generally known by the name of Arma-chanus, had gone before him; and the former of these, on his death-bed, endeavoured to convince his friend, John of St. Giles, that the pope was antichrist. To those who have not considered that the holy scriptures were, at that time, to the people a sealed book, it may seem a matter of surprise, that the abuses of the church were first brought to light by men who lived within the

pale of its ministry, and were distinguished members of the ecclesiastical body. No churchmen of their own day were equal in piety and learning and masculine vigour of understanding to Fitzralph and Grostête; and of Wicliff, it is confessed, that the powers of his mind, the acuteness of his wit, the depth of his genius, his philosophical and scholastic acquirements, and his ability in disputation were of the very highest order; and all these great qualities were, perhaps, surpassed by the singular intrepidity and honesty with which he assailed the corrupt practices and doctrines of the church, not only when he was backed by the power of the Duke of Lancaster in his attacks on her temporal incroachments and spiritual supremacy, but when he was deserted and stood alone in his opposition to her doctrinal errors.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy in the time of Wicliff presented a spectacle, which, could he have viewed it, would have struck a Christian of the earlier ages with no less astonishment than sorrow; and considering the pride and pomp, the rapacity and luxury, the secularity and sloth which prevailed among the higher orders of the clergy, and their general contempt and ignorance of the principles and spirit of the Gospel, it is by no means surprising that the ardent mind of the indignant reformer should have carried him beyond the bounds of strict sobriety, and that, in his desire to abate so insufferable a nuisance, he should have denied the apostolicity of the episcopal order. That the gradations which were subsequently introduced into this order, and the titles by which its members were distinguished, of popes, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and suffragans, together with the inferior ranks of deans, archdeacons, and other officials of the church, were of mere human invention, it is impossible to deny. But every unprejudiced mind may easily perceive, that, in the altered state and condition of the Church, all these distinctions of rank, which in its primitive state would have been absurd and impracticable, might be expedient, if not necessary, for the due preservation of order, and for maintaining a just correspondence between the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of society. If entire Christian nations could be brought back into the same state which existed among the small and poor communities of the primitive Christians, the ministers of the Church would almost of necessity be reduced to the condition of apostolic poverty; yet even then, for the maintenance of unity, the presbyters and deacons of the Church must be placed under the superintendence and controul of some superior officers, who, by whatever name they might be called, would, in fact, exercise the episcopal office. This Wicliff saw; and, however violent and censurable his language may sometimes be, however dangerous the opinions which



he occasionally advanced respecting the principles of church government, he expressly acknowledges the necessity and the sacramental character of episcopal ordination. His notions, however, respecting the character and office of a bishop were at best confused and contradictory. We shall probably approximate the truth in saying that he did not intend to deny either the antiquity or usefulness of the office, but only meant to assert, that such bishops as were in his day were very different from those which the Apostles ordained; and that as they had derived their secular wealth and power from the misplaced munificence of emperors and kings, it was lawful and right that these secular princes should resume the wealth, which the proud lords of the Church had so grossly abused. That he, or any Christian man, should have looked with loathing and sickness of heart on a spiritual hierarchy so totally corrupt and worldly-minded, and on a body of the lower clergy and religious orders so generally negligent and ignorant of their sacred duties, as those which existed in the fourteenth century, was as natural and inevitable, as that he should have longed for some nearer approach to the simplicity and purity of a better age. But when he advocated the justice of reducing the clerical body to its primitive poverty, and to the primitive orders of presbyters and deacons, whatever allowance we may feel it right to make for the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, we shall be forced to acknowledge, that the actual reformation of the Church could not with safety have been trusted to his hands. With his lack of temper, and an indignant abhorrence of existing abuses, which totally blinded his calmer judgment, he would have made wild work of it. It is true, indeed, that he did not maintain the mischievous opinion which has been imputed to him, that it was simply lawful for the secular government to resume its grants to the Church; but he maintained, what cannot be denied, though it may be hazardous to insist on it, without using the greatest caution in propounding the maxim, that gross breaches of clerical duty, and habitual misuse of the ecclesiastical endowments, may make it lawful for the supreme power in the state, as a trustee for the church, to take into its own hands the administration of her temporalities. In a passage quoted by Mr. Short, Wicliff says, "*licet regibus in casibus limitatis a jure auferre temporalia a viris ecclesiasticis, ipsis habitualiter abutentibus.*" However just this maxim may be—and we are by no means disposed to question it—it is evident, that in its application these limitations will constantly be overlooked, and that those whose interest it is to rob the Church will seldom have much difficulty in finding plausible excuses to justify their spoliation. How Wicliff's principles would actually work, when-

ever they were called into practice, might easily have been foreseen; and the conduct of Henry VIII., who brought them into pretty extensive operation, has left an example which a wise and Christian government will be as careful to avoid, as the enemies of religion and order would be ready to imitate:

The charge that has been brought against Wicliff by certain modern Roman-Catholics, and urged by them with the greatest confidence, that he held all dominion to be founded in grace, appears to have about the same degree of truth to support it as that other monstrous and absurd calumny, that he maintained, that God ought to be subject to the devil. No writer, of that or any other age, more expressly asserts the necessity of obedience to civil government, or defends the rights of property more decidedly than Wicliff. His great aim was to humble the pride of the Church, and to bring it under subjection to the civil power.

His principles spread themselves rapidly and widely on every side, and took root deeply and firmly in the land. But not all the tracts he wrote to expose the vices of the clergy, or to bring home to the people the leading doctrines of the Gospel, produced half the spirit of inquiry, or tended half so powerfully to dispose men to remedy the existing abuses under which they suffered, as his great work of translating the Scriptures of the New Testament into the vernacular tongue. Unlearned and unstable men may pervert the Scriptures, and wrest them to their own destruction; by the dangerous tendency of their fanatical principles they may alarm the moderate; and by the ridiculous absurdity of their enthusiastic practices may expose to the scorn of infidels the serious profession of religion; but in spite of all these evils—and they are great—the general diffusion and knowledge of the Scriptures will be attended in every country with invaluable blessings: for wherever the Bible is habitually studied, and referred to as the sole standard of faith, and the chief guide of practice, it is hardly possible that any very grievous error, with respect either to life or doctrine, should long keep its ground; or that the spirit of Christianity should not gradually and imperceptibly make its way, till the principles of civil government and of national law are brought into a closer alliance and conformity with the purer precepts of the Gospel.

“The steps which had been made towards a reformation,” says Mr. Short, in his concluding remarks on this portion of his history, “were many, though they were little observed perhaps by the majority of the most intelligent among the clergy. The wealth of the clergy and the secular nature of their pursuits were observed, and called forth the animadversions of those who wished to remedy existing abuses, and who were not friendly to the established hierarchy. The Scriptures

had been translated, and were read, not to any great extent indeed, but they were read, and might be procured in English. There were many individuals ready to propagate the truths of the Gospel, and to undergo the greatest sufferings in the cause which they had espoused, and these, not only men of education, but many of them possessed of power and rank. The dawn of reformation was still, as far as human eye could distinguish, far distant; there was still much to be encountered and borne; but the eye of faith in Wiclif clearly foresaw that Christianity must be restored to its just authority. Perhaps, in examining the steps which led to the Reformation, too much stress is sometimes laid on the individuals who stood forward in the cause; and the succession of them, and connexion between those who followed each other, is traced with a minuteness which tends rather to cloud the truth, than to place it in the clearest light. Let any one study the word of God while he beholds the systems of error and knavery which have been pretended to be built on it, and the necessity of reformation will need no other light than that which Providence has furnished. Greathead and Fitzralph, Wiclif and Pecock, Sawtre and Lord Cobham, may have advanced the Reformation among us; but he who will behold the truth must look beyond these instruments to their great Artificer. The flame which was kindled among the Albigenses, and in the valleys of Piedmont, may have lent its brightness to dispel the thick darkness which enveloped us; but we shall fail to derive its greatest advantage from the study of ecclesiastical history, if we turn not our eyes to that brightness which no human device can extinguish, and look not up to the true church of Christ, built upon the Rock of truth, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail."—pp. 117, 118.

Mr. Short's two next chapters, IV. and V. conduct us through the important period of the reign of Henry VIII. from 1509 to 1547. He commences with the very just remark, that "though the spirit of reform was amply spread throughout the people, yet unless other circumstances had tended to promote a change, and to weaken the power of the Church, it is probable that this body might still have been able to suppress those innovations which sapped the foundations on which the superstructure of its wealth and authority was raised." Among the causes which prepared the nation for such a change, and enabled them to cast off their blind obedience to the dictates of the Church, the progress of literature, and the growing acquaintance of the people with the Scriptures, undoubtedly occupy a principal place; but this change was produced by the difficulties which Henry met with from the court of Rome in the business of his divorce from Catharine of Arragon—difficulties which he was determined at all hazards to surmount, but which a monarch of a character less decided and inflexible would not have dared to encounter. The final separation, therefore, of the Church of England from Rome, and her existence as a distinct and independent body, must be

dated from the period of the divorce. Her reformation in point of doctrine, though much was done to remove superstitious error, only commenced during the reign of Henry, who, in the chief articles of faith, lived and died a bigoted papist, and would not suffer any of his subjects, however great or however humble, (as he showed in the instances of his last consort and of John Lambert,) to dissent from his theological opinions. But the personal character of this monarch, together with the motives by which he was influenced in obtaining his divorce, in his final rupture with the Pope, in his assumption of the supremacy in his own person, in his promulgating articles of faith, in his suspension of the whole bench of bishops and compelling them to acknowledge that the power of ordination and of exercising any other acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from the crown, and held by them during his pleasure—all these things, how greatly soever they may affect our estimate of Henry and his Roman Catholic prelates, are matters, which, as members of the Church of England, we are in no degree required to defend. His motives in rejecting the papal supremacy, and assuming it in his own person, may have been utterly indefensible; and yet the act itself may admit of the most complete defence on the grounds both of reason and of Scripture. Thus, likewise, in the dissolution of the religious houses, his conduct may have been in the highest degree tyrannical and rapacious—we are not concerned to justify it—and yet we may be justly grateful to that good Providence which employed the evil passions of this violent man to effect its gracious purposes, when we perceive, that the destruction of these strong holds of popery enabled us to free our necks from that yoke which bowed us to the very dust, and which was become too heavy for endurance. The tempest, the tornado, the earthquake, and the hurricane, are, in themselves, terrible visitations, but they call into active operation the slumbering energies of nature, and awaken her from her morbid sleep.

To this portion of his historical sketch Mr. Short has attached two very valuable Appendices, both of which deserve the particular attention of his readers. The first (A) contains a very able essay on the dissolution of the monasteries; the second (B) an exposition of the state of religious opinions in the Church at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. This abstract is made from works put forth by authority, and Mr. Short, in arranging it, has very judiciously adopted the order which is observed in our Thirty-nine Articles, as affording to the theological student the readiest means of discovering the points in which they differ. The result of his careful and candid analysis of these works, viz. the Articles devised by the King's Highness, the Institution of a

Christian Man, commonly called the Bishop's Book, and the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, commonly called the King's Book, is, that in point of doctrine very little had been effected; and that the only real point gained was the denial of the Pope's supremacy, and the infallibility of the Church of Rome—"a doctrine which prevents investigation, and hangs like a dead weight on every improvement or reform which religion or prudence would desire to introduce." But this barrier was broken down by the ambition and violence of Henry VIII., and his death removed the chief impediment that now remained to the introduction of a purer profession of Christianity.

In the succeeding reign of Edward VI., the history of which, as far as the interests of religion are concerned, is given in the sixth chapter, the work of reformation in the Church of England may almost be said to have been completed. For the standard of her faith, and the formalities of her public worship were then so far settled, that they have never since that time received any material alterations. By an enactment which took place at the dissolution of the monasteries provision had been made for each of the ejected monks, till they could be portioned off into vacant benefices; and as it thus became the interest of the Court of Augmentations, and of others, who, having purchased monastic property, were subject to these payments, to introduce these persons into fresh preferments, almost every vacant living was occupied by teachers, who were strongly attached to the ancient system, and whose prejudices led them to resist every measure of reform as a dangerous innovation. In this state of things, the privy-council, in whose hands the direction of public affairs was placed during the king's minority, determined to use the authority which they possessed in order to carry on the Reformation of the Church. Curates were enjoined to remove all superstitious images. To ensure the preaching of a sounder doctrine the first book of Homilies was published, and care was taken to enforce its use. It was ordered that the Eucharist should be received in both kinds, and that no private masses should be celebrated. Measures were taken to ensure a more religious observance of the Lord's day, and to put an end to the abuse of churches, which were made the scenes of riot and confusion. A bill was brought into Parliament, and finally passed, to enable the clergy to marry; the Common Prayer was revised; and a confession of the faith of the Church of England was drawn up in Forty-two Articles, which in no important respect differ from the Thirty-nine, which were published in the reign of Elizabeth, and have ever since continued to be received by the Church of England.

In the concluding sections of this chapter, the character of Edward VI., the state of the Church, and the objections which have been made to the Erastianism of the Church of England, and to her "parliamentary religion," together with some other questions of equal moment, are discussed by Mr. Short with a calmness and impartiality that are rarely to be found in an ecclesiastical historian. And these rare qualities are exhibited by him to no less advantage in his remarks on the vexations and persecution to which Gardiner and other of the Roman Catholic bishops were exposed, and the sacrilegious spoliations of the Protector Somerset—a bad and ambitious man, towards whom he is disposed to show somewhat too much indulgence.

In the reign of Mary, who, from the first moment in which she obtained possession of the throne, determined on the reconciliation of England with the Court of Rome, and the complete re-establishment of the Papal religion, all the Acts of Edward VI. relating to the church were immediately annulled, and a severe persecution was set on foot against the authors and favourers of the late reformation. During this calamitous period of five years and four months, besides a countless number who were cruelly imprisoned or driven into exile on account of their religious opinions, no less than two hundred and seventy-five persons were brought to the stake; and though the greater number of these victims to intolerance were taken from the lower ranks of life, yet neither age nor sex were spared; and neither ignorance nor learning could save from the fires of persecution those who refused to submit their consciences to the infallible dictation of the Church of Rome—nay, to such a height of cruelty did she carry her inhuman bigotry, that in the last year of her reign a proclamation was published forbidding the people even to pray for the sufferers, or to speak to them. This absurd and inhuman order was promulgated at the burning of seven Protestants in Smithfield; but so little effect did it produce, that when the fire was kindled, one Bentham, a London clergyman, fearlessly declared to the spectators that the sufferers were most assuredly the people of God, and as such, deserving of their good wishes and their prayers; and having thus said, he immediately gave a proof of the courage he recommended, exclaiming, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them." To this intrepid prayer so large a multitude of the bystanders replied "Amen," that the officers who attended the execution did not dare to arrest a single offender.

We have adduced this anecdote from Foxe, because it shows, in a very striking manner, that the fires of persecution, which burnt so fiercely during this reign, instead of extirpating the



principles of the Reformers, served rather to shed a glory round their deaths, and to enlist the affections of the people on the side of that cause for which they suffered. But if, in this respect, the cruel deaths which so many faithful martyrs of Christ endured powerfully tended to recommend the cause for which they were content so patiently to die, in other respects the dread of persecution, which drove so many adherents of the Reformation in this country to take refuge among the Protestant Churches of Germany, was attended with consequences which long continued to exercise a most injurious influence in the Church of England, and from the effects of which she has never yet recovered. Mary was unhappy in the counsellors by whose advice she was guided in her endeavours to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion; but it was ultimately happy for the country, and for the cause of truth, that she was directed by a sanguinary bigot like Bonner, and a calculating hard-hearted politician like Gardiner, instead of committing the interests of the Papacy to the gentleness of Cardinal Pole, a man in whom, as in Fisher and in More, the brightest ornaments of their age and party, the most inflexible constancy of religious profession was tempered by a high degree of Christian charity, which, in that age, few so well understood or practised.

The three last chapters of Mr. Short's first volume contain a rapid sketch of the state of religion in this country during the reign of Elizabeth, from 1558 to 1603. In reviewing this most important portion of our ecclesiastical history there are three points to which our attention is principally directed, viz. the measures which were taken for the establishment of the Church of England on its present basis; the manner in which the Roman Catholics were treated; and the means that were adopted to suppress the growing sect of the puritans. The queen, in the commencement of her reign, appears to have acted with great moderation and prudence, and to have discharged the part of a wise and vigorous ruler, in striving as much as possible to conciliate all her subjects of every persuasion, and to check that turbulent spirit of innovation and impatient eagerness of reform, which would have swept away at one stroke all real or imaginary abuses, and, together with them, almost every thing that was worth preserving. There can be no question but that, at this time, though she was determined to support the Protestant religion and to bring back the Church of England to the state in which her brother had left it, she was sincerely desirous of gaining the affections of her Roman Catholic subjects, by avoiding all such violent alterations in the faith or practice of the Church as would have rendered their union with it hopeless. But the

moderation of Elizabeth was met by the most open and decided hostility. The Pope, Paul IV. neither understanding the temper of the nation nor the character of the queen, when she sent to inform him of her accession to the throne, refused to acknowledge her legitimacy, and none of the Roman Catholic bishops, except Oglethorp of Carlisle, would take a part in the ceremony of her coronation. It is no small proof of the lenity of her government, as compared with those of her predecessors, that neither the insolence and folly of the Pope, nor the almost treasonable contumacy of the English prelates, should have driven her to any act of violence, or caused her to procure the attainder of those who seemed almost openly to dispute her title to the crown. On the contrary, in her reformation of the Church she carefully respected the prejudices of her Roman Catholic subjects, and whilst she justly deprived the refractory bishops of their sees, which she could not with safety permit them to occupy, she exposed none of them to any severer punishment than that of imprisonment. In settling the public religion it was the first care of her parliament to restore to the queen the fullest authority over all persons, and in all causes, ecclesiastical or civil, within her realm; but to prevent mistakes respecting the nature of this supremacy which was conferred on her, as supreme head both of the church and state, the queen herself declared in the injunctions which she put forth in the ensuing spring, that she challenged no other authority than that which was used by her father and brother; viz. the sovereignty over all persons within her realm, to the exclusion of all foreign jurisdictions. This authority belongs so clearly to all Christian princes, and had been so generally admitted even by the most strenuous adherents of the Roman Church during the reign of Henry VIII., that though on the present occasion all the English bishops, with only one exception, refused to take the oath in which it was recognized, the majority of the clergy were so little offended, that out of 10,000 beneficed incumbents only 80 refused the oath, and only 109 of the superior orders; and as several, even of the bishops, had on former occasions assented to the doctrine, and some had openly defended it, it requires no little charity to admit, that in their combination to reject the claim of Elizabeth to this supreme power, they were influenced merely by religious motives.

Having thus set aside the authority of the Pope, and taken other steps to establish the reformed religion, the next measure of importance was to fill up the vacant bishoprics with men who were approved friends and able supporters of the Protestant doctrines. She was for the most part happy in her choice; but the extreme poverty to which the Church had been reduced by

the rapacity of Henry VIII., and the shameless spoliations of Somerset and the other reformers in the succeeding reign, made it impossible, even at a period when an efficient clergy was most needed, to find persons willing to enter the ministry, and at the same time qualified to perform its arduous duties. It appears from a curious catalogue of the clergy of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563, that out of eighty-eight there were only three "*docti Latine et Græce*," and only two "*mediocriter docti*." "If the London clergy," as Gibson remarks, by whom this account was sent to Mr. Pepys, "were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country divines were?" The evil of lay impropriations, and other alienations of ecclesiastical property, was checked in some degree by the law which prohibited bishops and all incumbents from alienating their revenues, and letting leases for a longer period than twenty-one years or three lives. But as an exception was left in favour of the crown, and as the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize on all its temporalities, and to bestow an equivalent from such impropriations as were vested in the crown, the greatest abuses still prevailed; and the method of pillaging the Church by forced alienations, was not remedied till the reign of James I. We are apt to hear much from those who are wilfully ignorant, of the inordinate wealth of the clergy. But Hume, who loved them not, in speaking of the condition to which the Church was reduced, through the operation of these causes, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, says, "The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the Church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it." This state of poverty still continues; and the incomes of the majority of the parochial clergy are so inadequate to provide them with a decent competency, that the order itself is preserved from general contempt by the comparative splendour with which a few of her higher dignitaries are invested, and of which some who call themselves her friends would wish to deprive her. For it is vain to suppose that moral worth, however excellent, will secure the respect of the multitude, when it is clothed in rags. It may be very true, that the possession of exorbitant wealth is injurious to the best interests of religion, by secularizing the character of its ministers, and making them too eager in the pursuit of worldly things. But it may be questioned whether poverty, such as fills the heart with anxiety to make provision for the passing hour, has not a still more fatal tendency in this direction: and if the present revenues of the Church were so distributed as to afford to each of the working clergy, as they

are somewhat invidiously called, a bare competence and this is the utmost they would afford—it would certainly be followed by the speedy subversion of the whole establishment. For what parent would permit a son of any hopeful promise to enter on a profession in which his talents could receive no adequate remuneration; or what person of decent birth and liberal education would be found to occupy a station in the ministry, at the certain price of his own degradation in society? And if the clergy were composed of none but dunces and clowns, and were, consequently, unfit to associate with persons of cultivated habits, it needs no great sagacity to perceive that they would speedily be excluded from all polished society, and that the contempt with which they were treated by the upper orders would destroy their estimation in the eyes even of the lowest.

Our cathedral establishments, to say nothing of our bishoprics, though their emoluments are not always bestowed on men of the highest desert in their profession, are yet of infinite importance to the Church, not only by the inducements which they offer to men of distinguished talent to devote themselves to the cause of religion, but also by the consideration which they confer on the entire clerical body. It is right that the ministry of the Church should be so constituted as to adapt itself to every condition of society—that the pastor should be at least on an equality with his flock. In the primitive Church, where all were poor, the ministers of religion partook, of course, of the common poverty; yet even the Apostles themselves claimed a right of maintenance from the common stock, and insisted that as, under the law, they who served the altar had lived by the altar; so, in the Christian Church, they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel. The liberal supply which the earlier Christians afforded to their ministers to the utmost of their power, and even beyond their power, is a point little noticed, and less likely to be imitated, by those who are clamorous for bringing back the Church to its primitive condition. To such speculators we take leave to hint, that, in order to effect this, the whole body of the Church, *i. e.* the entire community of Christians, must be reduced to the same state of equality and indigence; but that in a society constituted like ours, with all those complicated gradations which arise from the numberless diversities of rank and station, from the difference of education, and the unequal distribution of wealth, to reduce the clergy to poverty and insignificance would be to deprive the upper classes of society of the benefits which they now derive from their habitual intercourse with those members of our hierarchy, who associate with them as their equals, though raised perhaps from the lowest stations, and whose presence among them has a

most powerful tendency to ensure a decent respect for the institutions of religion. Few persons will be of opinion, that with all these advantages there is too much religion among the upper classes; but if the clergy were excluded from all familiar intercourse with them, as they would inevitably be were they reduced to an uniform level with the inferior orders, every one may see that there would soon be too little. Upon this account, we really think that some of the plans of Church Reform, such, for example, as that of Lord Henley, who would at once do away with our cathedral establishments, and apply their revenues to the augmentation of poor livings, though they may have been put forth with good intentions, are in the highest degree inconsiderate and pernicious. Lord Henley, indeed, maintains, that were our canonries and prebends all abolished, there would still remain in our bishoprics, deaneries, and archdeaconries, which he once proposed to retain, ample means of rewarding all the distinguished merit which could at any period be found to exist in the church. But can he possibly suppose, that while the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage is administered, as it must always be administered, by human beings, these scanty prizes would always be conferred on those who by their services in the cause of religion had best deserved them? Does he think, that, under his system, they would receive a larger proportion of them than now falls to their share? Is it not evident that the chances of finding men of eminent talents or acquirements in the ministry would be diminished, were there fewer prizes held forth as an excitement to their laudable exertions? If then it be desirable, and that it is so none but blockheads or fanatics will deny, that persons of distinguished learning and ability should be allured into the Church; or if it be desirable, as it surely is, that persons of all ranks and orders in society should belong to her ministry, let us not be robbed of those endowments which constitute her best support, by securing an universal respect to the sacred office, as well as by providing a class of persons who are able and ready on every emergency to stand forth as the champions of truth, and to confute every gainsayer.

For the same, and for still higher reasons, we think that nothing more mischievous could be devised than his proposal to remove the bishops from the House of Lords. And besides, we more than suspect, that if the experiment were tried again, as it was in the reign of Charles I. it would soon be followed up, as it was then, by the removal of the lay lords likewise. It is hardly the part of prudence, for a very questionable good, to risk so hazardous an innovation.

The great evil in our church establishment is, not that some

of her members are too wealthy, but that too many of them have not a decent competency. One of the earliest plans for remedying this grievance was proposed about a century ago by Richardson, and is to be met with, where one should hardly have expected to find it, in the novel of *Pamela*. His project, if we remember rightly, was to augment the smaller livings by means of a fund to be raised out of the impropriations in the hands of the bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations; and, if they willingly resigned this source of their emoluments, to bring a bill into parliament to enable the state to buy up the lay impropriations, and to apply them to the same charitable purpose. A project this, far less likely to be adopted, but far more equitable than Lord Henley's. It was also a part of Richardson's scheme to equalize the revenues of the bishops, and to allow of no translations. Upon the whole we may be permitted to conjecture that the first hints respecting Church Reform were suggested to Lord Henley by that respectable novelist; and shall take leave to assert that, where he has deviated from his model, his alterations are never improvements.

The plans and projects for Church Reform are now scattered about our path on every side,

Thick as the autumnal leaves that strew the glades  
In Vallombrosa,

and, for the most part, are about of equal value. There are one or two features, however, by which all are distinguished that have been written by men who really desire the welfare of our national Church. All are agreed in the expediency of giving to the poorer livings such an augmentation as would enable every parish to secure to itself the advantage of a resident incumbent; and almost all in the necessity of giving to the church a more effective system of internal discipline. These are points of vital importance. The last may easily be effected by our legislature, but by what means the first can be accomplished is a question of the greatest difficulty. On the duty of making a better provision for the great mass of our parochial clergy, and on the evils attendant on a pauper ministry, we could say much; but we could not say it so well, nor with half the graphic force with which it is described in a work, now almost forgotten, of Dr. John Eachard's, on "*The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion*." The author of this little book was formerly Master of Catherine Hall, and the work was so popular in its day that it went through an unusual number of editions. We quote from the eleventh, which was published in 1705.

"I come now," he says, "to the second part that was designed, viz.



the poverty of some of the clergy, by whose mean condition their sacred profession is much disparaged, and their doctrine undervalued.

“What large provisions of old, God was pleased to make for the priesthood, and upon what reasons, is easily seen to any one that looks but into the Bible. The Levites, it is true, were left out of the division of the inheritance, not to their loss, but to their great temporal advantage. For whereas, had they been common sharers with the rest, a twelfth part only would have been their just allowance. God was pleased to settle upon them a tenth; and that without any trouble or charge of tillage; which made their portion much more considerable than the rest.

“And as this provision was very bountiful, so the reasons, no question, were very divine and substantial, which seem chiefly to be these two.

“First, that the priesthood might be altogether at leisure for the service of God, and that they of that holy order might not be distracted with the cares of the world; . . . but that living a kind of spiritual life, and being removed a little from worldly affairs, they might always be fit to receive holy inspirations, and always ready to search out the mind of God, and to advise and direct the people therein. Not as if this divine exemption of them from the common troubles and cares of this life was intended as an opportunity of luxury and laziness, for certainly there is a labour besides digging, and there is a true carefulness without following the plough and looking after their cattle. And such was the employment of those holy men of old; their care and business was to please God, and to charge themselves with the welfare of all his people; which thing he that does with a good and satisfied conscience, I’ll assure you he has a task upon him much beyond them that have for their care their hundreds of oxen and five hundreds of sheep.

“Another reason that this large allowance was made to the priests was, that they might be enabled to relieve the poor, to entertain strangers, and thereby to encourage people in ways of godliness. For they being in a peculiar manner the servants of God, God was pleased to entrust in their hands a portion more than ordinary of the good things of the land, as the safest storehouse and treasury for such as were in need. That in all ages, therefore, there should be a continued tolerable maintenance for the clergy, the same reasons, as well as many others, make us think to be very necessary; unless they’ll count money and victuals to be only types and shadows, and so to cease with the ceremonial law.

“For where the minister is pinched as to the tolerable conveniences of this life, the chief of his care and time must be spent, not in an impertinent considering what texts of Scripture will be most useful for his parish, what instructions most seasonable, and what author best to be consulted; but the chief of his thoughts, and his main business, must be to study how to live that week—where he shall have bread for his family—whose sow has lately pigged—whence will come the next rejoicing goose, or the next cheerful basket of apples—how far to Lammas or offerings—when shall we have another christening and cakes, and who is likely to marry or die?”

“ I know many of the laity are usually so extremely tender of the spiritual welfare of the clergy, that they are apt to wish them but very small temporal good, lest their inward state should be in danger—a thing they need not much fear, since that effectual humiliation of Henry VIII. For, say they, the great tithes, large glebes, good victuals, and warm clothes, do but puff up the priest, making him fat, foggy, and useless, and fill him with pride, vain-glory, and all kind of inward wickedness and pernicious corruption. But cannot a clergyman chuse rather to lie upon feathers than a hurdle, but he must be idle, soft, and effeminate? May he not desire wholesome food, and fresh drink, unless he be a cheat, a hypocrite, and an impostor? and must he needs be void of all grace, though he has a shilling in his purse after the rates be crossed? and full of pride and vanity, if his house stand not upon crutches, and his chimney is to be seen a foot above the thatch? Oh, how prettily and temperately may half a score children be maintained with almost twenty pounds per annum! What a handsome shift a poor, ingenious, and frugal divine will make, to take it by turns, and wear a cassock one year, and a pair of breeches another? What a becoming thing is it, for him that serves at the altar to fill the dung-cart in dry weather, and to heat the oven, and pill bemp in wet? And what a pleasant sight it is to see the man of God fetching up his single melaucholy cow from a small rib of land that is scarce to be found without a guide? . . . Or to find him raving about the yards, or keeping his chamber close, because the duck lately miscarried of an egg, or that the never-failing hen has unhappily forsaken her wonted nest?”

It will be said, that this is extravagant and ludicrous exaggeration. We believe, that, at the time when it was written, it was sad and sober truth. In the present day we have hardly any better means of learning what was the condition of the clergy, and in what estimation they were held a century ago, than from the novels of Richardson and Fielding; and they who have the curiosity or patience to consult their works for this purpose, will find that it was sufficiently degraded. It needs no great sagacity to discover that a clergy so circumstanced must, in general, have been worse than inefficient; but we are not left to conjecture on the subject; the specimens adduced by Eachard, from the printed sermons of his day, will let us see with what sort of doctrines these starving pastors fed their hungry sheep. If such instances of utter poverty and destitution are now rarely to be met with, except in the remotest and most thinly-peopled districts, and if more sound and reasonable doctrines are delivered from our pulpits in a better style of eloquence, it is partly because the revenues of the Church have been somewhat augmented, and that a larger proportion have been drawn into its ranks of men of high birth and independent fortunes, of liberal education, distinguished talents, and unquestionable piety—men able and ready on all occasions to approve themselves as servants of Christ, to uphold the cause

of religion, and to make it respected in the persons of its ministers: The wise determination of our bishops to ordain none but those who have received a learned education, preserves us, as far as such a regulation can, from the evil of an incompetent and ignorant ministry. But on this point much remains to be done; and the necessity of doing it is so urgent that it cannot much longer be neglected.

Within the last three years some half-dozen, or, perhaps, half-score of gentlemen, who had been ordained to the ministerial office in the Church of England, and had solemnly professed their unfeigned assent to all its doctrines, have thought proper to quit the Church, and, in the majority of instances, to publish to the world their reasons for doing so. Of many of these persons it must in charity be supposed that they were hardly of sane mind; and the grounds on which others have justified their apostacy are so utterly futile, that if their theological education had fairly carried them through the Catechism, and enabled them to understand it, they would not have given to the world such perilous examples of despicable levity and shameful ignorance. Persons of this character *ought* never to have been admitted to any sacred function, and *hardly could* have gained admission into it had not the canons of the Church respecting the ordination of ministers been unhappily neglected. Take, for instance, the thirty-fifth canon, entitled; “*Neminem, sine prævio solemnî examine, ordinandum.*”

“*Episcopus priusquam cuilibet ordinando manus imponat, diligenti eum examine excutiet et explorabit, præsentibus eisdem ministris, quos velit in impositione manuum sibi assistere. Quod si Episcopus legitimè impeditus prædicto examine vacare nequeat, illud tamen a præfatis ministris sollicitè fieri procurabit. Proviso semper, ut qui Episcopo in dicta examinatione, et manuum impositione adesse debeant, de ipsius Cathedrali Ecclesia existant (siquidem eorum facultas dabitur) alioqui tres ad minus idonei concionatores ex eadem diœcesi adsciscantur. Quod si quis Episcopus vel Suffraganeus in sacros ordines quempiam sine prædictis qualitatibus, aut justo, ut supra, examine cooptarit; per provinciæ suæ Archiepiscopum ea de re certiores factum (assidente uno alio Episcopo) ab omni ordinis conferendi protestate in integrum biennium secludatur.*”

The provisions of this canon are utterly disregarded. The candidates for orders are rarely “*examine excussi et explorati*” by the bishop in person, and never, we believe, in the presence of the Archdeacon, the Dean, and two Prebendaries, or four grave ministers, who are required by the thirty-first canon to assist at the ordination—neither are the stated periods of ordination confined, as they should be, to the “*Jejunia Quatuor Temporum*” The consequence of this neglect has been, that the qualifications of the candidates have not been sifted and examined, as they

almost of necessity must have been, had the examinations been conducted as the canon requires in the presence of the Bishop himself, assisted by the Archdeacons of his diocese, and the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church. And through the general disregard of the four solemn periods of ordination, it has come to pass, that the lay members of the church take no interest whatever in the ordination of their ministers, and the work is done without that blessing which the united prayers of all who belong to her communion might draw down upon it.

Then again, with respect to the admission to a benefice, it is required by the thirty-ninth canon, that no minister shall be instituted to a benefice, unless he exhibit to the Bishop his letters of orders, and testimonials of his good life—" *ac nisi debite examinatus Ministerio suo dignus inventus fuerit.*" What sort of examination into the worthiness of the minister our reformers had in view may be learnt from the "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*," which was commenced under Cranmer's auspices in the reign of Henry VIII., with the aid of thirty one of the ablest theologians and civilians, and resumed in the reign of Edward VI. In this work, (which contains more valuable hints for the reform of the church than any or all of the endless pamphlets and projects which have lately been put forth on this subject), the following regulation is laid down in the chapter, "*De Admittendis ad Ecclesiastica Beneficia.*" § 7.

" Quoniam explorandam esse diximus et excutiendam illorum doctrinam et probitatem qui sacerdotiorum participes erunt; primùm Episcopus ipse certos cognitores eligat. Deinde, quoniam hæc cura peculiaris Archidiaconorum esse debet, illos in jure suo nolumus interpellare, sed universum hoc cognitionis negotium illis informandum, et pertractandum relinquimus; hoc interim proviso, collegas ut vocent ad se quos Episcopus cognitores designaverit, quorum perspecta fuit gravis morum integritas, et in quibus sacrarum Scripturarum scientia cum usu conjuncta sit et peritia gubernandarum Ecclesiarum. Et etiam Episcopum in primis optabile est ipsum (si fieri potest) in hoc cognitionis negotio versari. *Munus enim hoc unum est ex omnibus summum et maximum in quo status Ecclesiarum præcipue fundatus est.* Quare si minutioribus in plerisque causis Ecclesiarum Episcoporum præsentia flagitur, eam in hoc sanè principali munere desiderari minimè convenit."

These rules, we need not say, never became ecclesiastical laws. That the directions of the thirty-ninth canon have not been more fully observed is not the fault of the Bishops, but of the courts of common law, which have, in every possible way, circumscribed the exercise of all spiritual jurisdictions, and in their solicitude to maintain, at all hazards, the rights of patrons, have forgotten that those rights are but a limited trust, and have con-

sidered the fitness or unfitness of their nominees as a matter not worth noticing. The case of *Palmer* and the Bishop of Peterborough, 33 *Eliz.* places this matter in the clearest light. In that instance the bishop, in conformity with the ancient laws of the church, and the uniform practice of the church of England, demanded of the person presented to him for institution, to see his letters of orders, and also letters missive, testifying his ability. The presentee having neither to produce, desired leave of the bishop to bring them. The Bishop gave him a week, but, as he never returned, when the six months were expired, he collated by lapse. Upon demurrer the court gave judgment for the plaintiff, on the ground that a clerk is *not* bound to show his letters of orders or testimonial to the bishop. The canon has, perhaps, made it necessary; the Bishops at all events require it, and do all that individual diligence and circumspection can effect to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the personal characters and conduct of their clergy. But still their power in this, and in almost every other branch of ecclesiastical discipline, is by far too limited. In all that concerns the internal government and regulation of the Church, though we do not desire to see them invested with irresponsible power, or to act solely on their own personal responsibility, it is greatly to be desired, that they should be aided in the exercise of their just authority over their clergy, either by constituting their chapters as courts of ecclesiastical cognizance, or by some other mode which might relieve them from the perilous and invidious charge of admitting, or rejecting, on their sole authority, those who are presented to them for ordination or institution; and still more is it to be desired, that the courts of common law should have no power to control them in the discharge of their spiritual office.

Another way in which our cathedral institutions might be rendered highly serviceable to the general welfare of the church would be to appropriate a certain number of the residentiary stalls in each cathedral to the endowment of theological lectureships. There are, we apprehend, few chapters, as at present constituted, which would not be found to supply a sufficient number of persons, perfectly qualified by their theological attainments, and willing to execute the office of professors in the different branches of divinity, if it were thought expedient to establish diocesan colleges, in which the candidates for ordination might complete their professional education under the immediate inspection of the Bishop and his chapter, who would thus become thoroughly acquainted with the personal character and requirements of every individual who was set apart for the work of the ministry. Add to this, that in many chapters, certain stalls

might be appropriated to the Archdeacons of the diocese—a most important class of ecclesiastical officers, whose duties, scarcely inferior to those of the Bishops, are sufficiently onerous, and who are at present for the most part very inadequately rewarded.

These are among the obvious improvements which might serve to give more complete efficiency to our existing institutions, and to satisfy the wishes of those who desire to see the established church settled on the best and surest foundations. The question of church reform is one in which those who dissent from her, either in discipline or doctrine, and, still more, those who care nothing for the maintenance of our common faith, have no right whatever to give an opinion, or to expect the legislature to pay the smallest attention to their wishes. Their object, their sole and avowed object, is not the *reform* of the established church, but its *destruction*: and it is a goodly and a Christian sight to see these ill-assorted allies—Roman-Catholics, Socinians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Dissenters in short of every hue, cordially leagued with the blackest infidels in pointing out the faults of the church of England, and clamouring, forsooth, for her reformation. And it is still a goodlier sight to see those who call themselves her friends, tampering, and trimming, and conceding, and conciliating, and truckling, to those whose deep-rooted hate is only rendered more malignant, more irreconcilable, and more formidable by concession.

Some men, and they are more than enough, who hold the place of legislators in our reformed parliament, and are the loudest in calling for the reform of our civil institutions, and are incessantly occupied in exposing and exaggerating the abuses of our government, are in principle notorious republicans; and for that very reason, whatever measures are recommended by them for adoption ought to be steadfastly rejected, or at least regarded with the utmost suspicion; because it is certain that they would not desire to carry them into effect, but that they regard them as means by which they may be enabled to accomplish their ulterior views. And therefore it is, that they assail the church so fiercely, and cry “down with her, down with her, even to the ground”—partly, indeed, because of their general hatred to Christianity itself—but mainly and chiefly, because they knew that our civil polity is so indissolubly connected with the ecclesiastical, that they can never succeed in erecting their beloved republic on the ruins of the monarchy, till they have first overthrown the church. Let it be remembered then, that with these men, reform means ruin, improvement means spoliation and destruction. The church, they say, is too rich. We say that she is too poor



—that if all of which the tyrant Henry, and his daughter Elizabeth, and the robber Somerset, sacrilegiously despoiled her were again restored, the whole would scarcely be sufficient to enable the church to meet the spiritual wants of her increasing population, which has grown upon her fourfold since the era of the reformation. In all our large cities and manufacturing towns, the great mass of the inhabitants have been driven, of necessity, to look for the means of religious worship and instruction in the chapels of dissent. Something, indeed, has been done of late years to supply the want; but there are still hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of our people who can find no place in the churches of the national establishment. Not long ago, it was calculated, and the calculation was proved to be correct, that in the metropolis alone, and its immediate vicinity, eight hundred thousand persons were excluded from the privilege of joining in parochial worship, and to say nothing of our manufacturing districts, which are, for the most part, totally unprovided with either churches or ministers; in the majority of our country towns, the poorer inhabitants are utterly banished from the parish church. We could name a country town, to take an instance out of a thousand, containing a population of between five and six thousand souls, in which there is only one parish church, and no other chapel or place of worship of any description connected with the establishment; and in that Church the sole accommodation for the poor consists in one bench, that runs down the aisle, and may, possibly, hold about sixty persons. Cases of a similar description might be multiplied without end. The people feel their wants; they desire, if possible, to adhere to the worship of their fathers, and to continue in the communion of that Church into which they were baptized. They apply, perhaps, to the Bishop to provide them with additional accommodation; and when they find, as they must, that he has no power whatever to assist them, it is no wonder that they at last forsake the Church for the conventicle; that their affections are alienated from the establishment, and they become hostile to a mother which has cast them off, or, at best, was unable to maintain them. The great defect then under which our national church has so long laboured, is the want of sufficient means to provide for the spiritual demands of her increasing population; till these means are supplied, all subordinate reforms will be mere pieces of unprofitable patch-work; and it may be that an assembly which consists, together with some sound members, of infidels, Roman-Catholics, and dissenters of all denominations, will devise some means of remedying this defect, which will end in the utter destruction of the fabric.

We have wandered fast and far from Mr. Short and his history; too far to resume our course, and to accompany him through the rest of his interesting journey. Those who desire to form an acquaintance with the general features of our ecclesiastical history, (and who, at this time, can be content to remain in ignorance of so important a subject?) will find him a safe and a delightful guide. Our review of the principal matters discussed in the first volume may enable our readers in some degree to judge of his merits as an historian—of his skill in fixing the attention on points of the highest interest, of the perspicuity of his narrative, and, above all, his strict impartiality. These are qualities of no mean order; and however strongly they are called forth in his detailed account of the progress of the reformation in this country, we know not whether they are not rendered still more conspicuous in his summary of the events which took place during the reigns of the three first princes of the House of Stuart. To enable us to form a correct opinion of the principal causes which have contributed to place the Established Church and the dissenters in their present relative position, we still want a succinct account of the line of policy which was pursued by the government of this country, with respect to the Church, from the revolution to the close of the last century. We shall find upon inquiry, that, under the two first princes of the House of Brunswick, the Church was systematically degraded and injured by the most corrupt and profligate application of its patronage to purposes of mere political expediency, and that every engine was set at work to encourage not only dissent but downright infidelity, and to loosen the hold which the Church hitherto maintained on the respect and affections of the people. The personal character and religious example of George III. went far to repair the injuries which his predecessors had inflicted; but still the highest dignities of the Church were rarely bestowed except from considerations of worldly policy; and we know not that any minister throughout the long course of his reign, till the accession of Lord Liverpool to power, had any higher view in disposing of the crown patronage than that of strengthening his parliamentary influence. Every true friend of the Church feels how deeply she has suffered from this single cause; and feels too the deep injustice of making it a matter of reproach to her, that what was designed to be the reward of distinguished learning and exalted piety, should, in so many instances, have been given to the mere favourites of fortune.

The force of public opinion will, it is to be hoped, provide a remedy for this grievance. Meanwhile the enemies of the Church will continue to revile her, as if she were herself the cause of the wrongs that have been done by the corrupt dispensers of her pa-

tronage. The demagogues of the present day are following, step by step, the course which their worthy predecessors took in assailing the altar and the throne in the reign of Charles I. We would, therefore, most earnestly request of all our readers to study in detail the history of that eventful period, and to mark by what gradual advances the assault on the Church was carried on, till the destruction of its outworks, the cathedral institutions, enabled them to level the entire edifice to the ground, and then to batter down the fabric of our civil constitution, and to erect a commonwealth on its ruins. History, after all, is something better than an old almanac.

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**ART. XI.—***Dissertations vindicating the Church of England, with regard to some essential points of Polity and Doctrine;*  
By the Reverend John Sinclair, A.M., &c. Rivington. London. 1833.

ALTHOUGH these dissertations are not connected by any natural affinity subsisting among the subjects of which they treat, they are nevertheless intimately associated by the relation which they all bear to the Church of England, in the circumstances with which she is at present surrounded. The first of them, for example, has a reference to that class of dissenters who deny the apostolical authority claimed for her constitution as an Episcopal communion. The second is meant to convey information to those who question the expediency or lawfulness of a form of prayer, composed and adapted for the public worship of God. The third exposes with great force of reason the pretensions of the Roman Catholics, who arrogate to themselves the enviable distinction of infallibility in all matters of faith and doctrine: while the last in the series is directed against the various sects of the Socinian school, who refuse to admit the great, essential, tenet of Christianity respecting the mediation of the Redeemer as the sacrifice for human guilt. In a word, the Church is assailed, on one side, on account of her polity and liturgical offices; and, on the other, for holding doctrines which are either pronounced objectionable in themselves, or held unworthy of belief, from the acknowledgment made by her, that she is not entirely exempted from the possibility of error.

The Essay on Episcopacy is the most laboured of the four, and perhaps, on the whole, the most complete, both in argument and authority. We know not, indeed, that it is susceptible of improvement in either of these points; for, while it contains the substance of all which could be gathered from the Apostolical Fathers, from the primitive historians and controversialists, the

writers of the middle ages, and the divines of the Reformation, it follows an exact method of reasoning, and is expressed, too, in accurate and very distinct language.

The Episcopalian, who is put on his defence as to the ecclesiastical form which he has been accustomed to reverence, finds himself led by Mr. Sinclair to inquire first into the circumstances whence it appears to have originated, and secondly into those which, in certain parts of Christendom, gave occasion to its discontinuance; in other words, to weigh the evidence for its apostolical institution drawn from Scripture, as well as from the earliest uninspired authors, when placed in the balance against those considerations and arguments which, since the middle of the sixteenth century, have been found sufficient to satisfy the Presbyterian, the Independent, and the Congregationalist. The first thing that attracts attention in this retrospect is the remarkable fact, that—

“ Three distinct ecclesiastical orders existed at the period of the Reformation throughout every part of the Christian world, under the name of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. To each of these three orders were allotted separate duties, and different degrees of rank and power. Not only among all the churches subject in the West to the Roman Pontiff; and in the East and South to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Byzantium, and Alexandria; but also among the numerous Christian societies who rejected their doctrine and disowned their authority, were the three orders in question established and maintained. The polity of the Nestorians, Monothelites, and Armenians on one side of Christendom, as well as of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and Bohemians on the other, was uniformly episcopal; however widely most of these numerous sectaries were opposed to the rest, and to the great communities from which they separated. The most industrious explorer of church antiquity, searching from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Indian ocean, from Abyssinia to Scandinavia, has never yet distinctly traced a single church, in which a hierarchy possessed of diocesan rights did not, at the period here referred to, prevail. As the Christian hierarchy were in actual and universal possession of these peculiar rights and privileges, so they claimed them also for their ancient and undisputed inheritance; an inheritance transmitted and held by the venerable title of prescription during fifteen centuries, and by the still more venerable and sacred tenure of apostolical institution.”

In confirmation of this statement the reader will find the most satisfactory proofs in the history of those particular communions, which, owing to local situation or political causes, were, during many centuries, excluded from all intercourse with the great body of Christians. The Syrian church, for example, on the coast of Malabar, presents a remarkable instance of an episcopal society, which, from a very early period, had perpetuated the succession of bishops and liturgical worship, though deprived of the countenance of any powerful establishment, and, in fact, entirely igno-

rant of the fortunes of their brethren in the west. The period of their migration across the Persian desert cannot be precisely ascertained, but no one doubts that it took place while the Gospel yet endured persecution at the hands of the Roman emperors, and consequently long before the prelatical form of government could be connected with secular views or ambitious hopes. When the Portuguese arrived in that country, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred churches along the coast of Malay-ala; the vernacular name of the district situated between the mountains and the ocean, and extending from Cape Comorin to Dilly. Their surprise, it is true, soon changed into displeasure, when they became acquainted with the purity and simplicity of the worship practised by those children of the faith. "These churches," said the invaders, "belong to the Pope." "Who is the Pope?" replied the natives; "we never heard of him." The strangers were still more amazed when they found that these Hindoo Christians, to whose ears the existence of the Roman Catholic establishment had not yet been revealed, maintained the order and discipline of a regular church under episcopal jurisdiction; and that, for thirteen hundred years, they had enjoyed a series of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. "We are of the true faith," they exclaimed, "whatever you of the west may be; for we come from the place where the followers of the Redeemer were first called Christians." It was discovered that the clergy of this primitive people have wives; that they own but two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that they neither invoke saints nor worship images, nor believe in purgatory; and that they have no other orders or names of dignity in the church, except bishop, priest, and deacon.

Dr. Buchanan, to whose "Researches" we are indebted for the details now given, relates that the bishop at Cande-nad was desirous to know something of the other churches besides that of England, which had separated from Rome. "I was ashamed," says he, "to tell how many they were. I mentioned that there was a *Kasheesha* or Presbyter church in our own kingdom, in which every *Kasheesha* was equal to another." The bishop then asked if there were any *Shimshanes* or Deacons in holy orders; and upon finding there were none, he expressed the greatest astonishment. "And, what! is there nobody to overlook the *Kasheeshas*?" "Not one," was the answer. "And who is the Angel of their church?"—alluding to the form of the seven churches in Asia. "They have none," replied the doctor. "There must be something imperfect there," rejoined the venerable prelate.

We are presented with a similar fact in the history of the

**Abyssinians.** Owing to the decline of the Roman empire, and other political causes, that people, during more than a thousand years, became utterly unknown to the powers of Europe. Some faint traditions of the country whence the treasurer of Queen Candace performed his periodical journey to Jerusalem, to worship the God of Israel, had kept possession of the common mind; but, in later times, this historical notice was so mingled with the dreams of Oriental travellers respecting Prester John and his magnificent monarchy, that all traces of a Christian nation in the south-eastern parts of Africa had been entirely obliterated. Hence, when the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century, landed on the western shores of the Red Sea, they were not prepared to find a church which was planted nearly twelve hundred years before, in possession of an episcopacy and a form of prayer, and accustomed to observe all the festivals instituted by the founders of the Gospel.

The zeal of the Romish priests who accompanied the various expeditions which were fitted out for discovery, commerce, and colonization, has enabled us to ascertain with sufficient precision the doctrines and polity of that interesting communion. In our eyes the works of the Jesuits possess a considerable value, inasmuch as they show the state of Christianity as it must have been at the time when it was introduced into Ethiopia; for such is the unchangeable nature of habits, manners, and customs in the east, that the lapse of a thousand years produces hardly any alteration. For example,—the traveller in those countries, at the present day, witnesses in the employment and modes of living which characterize the people, a scene little different from that which might have been seen in the age of Abraham and Isaac. There are the same pastoral pursuits, the same hospitality, the same dwelling in tents, and the same predatory alarms which oftener than once carried the Father of the Faithful into the field of battle, and rendered the quiver and the bow necessary implements in the house of every shepherd. Even the powerful influence of European enterprise has not reached the bosom of their deserts, nor produced any material innovation on their wonted manners.

The same perpetuity exists in their opinions and belief, wherever they have been exempted from the direct operation of conquest. Their tenets and worship are those which they received from their ancestors; and, in this respect, the Abyssinians appear to manifest the same tenacity of established usages, whether of thought or of action, and the same reluctance to change, which distinguish their neighbours on the eastern side of the Gulf. Hence, we repeat, there is good ground for believing that the creed and the ecclesiastical constitution which the Portuguese priests found in Ethiopia, in the sixteenth century, preserved the



general features of the doctrine and practice which were communicated by the disciples of Athanasius.

In confirmation of the opinion now stated, we shall mention a few particulars, which, the more minutely they are considered, will acquire a greater degree of interest in the view of a theological antiquary. The first is the use of circumcision, which, it is well known, was continued among Jewish converts long after the complete establishment of the Gospel in the various cities of the Roman empire. The example of the Apostles did not discountenance this usage as applied to the descendants of Abraham: on the contrary, these holy men confined their reprehension to an undue confidence in its efficacy, and to the attempt made by some of their followers to extend its obligation beyond the limits of the ancient covenant. It is probable, therefore, that in the days of Frumentius, who first brought the Abyssinians within the pale of the church, the ritual of Moses retained its authority so far as to justify certain practices which were afterwards laid aside both in the east and in the west. The case of Timothy, recorded by St. Paul himself, might, in the estimation of a rude people, disposed to outward ceremonies, seem to warrant even more than a simple connivance.—The purification, too, practised by their priests, may, perhaps, be traced to the same source, and be found also to rest on the usage of apostolical times. The laws, again, imposed upon women after childbirth, which bear so close a resemblance to the Mosaical institution, were, it is likely, derived from the habits of the early Christians; who, we may presume, could not be induced to regard such salutary practices as holding a place among the things which were to be abolished.

But we discover a still more remarkable circumstance in the observance of the Sabbath as well as of the Lord's day, which no reader of ecclesiastical history requires to be informed was continued many generations among the followers of Christ. The intimate mixture of the primitive disciples with the Jews, who were, generally speaking, of the same extraction, almost necessarily led to this union of sacred rites in things of which both equally admitted the divine origin. It is not easy to determine when this reverential regard for the seventh day of the week was entirely laid aside by the Christians; but, from the conduct of the Abyssinians, we may venture to conclude, that, at the period they received our holy faith, the Sabbath was still sanctified as the rest of Jehovah, and held as preparatory to the more solemn duties of the succeeding day. The partial remission from toil and study, which is still enjoyed on Saturday in our public offices and schools, is the only relic of the ancient usage which so long combined the institutions of the Law and the Gospel.

It has usually been supposed that, admitting the accuracy of the Abyssinian legend, which derives their religion and royal house from the visit paid to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, the customs now described may be traced to a direct and positive intercourse with the Jewish people. But the story on which so weighty a structure is reared, appears too slight to bear it; and after a due consideration of the question, we think it more probable that when our holy religion was carried into Ethiopia, it continued to retain some of the external forms with which it is known to have been invested during the first and second centuries.

This conclusion derives no small support from the fact, that the principles of chronology, which the Abyssinians still retain, are the same which were held by the whole Christian Church in those primitive ages; reckoning five thousand five hundred years from the creation to the birth of Christ, instead of four thousand and four, according to the calculation of the modern Jews. This peculiarity is mentioned by Bruce, who remarks that, "in the quantity of this period they do not agree with the Greeks, nor with other Eastern nations, who reckon five thousand five hundred and eight, casting away the odd eight years; but whether this was done for ease of calculation or for some better reason, there is neither book nor tradition that now can teach us."

This system of dates which, by the way, was also received by the ancient British Church, could not have been obtained from Menelec, the fabled son of Solomon by the Queen of the South; it could not have been introduced by the Jews during their short ascendancy in a part of Ethiopia, because, being disappointed as to the coming of the Messiah, they had already relinquished it, and adopted a more limited scheme of chronology; hence, we are necessarily brought to the conclusion, that together with the principles of the Gospel they were taught the calculations as to the age of the world, which were then embraced by all Christian divines. Their remote situation protected them afterwards from the innovations as well as excluded them from the improvements which marked the progress of a thousand years in Europe and Western Asia.

We have laid some stress on the particulars now mentioned, because they indicate the early period at which Christianity was introduced among the Abyssinians in connection with episcopacy. They have retained this last precisely on the same grounds that they have practised certain rites and ceremonies, whose divine origin might not be equally well authenticated—namely, because they received it as a part of the evangelical system, as it was recommended by the primitive fathers. As the believers in Mala-

bar have been indebted to Antioch for their bishops, so the faithful in Abyssinia have depended on the patriarch of Alexandria; and in both countries it is asserted that this intercourse between the parent Church and her offspring has never been so long discontinued as to deprive either of episcopal superintendence.

The history of our holy faith in the British islands supplies the same results. It is not denied that a great degree of obscurity hangs over the first movements of those missionaries, whatever may have been their rank, who conveyed from Italy, Spain, or Gaul, the knowledge of salvation to the rude heathens, who at that distant epoch occupied the several sections of our country. But it is as clear as anything in a history so ancient is usually found, that, so soon as the church assumed a regular form, it was decidedly episcopal. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact in reference to this subject, that, as the Saxons vanquished the Britons and overthrew all their institutions, the remains of our earliest establishment, if we may so call it, are to be sought for among the Welsh, Irish, and Scots, whose strong and remote territory offered an asylum to the persecuted natives of the plains. At a later juncture, when the victors yielded themselves to the authority of the Gospel, they invited into the contiguous provinces of England teachers of the faith from the Scottish isles, who contributed to give a new foundation to part of the church which had been overturned by the Pagan Angles. An attempt has indeed been made to prove that the clerical missionaries now alluded to were not episcopally ordained, but were, on the contrary, avowed Presbyterians in principle as well as in practice; for though it is admitted that some of them were invested with the office and authority of bishops, it is pertinaciously asserted that these could have no other consecration than such as might be conferred by priests.

Selden, Blondell, Baxter, and other non-conformists, pressed this notion on their contemporaries; insinuating that a large portion of the Anglican church was planted by Presbyterians, and also that episcopacy was not known in the counties northwards of the Trent, until the popish hierarchy, under the direction of Augustine, had fully established its dominion. Under the influence of this hypothesis, encouragement was given to that fanciful dream which represented a class of monks, called Culdees, as hostile to the ecclesiastical polity of their age. A more minute and impartial investigation has however proved that these anchorites in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, usually acted as the chapter of cathedrals, and had no disputes with the superior clergy, but such as respected tithes or endowments, or the privilege of electing bishops. In a word, it is manifest from every well au-

thenticated document, whether charter, chronicle, or deed, which has reached our times, that the form under which Christianity entered Great Britain was decidedly prelatical. We may lament that the historical monuments are so few ; that they are not free from obscurity ; and even that the channel through which they have been conveyed is not in every case perfectly unobjectionable. But it is very important to observe, that they are not opposed by contradictory authorities ; that no record has been found to weaken their evidence so far as it goes ; and that the enemies of episcopacy have no basis for their arguments, except the most hardy presumptions, or the weakest inferences from conjectural statements.

The facts now adduced, we acknowledge, do not belong to a period earlier than the third century, except as they apply to the Syrian Christians, who, it is supposed, migrated to their present residence during the age of the apostles. There is, accordingly, prior to the conversion of the Britons and Abyssinians, an interval of two hundred years, which may be regarded as the only proper arena of discussion between the Independents and Episcopalians ; for no one imagines that, in those early days, there existed any mode of church government corresponding to the Presbyterian. To this interesting epoch the author directs his inquiries with great success ; leaving not so much ground unoccupied as would enable an antagonist to set his foot upon ; answering all objections, and giving a new vigour to the reasoning of all former writers. But, before he enters into this field of research and controversy, he takes a brief view of the circumstances which induced a certain portion of the Reformed church to relinquish the advantages of episcopal superintendence, and to give their consent to a system of clerical rule, which, until the sixteenth century, was not recognized in any part of Christendom.

It was not, as will be seen, owing to the detection of any error in the ecclesiastical frame of the primitive communion, that the divines of Germany, France, and Scotland advocated the innovation now mentioned. On the contrary, they appear to have been satisfied, while they were giving countenance to change, that the form from which they were about to deviate was the only one possessing the authority of the first ages and the consent of the ablest authors. “ It was, when the general adherence of the episcopal order to the errors and corruptions of the Romish creed presented, in some countries, formidable obstacles to the progress of Reformation, that those pious Presbyters who had engaged in the great work, and who were thus reduced to the necessity of abandoning their design, or of contriving a new system of Church government and discipline, adopted this latter alternative with re-

luctance. They deplored as a calamity the necessity for this innovation. They regarded it as defensible mainly on the ground of political expediency. They appear to have been overborne equally by the governors and the governed; by the jealousy and cupidity of rulers, as well as by the prejudices and clamours of the multitude, whom the obstinacy and mismanagement of their spiritual superiors had goaded almost to frenzy. In that celebrated symbol of faith, the earliest declaration of doctrine among Protestants, entitled the "Augsburg Confession," these conscientious and reluctant innovators express openly their sorrow that the canonical form of church government, which they earnestly desired to maintain, should in some places have been dissolved. "*Quam nos magnopere conservare cupiebamus.*" In another passage of the same important record they thus express themselves: "Now here again we desire to testify to the world that we would willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government, if the bishops would only cease to exercise cruelty upon our churches. This our desire will excuse us before God, before all the world, and unto all posterity; that it may not be justly imputed unto us, that the authority of bishops is impaired among us, when men shall hear and read that we, earnestly deprecating the unjust cruelty of the bishops, could obtain no equal measure at their hands." Melancthon, by whom this confession was drawn up, in a letter to Luther makes the following remark:—"I know not with what face we can refuse bishops, if they will suffer us to have purity of doctrine:" and in another part of his writings he assures his readers that, on this subject, the great Reformer always thought as he himself did.

The sentiments of Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, were similar to those of Luther and Melancthon on the question of church government. The last mentioned of these distinguished men viewed it as a thing almost incredible that the episcopal order should be rejected, and prayed that God would prevent all his friends from giving way to such madness. Bucer expressed himself not less decidedly. "We see by the constant practice of the Church," says he, "even from the time of the Apostles, how it hath pleased the Holy Ghost that among the ministers to whom the government of the Church is specially committed, one individual should have the chief management, both of the churches and of the whole ministry, and should in that management take precedence of all his brethren. For which reason the title of bishop is employed to designate a chief spiritual governor."

Passing from Geneva to the east of Europe, we find the same attachment to the primitive constitution of the Church. In the book of Ecclesiastical Canons, agreed upon by the Reformers

of Poland and Hungary, anno 1623, the following oath of canonical obedience was required of every candidate for admission to Deacon's orders:—"I, N. N., swear before the living God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and before his holy angels, that I shall yield unto the Bishop and Presbyters (*Senioribus*) all due obedience as unto my superiors. So help me God."

Among the Reformers of Italy there was the same respect for Episcopacy as among those already noticed of Germany and Switzerland. Jerome Zanchius, a very learned native of the Venetian territory, in his thesis on the true method of reforming the Church, makes this strong protestation. "I profess before God, that, in my conscience, I repute them no other than schismatics who make it a part of Reformation of the Church to have no Bishops, who should preside over their Presbyters in degree of authority, *where this may be had*. Furthermore, with Mr. Calvin, I deem them worthy of all manner of anathemas as many as will not be subject to that hierarchy which submits itself to the Lord Jesus."—"What is more certain, out of histories, councils, and all the writings of the Fathers, than those orders of ministers, of which we have said that they were established and received in the Church by the common consent of the whole Christian commonwealth? And who am I, that I should disapprove what the whole Church hath approved?"

The Lutheran Churches of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark acted upon the principles avowed in the Augsburg Confession, and accordingly retained the Apostolical succession of Bishops. In Scotland, we find that even Knox, the uncompromising reformer of that country, had no desire to introduce a needless innovation; but, adopting the maxim of Calvin, "that parity breedeth confusion," was desirous to have maintained a form of ecclesiastical polity more agreeable to the primitive model than the prejudices of the people would allow. Indeed, the Superintendents whom he contributed to establish in place of Bishops, were invested with such ample powers, that many prelates in later times publicly declared their perfect readiness to be satisfied with the same jurisdiction. In his own life he describes himself as having been some years an officiating minister of the English Church, both at Berwick and Newcastle. His two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, were sent to Cambridge for their education. Both of them were matriculated at St. John's College in 1572, and both became fellows of that society. The former remained till his death, 1580; the other was instituted to the living of Clacton Magna, and, dying in 1591, was buried at St. John's College. The Reformer, too, is stated by his biographers to have been chaplain to Edward VI. at a time when, as now, the



**Common Prayer-book** contained in the introduction to the Ordinal the following declaration:—"It is evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' times there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

The opinion of Grotius, so celebrated for his learning and metaphysical acuteness, is too important to be omitted. In allusion to the controversy between the Episcopalians and their antagonists, he sums up the argument in these terms. "So light and foolish is what the latter have put forth in answer to the former, that, to have read the one is to have already refuted the other: especially touching the angels of the Churches, concerning whom that which the disturbers of ecclesiastical order bring is so absurd and contrary to the sacred text itself that it deserves not confutation."—"Those who think Episcopacy repugnant to God's will, must condemn the whole primitive Church of folly and impiety." The Presbyterian synod of Dort, too, called together for the establishment of Calvinism in Holland, bear a testimony similar to that of Grotius, who, it is well known, belonged to the Arminians. On being urged by the English delegates respecting the necessity of Episcopal government on the Apostolic plan, the synod replied that "they had a great honour for the Church of England, and heartily wished that they could establish themselves upon this model; lamenting that they had no prospect of such a happiness; and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them."

These statements, which we have somewhat abridged from Mr. Sinclair's dissertation, possess considerable value, because, as he remarks, some of those very persons, whose writings have been quoted spoke afterwards with far less favour of the ancient system, for which they originally expressed so much esteem. The enmity of their disciples, too, became more decided and unequivocal. The authority of Bishops was gradually represented as an incroachment on the rights and privileges conveyed to Presbyters by the Apostles. As time advanced, and party-feeling grew more ardent, popery and prelacy were declared to be so closely allied as even to be virtually synonymous. For the space of two centuries and a half down to the present age, a regular system of aggressive warfare has been maintained by the school of Calvin against that very form of church government, respecting which their great master declared that the man was worthy of all condemnation who should not reverently and with the utmost deference receive it. In short, an attempt was made to invest with the sanction of Scripture, of Apostolical precept, and primitive usage, a scheme of eccle-

siastical constitution which was adopted originally in opposition to the wishes of its framers and on the avowed plea of necessity.

The question, then, for examination, as our author remarks, is whether the opinions on this subject entertained by the *founders* of the Anti-Episcopal system, or the opinions entertained by their *successors*, were more correct: in other words, whether an ecclesiastical constitution, prevailing, as we have seen, at the period of the Reformation throughout the whole Christian world—handed down from remote antiquity as an Apostolical institution, and nowhere departed from but on the ground of necessity—did possess in reality the high origin which it claimed, and was actually entitled to the universal reverence which it received.

In determining this important inquiry both parties appeal to the New Testament; the charter of Christianity, and the source whence must be ultimately derived all authority for doctrine, discipline, and even the form of the ministry. But, as a preliminary maxim, it ought not to be forgotten that, as our Saviour taught us righteousness and mercy by his actions rather than by formal discourses on the principles of ethics, so, in regard to the regimen which prevailed under the eyes of the Apostles, we must, in the absence of all special delineation and injunction, regulate our conclusions according to what was *done* as well by themselves as by their immediate successors. Nor can it be too often repeated, that the Churches, to the members of which the canonical epistles were addressed, had already assumed a definite form; having at least two orders of clergy, the Presbyters, sometimes called Bishops, and the Deacons. It was not necessary, therefore, to give instructions relative to the ecclesiastical model which it behoved them to adopt, or the degrees and official rank of their respective ministers. The constitution of the Christian assemblies, like the observance of the first day of the week, the celebration of the periodical festivals, the baptism of infants, the form of worship, the reading of the Scriptures, and the reception of certain inspired compositions as the Word of God, being fixed by usage, the Apostles, on whom had devolved the care of all the Churches, found it not in any measure needful or incumbent upon them to issue directions and prescribe rules. It is only from certain incidental remarks that we become acquainted with the Apostolical practice of keeping holy the day which succeeds the Jewish sabbath. We find not any command enjoining that solemnity, as a weekly festival dedicated to the remembrance of our Lord's resurrection; and it is accordingly everywhere admitted that the custom, which has ever since been followed by the Christian world, must be referred to the example of its founders. The external form of the Church originated in a similar manner and the argu -

ments employed by Episcopalians derive all their strength from the same authority—the use of the first age, and the countenance of the Apostles. It is, therefore, absurd to insinuate, as is commonly done by Presbyterian writers, that ecclesiastical polity must be extremely unimportant, or at least not at all connected with the spiritual welfare of the human being, because no precept appears in the Gospels or in the writings of any of the inspired disciples, which could guide mankind to the precise model approved by the Redeemer. The same observation, it is obvious, might be extended to institutions, and parts of the Christian ritual, which are justly deemed most essential; inasmuch as no direct command enjoins any attention to them, or attaches the slightest penalty to neglect. The Apostles and Evangelists, not addressing themselves to the learned, but writing more immediately for the use of ordinary persons, all of whom were well acquainted with the existing constitution of the Church, rather make allusion to things with which the persons addressed were familiar, than afford explanation for the satisfaction of others. It is therefore not only necessary, as our author remarks, but a proper exercise of candour and fairness, to compare one with another the various scriptural passages connected with the subject; to consult the authority of history, and the analogies of language; and to use the various aids to interpretation which, in common cases, we thought desirable, nay, indispensable.

Next to the sacred Record itself is the authority of the early Fathers, the first commentators on its doctrines, and the first writers of our ecclesiastical history. In order to depreciate the value of their testimony, we are rather unceremoniously reminded by Anti-Episcopal authors that they were, generally speaking, ignorant and credulous men, oppressed in some cases by the most superstitious feelings, and misled by popular prejudices. Considering how much we have received on the judgment of those venerable ancients, such strictures on their wisdom and knowledge are far from being judicious. But, at all events, the fact that Episcopacy was or was not the form of church government which they received from the Apostles, is one to which they were as competent witnesses as to the most common occurrence that could fall under their notice. To use the language of Bishop Hoadley, it was “a fact plain and simple; perfectly within their knowledge; not dependent on lengthened investigations or subtlety of reasoning, but perfectly level to all capacities; a fact which might very easily have been contradicted, had they represented it falsely; and a fact in respect to which they could not in the first ages be biassed by self-interest.” It is not without reason, therefore, that Mr. Sinclair

asks—whether the Anti-Episcopal advocate, who, under such circumstances, denies the Fathers to be good and sufficient witnesses, does not at the same time invalidate and virtually call in question their testimony in every other instance. Does he not in his indiscreet and foolish zeal to extol the Scriptures, at the expense of antiquity, go far to demolish altogether that authority which he pretends to uphold?

In regard to the argument founded on antiquity, there is much point in the following syllogism by Chillingworth, which, in truth, expresses nearly all that could be derived from the most minute examination of records from Ignatius down to St. Jerome:—

“Episcopacy is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church *presently after* the Apostles’ times.

“Between the Apostles’ times and this ‘*presently after*,’ there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration.

“And, therefore, there was no such alteration as is pretended; and therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be granted also to be apostolic. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*”

No Presbyterian writer has ever attempted to account for so sudden a corruption (as it cannot fail to appear in his eyes), and at such a period, as the change to Episcopacy must have been, on the supposition that it did not enjoy the countenance of the Apostles. At the purest era of the Church, when there was no emolument to excite avarice, no rank to call forth ambition, and no honour even to gratify the vain, it is imagined that Christian ministers strode forward to power over the heads and necks of their brethren. In an age when to become eminent, whether for station or zeal, was to inflame the suspicion and provoke the resentment of the most powerful enemies, the servants of the Redeemer are supposed to have vied with one another for the foremost place, in defiance of all the rules of their religion. While the holy men were yet alive who conversed with the Apostles, who received the institutes of the Gospel from their mouths, who witnessed the polity which they had established in the Christian commonwealth, and who, for these reasons, could not fail to know their minds on all matters of discipline as well as of doctrine—under the eyes of these venerable persons the original form of the Church is imagined to have been changed, depraved, and corrupted. And yet no complaint is heard of usurpation or tyranny. The Presbyters are nowhere found remonstrating against a procedure at once so unchristian and uncanonical; but quietly resigning their rights, as if they despised the authority of Him who had made them free, or contemned the privilege with which he

bad dignified their office! In a word, the purest age of the Church is supposed to have witnessed, without murmur or reproach, the most glaring infraction that ever was made on her constitution, and perpetrated too by the hands of the most influential among her own pastors and ministers! Before the last of the Apostles were in their graves, the teachers whom they instructed and the clergymen whom they ordained are represented as setting at nought their institutions as well as their example, and devising for themselves a new method of regulating ecclesiastical affairs, a novel distribution of spiritual power, and an unwonted subordination of duty in the several functionaries!

The utter improbability that so wanton a defiance of the apostles' authority would disgrace the very generation who received the word of life from their lips, must be held equivalent to direct evidence that no such change as is imagined by the opponents of episcopacy did take place; but, on the contrary, that the form of church government which prevailed at the beginning of the second century was agreeable to the model sanctioned by the inspired servants of Jesus Christ. It is accordingly well observed in the work now before us, that the apostles, when they appointed presbyters, and bestowed on them the honourable privilege of ministering in the congregations, reserved to themselves exclusively the power of granting ordination. "This is evident, says the author, from the circumstance that on *this subject* there is not a single precept in the Holy Scriptures addressed to elders, or the second order of clergy; nor any passage in which they are represented otherwise than as assistants merely to their bishop or their apostle in the performance of this solemnity. We find their other duties in other parts of the New Testament clearly and fully pointed out; but not one direction, not one injunction with respect to their laying on of hands. All regulations on this point are addressed to persons of a higher order. This total silence of the Word of God on the subject of non-episcopal ordination, is calculated to leave the deepest impression and conviction on every candid mind.

The strongholds to which the defeated enemies of our church usually withdraw their forces, and attempt to make a stand, are the charge of spuriousness brought against the letters of Ignatius, and the remarks of St. Jerome in regard to the origin of episcopal power as distinguished from that of the presbyters. In regard to the former, the case is as follows:

"There are eight epistles, three in Latin, and five in Greek, ascribed to him, which were unknown to the ancients, and are undoubtedly spurious. Of the remaining seven epistles two editions are extant; one comprising what are called the longer, the other the shorter epistles.

The longer are so denominated from their containing interpolations and paraphrases of the former, evidently introduced in later times by some opponent of the Trinity in support of the Arian heresy. The eight spurious epistles are by the best critics ascribed to the same hand as the interpolations, and were forged for the same heretical purpose. It is remarkable, in proof of this Arian tendency, that these interpolated writings have been received as the true epistles by Arian writers of recent times, (and by Whiston in particular,) while the shorter and more orthodox edition has been rejected by them as containing doctrines which, in their judgment, could not, in the age of Ignatius, have prevailed in the church. The authenticity of the epistles we contend for is supported by a long chain of authorities, extending from the very period when they were written down to the fifteenth century, when they were first impugned. Nowhere is this chain broken, but every century produces separate witnesses, some of whom have transcribed whole passages, others have given catalogues, specifying the very seven epistles which we now receive, and naming each by its appropriate title. These references are not confined to one language or country. They are introduced by writers of opposite persuasions, Catholic and Heretic, throughout the three continents—in Greek, in Arabic, and in Latin. The most formidable and the most learned of what we may be allowed to call the Anti-Ignatian school admit readily that the seven epistles for which we are contending were received with implicit confidence by the ancient church."

It is indeed nowhere denied by competent judges that the arguments of Bishop Pearson in support of the seven epistles have set at rest the question of authenticity. Since the publication of the "*Viindiciæ*," no theological disputant of any character has ventured to come forward with a systematic reply; and no one can long persist in the unreasonable assertion that, because some letters, avowedly spurious, have been ascribed to Ignatius, all the compositions which bear his name must in like manner be given up as forgeries. On such a principle no work of antiquity could be pronounced genuine. Besides, so far as the polity of the church is concerned, there was no temptation in the second century to suborn false witnesses, because at that period there was no dispute among Christians as to the outward form and administration of their communion. Whether episcopacy was of apostolic institution, or must be acknowledged as the mere offspring of unhallowed ambition, there is no doubt that, at the epoch usually assigned for the origin of the Ignatian epistles, there was a general and complete acquiescence in its actual authority. The first voice lifted against the regimen of bishops was not heard until many years afterwards. It is well known that the first and only real opponent of episcopacy was Acrius, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century. The occasion of his heresy, as we are reminded by Mr. Sinclair, was his envy of Eustathius, who,



though of equal age, and of the same qualifications, was preferred before him to the bishopric of Sebastia in Pontus, for which both were candidates. No concessions on the part of his successful rival could appease the resentment of Acrius, who proceeded to calumniate the other as proud, overbearing, and avaricious; to withdraw himself from the communion of the church; and to publish a variety of heretical opinions, more especially that a presbyter was of equal honour and dignity with a bishop, and that by the Word of God there was no difference between them. "No circumstance, it is well observed, gives importance to the opinion of this person, in all other respects very obscure, but that he is the only individual among the ancients who really supports the anti-episcopal cause. But after all, on a suitable examination, his support will appear extremely futile and insignificant. He is, comparatively speaking, a very late authority; his mind was warped by motives of private interest and resentment, and he quotes no preceding writer to fortify his error. Besides, he neither claimed nor exercised the power of ordination, the principal and peculiar prerogative of the episcopal office. His notions, we need not add, were condemned as strange and heretical by the universal Church, and speedily died away.

But whatever value may be attached to the learning and judgment of Acrius, there is no doubt that he was an anti-episcopalian, and had avowed his dislike to the hierarchy, of which he was not thought worthy to be a member. The same remark does not, however, apply to the opinions of St. Jerome, on some of whose expressions, casually uttered, so much stress has been laid by presbyterian dissenters. In his epistle to Evagrius, on the contrary, he traces the different orders of Christian ministers to the Mosaic dispensation. "In order that he may know," says he, "the apostolical economy to be taken from the pattern in the Old Testament, we see that what Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, the same are bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the church of Christ."—"Neither the pomp of riches nor the lowliness of poverty makes a bishop greater or less; all alike are successors of the apostles."—"The safety of the church depends upon the dignity of the chief priest, to whom, unless a kind of absolute and pre-eminent power were given, there would be as many schisms in the church as there are presbyters. Hence it is, that without the command of the bishop, neither a priest nor a deacon can baptize."—"With us the bishops hold the place of the apostles."

It may appear surprising that the author who used the language we have now quoted should be brought forward as arguing against the apostolical institution of episcopacy. The circumstances

which induced him to make the observations which have been so greatly misunderstood or perverted, are familiar to every reader of ecclesiastical history, and may be briefly stated. He was enraged at the presumption of certain deacons, who, happening to enjoy more lucrative situations than the presbyters in the same church, insisted on privileges quite inconsistent with subordination, and even showed their contempt for the presbyterial order, by refusing to be promoted into it. This undutiful behaviour so incensed the spirit of Jerome, which was naturally irritable, that he not only laboured to exalt his own order highly above the diaconal, but employed terms which seemed to place it, at its first institution, on a level with the episcopal, and even the apostolic dignity. Having observed that the titles Bishop and Presbyter are used in Scripture interchangeably, and that even the Apostles style themselves Presbyters, he appears to hint that no distinction originally existed between these offices, but that Apostle, Bishop, and Presbyter, were only different names for the same ecclesiastical rank. "Before the time arrived," says he, "when by the instigation of the devil, division in religion began, and cries were raised among the people, 'I am of Paul; I am of Apollos; and I am of Cephas;'" the Church was governed by a joint council of presbyters. But afterwards, when each presbyter considered the persons whom he had baptized to be his own disciples, and not Christ's, it was decreed over all the world that one presbyter, chosen from his brethren, should be appointed over the rest, on whom the whole management of the church should devolve, and by these means the seeds of schism be removed."

Relying on this statement, in regard to the *decree over all the world*, the adversaries of episcopacy pretend to trace the rise of the distinction between presbyters and bishops to a period later than the apostolic age. They conjecture that the resolution in question was promulgated in the year 140, an epoch chosen with suitable skill, as being at a proper distance from the time of St. John, the last survivor of the personal disciples of our Lord, and also from that cloud of witnesses who, towards the close of the second century, affirm the existence of the episcopal order as contemporary with themselves, and invested with the usual rights and prerogatives of bishops.

"We are given therefore to understand, according to the above hypothesis, that the whole order of presbyters throughout Christendom (*toto orbe*) sensible of the factious spirit engendered by presbyterian equality, resolved, for the sake of peace, to surrender up their most important privileges into the hands of a new functionary, on whom from thenceforward the right of granting ordination and of exercising spiritual juris-

diction should especially devolve. We must imagine that those writers (who lived before this self-denying act, and who mention bishops as existing in the previous age,) have described to us this form of polity from fancy rather than experience, since the new constitution was not contrived till after they were in their graves! We must suppose that all the learned and voluminous writers of the same early period, as well as those of later ages, have passed over this decree in studied silence; and that such of them as were bishops have boldly claimed predecessors in the newly-devised episcopate, and even traced those predecessors to the ordination of the apostles, knowing all the while that till the year 140 episcopacy did not exist, and knowing also that this was known to the *whole world*. We must believe that this extraordinary decretal, this act of unexampled meekness and humility, was silently concurred in by all the presbyters throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia; although the jealousy, factiousness, and ambition of those same presbyters, were the very evils to be remedied by the decree; and although there was neither general council to enact it, nor prince nor prelate to enforce it. We must imagine that on this point heretics concurred unanimously with their orthodox opponents, consenting never to reproach them for the unauthorized innovation, and even suffering themselves to be taunted with the want of episcopal succession; though they knew all the while that every claim to that succession was utterly delusive, and that the succession had nowhere any existence! Lastly, we must on the foregoing hypothesis take for granted that this important, this fundamental, this very sudden change in the constitution of the church, was effected at a period when Christians throughout the world were sensitively jealous on the subject of ancient usage; when they regarded the least infringement on apostolic practice as a crime; and when they even excommunicated one another on a question so insignificant as the day appointed by the apostles for the celebration of Easter!"

But after all, when the words of St. Jerome are candidly examined, they will appear quite an inadequate foundation for the structure which has been built upon them, because they do not establish the supposed universal agreement among presbyters to institute the episcopal order, as an expedient for repressing their own factious spirit. St. Jerome mentions a *decree*: he refers to no mutual agreement; the very word decree necessarily presupposes the interposition of authority; and he dates this decree from the period when cries were raised among the people "I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos." This period, as St. Paul himself tells us, occurred in his own lifetime, and therefore this decree was an apostolical institution; a fact to which the learned commentator alludes when he declares that St. James, soon after the ascension of our Lord, was appointed by the Apostles bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy bishop of Ephesus, Titus bishop of Crete, and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna. This celebrated passage, therefore, only goes to prove, by the unsuspected authority of St. Jerome, that what was done in the case of Ephesus and of Crete was not a partial

measure, limited to those particular churches, but was spread abroad by a general "decree over the whole world."

With respect to the observation made by the Presbyter of Antioch, Mr. Sinclair remarks that the "inestimable value attached to it would be very difficult to be explained, did we not reflect that authorities are sometimes precious in proportion to the scantiness of their number. Not only are the words of St. Jerome preferred before other contrary expressions in his own writings, and in those of Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Augustine, his friends and contemporaries, but even to the plainest assertions of writers at a period far earlier, with much better means of information. We allude to Cyprian, Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian; all of them were above a century before St. Jerome."

The author is equally successful in demolishing the piece of fancy-work, constructed by David Blondel, and praised by several writers on the same side, founded on the imagination of a "prime presbyter," a clergyman presiding over his brethren, in certain circumstances and on particular occasions, without possessing a higher order in the ministry. "As the duty and powers of this ideal personage cannot be fixed by an appeal to history, his attributes are varied according to the nature of the controversy waged by episcopalians against the advocates of ecclesiastical parity; and the more they find themselves pressed by the defenders of apostolic discipline within the church, the more nearly do they mould the resemblance between a prime presbyter and a bishop, till at last hardly any difference can be perceived between them. At first this prime presbyter is only an occasional moderator of the presbytery; as the argument proceeds he is made to hold the moderatorship for life; then the rights of jurisdiction and coercion are liberally assigned to him; and in the end it is conceded that the power of ordination cannot be exercised without him. In short, he is allowed to be a bishop in every thing but the name.

We regret that our limits forbid us to enter upon any of the other dissertations—Liturgies, Infallibility, or Mediation. In regard to the second, the Roman Catholics themselves have supplied the most satisfactory refutations of this absurd claim on the part of their church; inasmuch as they cannot agree either as to the nature of the thing itself, or the persons by whom it is possessed and exercised. The reader of Mr. Sinclair's Essay will find this discrepancy most triumphantly exposed. The argument in defence of the great doctrine of Mediation is not less ably conducted.

In truth the principal merit of this ingenious volume consists in the arrangement of the materials which the author brings for-

ward to illustrate his several discussions, and to confirm the orthodox views that he advocates with so much talent. Other generals may have conducted as many troops into the field, and presented even a more imposing front; but no one has occupied the main positions with equal skill, or rendered his strength so available in the contest, or shown greater knowledge of the weak points of his enemy's defences. Hence, were we asked to recommend a short, but, at the same time, a most convincing treatise on the constitution of the church, we should at once name Mr. Sinclair's dissertation on episcopacy: for, while it exhausts the arguments as derived from antiquity, it leaves no objection unanswered which is to be found in the works of the moderns. It is written, too, in a temperate, unoffending manner, never indulging in angry remonstrance or unseasonable triumph. Having for its object the conviction of the reader, its author aims at the accomplishment of his purpose by addressing the understanding through the medium of facts and calm reasoning, without rousing any of the more ardent feelings: and, accordingly, the presbyterian will peruse it with a sentiment of respect for the benevolence and learning which it everywhere displays, though he may be mortified to find statements which he cannot question, and arguments to which he cannot reply.

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# STATE OF THE DIOCESES

## IN

# ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

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Preb. in Cath. Ch. of . .	York . . .	H. Markham . .	Archbishop of York.
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Lammas, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Norfolk . .	W. H. Marsh .	W. H. Marsh, sen.
Letheringsett, <i>R.</i> . .	Norfolk . .	Charles Codd .	Mrs. Burrell, &c.
Little Bittering, <i>R.</i> .	Norfolk . .	C. Walter Whiter	James Dover, Esq.
Little Finborough, <i>V.</i> .	Suffolk . .	Chas. Fred. Parker	King's Coll. Camb.
Loddon, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Norfolk . .	J. D. Wrigglesworth	Bishop of Ely.
North Elmham, <i>V.</i> . .	Norfolk . .	H. E. Knatchbull	Hon. G. J. Milles.
Shipmeadow, <i>R.</i> . .	Suffolk . .	J. C. Badeley . .	Rev. J. Badeley.
Somersham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	N. J. Stubbin, jun.	Rev. N. J. Stubbin, sen.
Syleham, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Suffolk . .	Augustus Cooper	J. L. Press, Esq.
Waldringfield, <i>R.</i> . .	Suffolk . .	Charles Waller .	Rev. Wm. Edge.
<b>Peterborough.</b>			
Moreton Pinckney, <i>C.</i> .	Northampton	Thomas Mozley .	Oriel Coll. Oxford.
Northampton, } All Saints, <i>V.</i> . . }	Northampton	Wm. Wales . }	Mayor & Corporation of Northampton.
Stamford Baron, } St. Martin, <i>V.</i> . . }	Northampton	Charles Porter .	Marquis of Exeter.
St. John the Bapt. <i>V.</i> } Peterborough. . . }	Northampton	John James . .	Bishop of Peterboro'.
Wappenham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Northampton	Thomas Scott .	Bishop of Lincoln.
Warmington, <i>V.</i> . . .	Northampton	Thomas Linton .	Marq. of Westminster.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Albourne, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Wilts . .	John Seagram .	Bishop of Salisbury.
Bucklebury, <i>V. with</i> } Charlton, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Berks . .	Dr. Williams .	W. H. H. Hartley, Esq.
Lydlinch, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Dorset . .	Richard Antram	F. W. Fane, Esq.
Reading, St. Mary, <i>C.</i> .	Berks . .	G. Hulme . .	Rev. G. Hulme.
(New church built at sole expense of Mr. Hulme.)			
Partridge, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Dorset . .	Edw. Nicholson .	The Lord Chancellor.
Poole, St. Michael's, <i>R.</i>	Wilts . .	F. R. Neve . .	The King.
Sanford, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Wilts . .	H. Girdlestone .	T. Bolton, Esq.
Stratford Toney, <i>R.</i> . .	Wilts . .	Henry Shrubb .	Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxf.
<b>St. David's.</b>			
Llanfchangel Rhydi- } thon and Llandewy } Ystradenny, <i>V.</i> . . }	Radnor . .	William Lloyd .	Lord Kensington.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of } and Abergwilly. <i>V.</i> }	Brecon. . .	{ John Jones . . T. Bevan . . }	Bishop of St. David's. St. David's College, Lampeter.
St. Peter's, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Carmarthen Carmarthen		
<b>Worcester.</b>			
Loxley, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Warwick .	James White .	Lord Chancellor.
Min. Can. in Cath. Ch. of	Worcester .	T. Litt. Wheeler	D. & C. of Worcester.
Pirton, <i>V. with</i> Croome } D'Abitot annexed. }	Worcester .	W. L. Isaac . .	Earl of Coventry.
Powick, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Worcester .	John H. Turbitt .	Earl of Coventry.

**CHAPLANCIES, &c.**

Adlington, J. to be Chaplain to Worcester County Gaol.

Anderson, J. S. M. to be Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty at Brighton.

Bagot, D. to be one of the Chaplains to Earl Kilmore.

Bennett, Wm. J. E. to be Chaplain to the workhouse St. Marylebone, London.

Frere, Temple, to be Chaplain to the House of Commons.

Gibson, C. M. to be Chaplain to Lord Kinsale.

Hopkinson, John, to be Domestic Chaplain to Earl Fitzwilliam.

Taylor, W., M.A. Chaplain to the Lord Mayor of York.

**CLERKS OF THE CLOSET.**

Bowes, T., F. F. to be Supernum. Dep. Clerk of the Closet to H. M.

Merewether, John, to be Deputy Clerk of the Closet to H. M.

Luncy, R., M.A. to be a Surrogate in the Diocese of Exeter.

**SCHOOLS.**

Alford, W., B.A. to the Mastership of Mortlock Grammar School, Somerset.

Dikes, Thomas, LLB. to the Mastership of the Charter House, Hull, Yorkshire.

Donne, S., M.A. to the Head Mastership of the Free Grammar School, Oswestry.

Tate, James, jun. to the Head Mastership of the Grammar School, Richmond.

Mortimer, G. F. W. Head Master of the Western Grammar School, Brompton, Yorkshire.

Tate, James, M.A., jun. Head Master of the Free Grammar School, Richmond, Yorkshire.

Thornborrow, James, Master of Lowther Grammar School, Westmoreland.

**LECTURESHIPS.**

Blyth, G. B. to be Lecturer of St. Mary's, Beverley, Yorkshire.

Worsley, C. to the Evening Lectureship of St. Thomas's Church, Newport, Isle of Wight.

**ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.****PREFERMENTS.**

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Parish.</i>	<i>Presbytery.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Barclay, Matt. ....	Old Kilpatrick ....	Dumbarton ....	Lord Blantyre's Trustees.
Boyd, James .....	Ochiltree .....	Ayr .....	Presbytery of Ayr.
Brown, Thomas ....	Ratho .....	Edinburgh ....	Dr. Davidson's Trustees.
M'Lauchlan, S. F. ...	Snizort .....	Skye .....	The King.
Welsh, David .....	Carsphain .....	Galloway ....	Forbes, of Callender.

The Rev. Daniel Kelly was inducted into the Second Charge of the parish of Campbellton, in the Presbytery of Kintyre, on the presentation of the Duke of Argyll.

The Rev. Mr. Tulloch has been inducted to the parish of Tippermuir.

The Rev. Mr. Thorburn has been ordained by the Presbytery of Kirkaldy to the Charge of the Scottish Church at Falmouth, Jamaica.

The Rev. Dr. Stirling, of Craigie, is to be proposed as the new Moderator of the General Assembly.

The Rev. Dr. Barr, of Port Glasgow, has declined the offer of the Tron Church, Glasgow, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Dewar.

**EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.**

The Rev. Charles J. Lyon, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been appointed Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, St. Andrew's.

## DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Canterbury.</b>			
Chart, near Sutton, <i>V.</i> } and Woodnes- borough, <i>V.</i> . . . }	Kent . .	John Smith . .	D. & C. of Worcester.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Elmstead, <i>V.</i> } Hastingleigh, <i>R.</i> } and Ticehurst, <i>V.</i> . . }	Canterbury } Kent . . } Sussex . . }	W. Welfitt, D.D. }	The King. Archb. of Canterbury, Dn. & Ch. of Canterb.
<b>York.</b>			
Burton Agnes, <i>V.</i> . . .	E. York . .	T. A. Mills . .	Rev. T. A. Mills.
Fremington . . . . .	Yorkshire .	Sampson Marshall	
Little Driffield, <i>V.</i> . . .	E. York . .	Richard Allen .	Precentor of York.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of and Cantly <i>V.</i> . . . }	Ely . . . . }	W. W. Childers }	Bishop of Ely. J. W. Childers, Esq.
Wellingborough . . .	Northampton	Robert Jacomb .	
Wysall, <i>V.</i> . . . . .	Notts . .	Leon. Chapman	Earl of Gosford.
<b>London.</b>			
Chignall, <i>R.</i> with Mashbury, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Essex . .	Barnard Hanbury	
London, St. Alban and St. Olave, <i>R.</i> and Tillingham, <i>V.</i> . . }	Middlesex } Essex . . }	E. J. Beckwith }	Dn. & Ch. of St. Paul's and Eton Coll. <i>alt.</i> Dn. & Ch. of St. Paul's.
(Also Priest in Ord. to H. M. and Min. Can. in Cath. Ch. of St. Paul.)			
Ware, <i>V.</i> with Thundrich, <i>V.</i> . . }	Herts . .	H. A. Lagden .	Trinity Coll. Camb.
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Fell. and Vice Prov. of and Worplesden, <i>R.</i> }	Eton Coll. } Surrey . . }	William Roberts	Eton College.
Lymington, <i>C.</i> . . . .	Hants . .	Ellis Jones . .	Vicar of Boldre.
Morestead, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Hants . .	W. H. Newbolt .	The Lord Bishop.
(And Minor Canon in the Cath. Ch.)			
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Tooting, <i>R.</i> . . . . .	Winchester Surrey . .	Charles Richards J. Ravenhill, D.D.	Bishop of Winchester. J. B. Wilson, Esq.
<b>Bangor.</b>			
Bottwnog, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Carnarvon .	John Jones . .	R. of Melltyrne.
Treas. of Cath. Ch. of and Llanfachreth, <i>R.</i> }	Bangor . .	Thomas Ellis .	Bishop of Bangor.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Holton, R. and Maddington, P. C. } Lydeard St. Lawrence, R. and Thurbaer, P. C. with Stoke St. Mary, P. C. }	Somerset . } Wilts . . }	Joseph Legge . }	John Gibbs, Esq. J. & J. Matron, Esqrs.
Mells, C. . . . .	Somerset .	Charles Russell .	Rt. Hn. W. Arbuthnot.
	Somerset .	J. Higgins . .	J. S. Horner, Esq.
<b>Carlisle.</b>			
Crosby on Eden, V. } and Ousby, R. . }	Cumberland	Tho. Lowry, D.D.	Bishop of Carlisle.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Malpas, 2nd portion .	Chester . .	W. Wick. Drake	Sir T. T. F. E. Drake, Bt.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Prebendary of . . . Clymping, V. . . .	Chichester Sussex . .	Edm. Cartwright T. Mansergh .	The Lord Bishop. Eton College.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Filleigh, R. with East Buckland, R. } Gidley, R. . . . . Lewtrenchard, R. } North Petherwin, V. }	Devon . . Devon . . Devon . . Devon . .	W. M. Stawell . Wm. Southmead Wm. Elford . } Sir R. Hughes .	Earl Fortescue. Henry Rattray, Esq. W. B. Gould, Esq. Duke of Bedford. Sir M. Lopez, Bt.
<b>Gloucester.</b>			
Rodmarton, R. . . .	Gloucester .	D. Lysons . .	C. T. Morgan, Esq.
<b>Hereford.</b>			
Acton Scott, R. . . } Hinxton Coombes, V. and Swavesey, V. }	Salop . . } Cambridge }	T. Clarkson . }	Mrs. Stackhouse. Jesus Coll. Camb.
Whitbourne, R. . .	Hereford .	Tho. H. Biggs .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Lichfield &amp; Coventry.</b>			
Audley, V. . . . .	Stafford . .	William Hickin .	C. Tollett, Esq.
Battlefield, P. C. and Uffington, P. C. and Chesfield, R. with Farnborough, C. }	Salop . . } Kent . . }	Edw. Williams }	John Corbet, Esq. All Souls' Coll. Oxf.
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Barnethby-le-wold, V. } Bigby, R. and Risby, V. with Roxby, V. . . . }	Lincoln . .	C. D. Barnard .	R. C. Elwes, Esq.
Caistor, V. . . . .	Lincoln . .	Isaac Wilson . }	Preb. of Caistor in Cath. Ch. of Lincoln.



Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Lincoln—(continued.)</b>			
Holton-le-Clay, V. . . .	Lincoln . .	C. W. Haddesley	Lord Chancellor.
Kirmond, V. . . .	Lincoln . .	W. Uvedell . .	{ Christ. Turnor, Esq. — Massingberd, Esq. Christ. Turnor, Esq.
Markby, P. C. and Stixwold, V. . . .			
Loudwater, P. C. . . .	Bucks . .	William Pryce .	Trustees.
Stamford, St. John Bapt. with St. Clem. R. . . . .	Lincoln . .	Richard Atlay	{ Corp. of Stamford 2 turns, and Marq. of Exeter 1 turn.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Bagthorpe, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	George Norris .	Sir Cha. Chad, Bart.
Burnham Overy, V. . .	Norfolk . .	Philip Candler .	Rev. P. Candler.
Little Hautboys, R. with Lammast, C. and Letheringsett, R.			
Loddon, V. and Melbourne, V. . . .	Norfolk . .	T.C.W. Seymour {	Bishop of Ely. Dn. and Ch. of Ely.
Mendham, V. and Syleham, V. . . .	Cambridge }		
	Suffolk . .	Tho. Whitaker {	Mrs. Whitaker. Miss Isabella Barry.
<b>Peterborough.</b>			
Northborough, R. . . .	Northampton	William Head .	Dn. & C. of Peterboro.
Wappenham, R. . . .	Northampton	Henry Portington	Bishop of Lincoln.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Can. Res. of Cath. Ch. of St. Paul, and Uffing- ton, V. with Balking, C. and Woolston, C. }	Berks. . .	T. Hughes, D.D. {	The King.  J. A. Houblon, Esq.
<b>Worcester.</b>			
Kinworton, R. with Great Alne, C. and Weethley, C. . . .	Warwick .	Francis Rufford	Bishop of Worcester.
Min. Can. of Cath Ch. of and Worcester, St. Martin, R. . . . .	Worcester }	Digby Smith .	Dn. & C. of Worcester.
(And Chaplain of St. Oswald's Hospital.)	Worcester }		

ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

DEATHS.

- The Rev. John Finlayson, Minister of Gaelic Chapel, Cromarty, aged 47.
- The Rev. Colin Bogle, Minister of Walls, Shetland.
- The Rev. John Shand, Minister of Kintore.
- The Rev. William M'Gregor Stirling, Minister of Port.
- The Rev. Dr. Primrose, Minister of Preston Pans.

# PROCEEDINGS

## OF

# THE UNIVERSITIES.

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## OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

### DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

*Feb. 14.*

Samuel Whittingham, and John Brickenden Frowd, Fellows of Corpus Christi College.

### MASTERS OF ARTS.

*Jan. 14.*

Thomas Johnson Ormerod, Fellow of Brasenose College.

William Henry Vanderstegen, Brasenose College.

Thomas Henry Whiplam, Trinity Col.

William Burton Dynham, Magdalen H.

Henry Selby Hele, Magdalen Hall.

*Jan. 24.*

J. Walker, Fellow of Brasenose Coll.

Rev. B. Harrison, Student of Christ Church College.

G. H. S. Johnson, Taberdar of Queen's College.

William Leech, of Queen's College.

J. Rogers, Baliol College.

Rev. H. H. Pearson, Lincoln College.

R. Luney, Magdalen Hall.

*Jan. 31.*

Rev. James Bliss, of Oriel College.

Rev. Richard Briscoe, Fellow of Jesus College.

*Feb. 7.*

Rev. George Baker, Wadham College.

Rev. Thomas Timothy Lane Bayliff, St. John's College.

Henry Ildid Nicholl, St. John's College.

*Feb. 14.*

Rev. William Abbott, Taberdar of Queen's College.

Rev. Charles Powell, Trinity College.

Rev. Thomas Edmondson, Jesus College.

*Feb. 21.*

Rev. Thomas Blackburne, Brasenose C.

Herman Merivale, Fellow of Baliol Col.

Rev. Charles Edward Birch, Fellow of St. John's College.

Edward Owen, Worcester College.

*Feb. 28.*

Rev. Charles Childers, Christ Church C.

*March 7.*

Rev. Townshend Brooks, Brasenose C.

Rev. A. Daniel, Exeter College.

*March 14.*

Rev. Thomas Tolming, Brasenose Coll.

*March 21.*

Rev. Edward Freke Lewis, University College.

Rev. Charles Augustus Samuel Morgan, Christ Church College.

Rev. Francis Crane Parsons, Worcester College.

William Dod, Magdalen Hall.

John Wyndham Bruce, Exeter College.

### BACHELORS OF ARTS.

*Jan. 14.*

Benjamin Bradney Bockett, Magdalen Hall.

George Wareing Ormerod, Brasenose College.

Joseph Walker, Brasenose College, incorporated from Trinity College, Camb.

John Carey, Exeter College, incorporated from Trinity College, Cambridge.

*Jan. 24.*

F. A. S. Fane, New Inn Hall.

M. H. Marsh, Student of Christ Church College.

R. Barnes, Student of Christ Church C.

S. F. Strangways, Student of Christ Church College.

M. W. Mayow, Student of Christ Church College.

Hon. J. Bruce, Student of Christ Church College.

G. B. Maule, Student of Christ Church College.

J. S. Brewer, Queen's College.

E. H. Abney, Exeter College.

W. Laxton, Scholar of Trinity College.

*Jan. 31.*

Henry Wall, St. Alban Hall.

Henry Barry Domville, Scholar of University College.

Charles Henry Ansley Martelli, Trinity College.

Edward Oliver Benson, Wadham Coll.

*Feb. 7.*

John Haythorne, Exeter College.

*Feb. 14.*

William Rogers Coxwell, Exeter Coll.

Thomas Edward Winnington, Christ Church College.

*Feb. 21.*

William H. Kempson, Christ Church C.

Arthur Browne, Christ Church College.

George B. Rogers, Pembroke College.

George Churchill, Worcester College.

Edward Stanley, Worcester College.

*Feb. 28.*

W. E. Elwell, University College.

George Garrick, University College.

Alexander John Sutherland, Student of Christ Church College.

Charles Leslie, Christ Church College.

William Hornby, Christ Church Coll.

A. G. S. Sturley, Christ Church Coll.

John Barrow, Wadham College.

*March 7.*

T. Prowse Lethbridge, Christ Church College.

F. W. C. Whalley, Christ Church Coll.

*March 14.*

Frederic Anson, Probationary Fellow of All Souls College.

James Ralph, St. Edmund's Hall.

#### MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY

#### INTELLIGENCE.

#### ELECTIONS.

*Jan. 24.*

In a Convocation, holden on Thursday, the Rev. William Harding, M. A. Fellow

of Wadham College, was nominated a Master of the Schools, in the room of the Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Exeter College.

*Feb. 7.*

Edward Hartopp Grove, B.A. of Balliol College, was elected Fellow of Brasenose College.

*March 14.*

The Examiners appointed to elect a Scholar on Dean Ireland's Foundation have elected Robert Scott, Student of Christ Church. The number of candidates exceeded thirty.

The Examiners appointed to examine and nominate a Mathematical Scholar have announced to the Vice-Chancellor that they have elected Mr. Jeffreys, B. A. and Student of Christ Church.

*Feb. 7.*

In a Convocation, held this day, it was unanimously resolved to contribute the sum of £200 from the University Chest, in aid of the distressed Clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland.

*Feb. 21.*

In a Congregation holden this day, the following gentlemen were nominated Public Examiners, the first by the Senior, the second by the Junior Proctor:—The Rev. A. Short, M. A. Student of Christ Church College, in *Literis Humanioribus*; the Rev. A. Neate, M. A. of Trinity College, in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*. The appointment was approved March 7.

In a Convocation, holden in the afternoon of the same day, it was agreed to accept a benefaction for the foundation of Two Scholarships, the one for the greatest attainment in Theology, the other for the greatest attainment in Mathematics, under the will of the late Rev. John Johnson, D. D. some time Fellow of Magdalen College. The candidates must have passed their principal examination, and not have exceeded five years from their matriculation. The Scholarships are to last for two years, and the proceeds of the benefaction to be in books and not in money.

*Jan. 21.*

On Monday last, Mr. George William Huntingford was admitted Scholar of New College.

## CAMBRIDGE.

## DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

## BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Feb. 20.

Rev. W. Shepherd, Trinity College,  
Rector of Cherrington, Bucks.

Rev. G. Jarvis, Corpus Christi College.

## BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Jan. 25.

H. G. Hand, Fellow of King's College.

R. G. Latham, Fellow of King's Coll.

Feb. 5.

L. Ottley, Trinity College.

T. Baker, St. John's College.

F. J. W. Jones, St. John's College,  
(comp.)R. B. Cartwright, Queen's College,  
(comp.)

C. B. Elliott, Queen's College.

A. J. Nash, Downing College.

Feb. 20.

G. B. O. Hill, Trinity College.

T. Jones, St. John's College.

H. T. Daniel, St. Peter's College.

J. Cheetham, Jesus College.

W. Wallace, Jesus College.

J. Fawcett, Jesus College.

J. C. Stapleton, Downing College.

## HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 5.

Lord Lindsay, Trinity College, son of  
Earl Balcarras.The Hon. P. J. L. King, Trinity Col-  
lege, son of Lord King.

## MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 5.

Rev. P. Palmer, Trinity College.

J. S. Cox, Corpus Christi College.

## BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Feb. 5.

H. W. Meteyard, Caius College.

Rev. J. Nelson, Trinity Hall.

The following will be the subjects of  
Examination in the last week of the Lent  
Term, 1834.

1. The Gospel of St. Matthew.

2. Paley's Evidences of Christianity.

3. Plato's Apology of Socrates.

4. Horatius de Arte Poetica.

## BACHELORS COMMENCEMENT.—January 18th, 1833.

Those Gentlemen whose names are preceded by an asterisk have one or more terms  
to keep previous to being admitted to their degrees, although they passed their exami-  
nation in the following order of arrangement.

## MODERATORS.

Henry Philpot, M.A.

Cath.

John Hymers, M.A.

St. John's.

## EXAMINERS.

Francis Martin, M.A.

Trin.

Robert Murphy, M.A.

Caius.

## WRANGLERS.

Ellis,	Caius	Fowler,	Trin.	Inman, }	Joh.	Paley,	Joh.
Bowstead	Pemb.	Gowring,	Trin.	Quirk, }	Joh.	Dimock,	Joh.
Pratt	Caius	Brown,	Trin.	Bamfield,	Clare.	Barker, J. H.	Joh.
Kemplay,	Trin.	Boteler,	Trin.	Fisher,	Jesus	Caton,	Trin.
Phelps,	Trin.	Hankinson,	Trin.	Howlett,	Joh.	Haworth,	Chr.
Pound,	Joh.	Nicholson,	Chr.	Feachem, }	Trin.	Lawrence,	Trin.
Cartmel,	Emm.	Radcliffe,	Joh.	Fawcett, }	Magd.	Manners,	Corpus
Jerrard,	Caius	Thompson,	Joh.	Wright,	Trin.	Wilkinson,	Jesus
Barber,	Joh.			Heathcote,	Joh.		

SENIOR OPTIMES.

Chambers,	Joh.	Bunbury,	Trin.	Kempe,	Clare.	Brewitt,	Pet.
Loder,	Trin.	Massey,	Joh.	Speck,	Joh.	Wilson,	Joh.
Gwilt,	Caius	Fellowes,	Joh.	Langdon,	Joh.	Brown,	Emm.
Stoddart,	Jesus	Raikes,	Corpus	Walford,	Trin.	Bullen,	Pet.
Wilson,	Corpus	Sanders,	Joh.	Huxtable,	Trin.	Cantrell,	Emm.
Travers,	Chr.	*Power,	Cath.	Hildyard,	Chr.	Barnes,	Trin.
Hedges,	Qu.	Evans,	Qu.	Jones,	Qu.	Myers,	Clare.
Begbie,	Pemb.	Wood,	Joh.	Ward,	Corpus	Taylor,	Joh.
Vawdrey,	Qu.	Tate,	Emm.	Jacob,	Emm.	Roots,	Jesus
Bishop,	Jesus	Peat,	Pet.	Marshall,	Trin.	*Weston,	Trin.
Andras,	Joh.	Barker, W.G.	Joh.	Greensill,	Corpus	Bathurst,	Joh.
Heywood,	Trin.	*Percy,	Joh.	Smith,	Pet.		

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Lydekker,	Trin.	Dusautoy,	Joh.	Wirgman,	Pet.	*Bucknill,	Trin.
Rose,	Clare	Williams,	Magd.	Snow,	Joh.	Hamerton,	Trin.
Marsden,	Cath.	Wix,	Pet.	Noble,	Joh.	Henthcote,	Trin.
Sharp,	Magd.	Elliott,	Pemb.	Lowe,	Trin.H.	Pine,	Trin.
Sale,	Joh.	Nelson,	Pet.	*Francis,	Joh.	Tuck,	Jesus
North,	Trin.	Bury,	Joh.	Tuck,	Corpus	Wood,	Trin.
Stockdale,	Trin.	Couchman,	Clare	Barton,	Joh.		
Price,	Qu.	Whitaker,	Qu.	Jackson,	Cath.		

Ægrotat—Jones, Cath.

Laffer,	Chr.	Drayton,	Trin.	Casse,	Jesus	Heusch,	Joh.
Cardew,	Joh.	Stead,	Caius	Knox,	Trin.	Bromhead,	Trin.
Grylls,	Trin.	Cazalet,	Trin.	Tindal,	Trin.	Lee,	Trin.
Hopkins,	Mag.	*Pemberton,	Sid.	*Corfield,	Chr.	Hamersley,	Trin.
Howard,	Joh.	Kimpton,	Trin.	Lamb,	Trin.	Ripley,	Joh.
Childs,	Trin.	*Cookson,	Joh.	Nicholson,	Emm.	Palmer, C.	Joh.
Campbell,	Tain.	*Tucker,	Pet.	Priest,	Corp.	Abdy,	Joh.
Bateman,	Chr.	Poore,	Qu.	Wimberley,	Joh.	Greaves,	Trin.
Carter,	Joh.	Jones,	Cath.	Jones,	Emm.	Alford, Lord,	Magd.
*Bowyer,	Caius	*Clarke,	Trin.	Malcolm,	Joh.	Palmer, H.	Joh.
Lockwood,	Joh.	Philpott,	Joh.	*Montgomery,	Corp.	Garden,	Trin.
Blyth,	Chr.	*Monteith,	Trin.	Durban,	Qu.	Holmes,	Magd.
Kidd,	Emm.	Sharpe,	Joh.	Hine,	Corp.	Grigson,	Corpus
*Martin,	Sid.	Brookfield,	Trin.	*Cartwright,	Qu.	Macdonald,	Trin.
Leighton,	Joh.	*Bateman,	Joh.	Loxley,	Cath.	*Palin,	Trin.
Humble,	Emm.	Sculthorpe,	Joh.	Reynolds,	Qu.	Thomson,	Jesus
Smith,	Trin.	Garden,	Pet.	Bateman,	Corp.	Sloane,	Trin.
*Irwin,	Qu.	Reeve,	Trin.	Owen,	Joh.	Caley,	Joh.
Hubbard,	Trin.	Meadows,	Corp.	*Owen,	Qu.	Ley,	Qu.
Maddock,	Cath.	Rashdall,	Corp.	Braune,	Sid.	*Onslow,	Trin.
Murray,	Sidney	Williams,	Emm.	Barlow,	Jesus	*Jones, F.J.W.	Joh.
Calthrop,	Joh.	Ventris,	Joh.	Pearce,	Qu.	Worsley,	Magd.
Jenkyns,	Clare,	Allen,	Trin.	Delap,	Trin.	Wright,	Trin.
Forster,	Corpus	*Batchellor,	Trin.	Platten,	Caius		
Metcalf,	Joh.	Kent,	Clare	*Pugh,	Cath.		
Downes,	Chr.	Price,	Qu.	*Andrews,	Trin.	Bennett,	Corpus
Staveley,	Cath.	Greenslade,	Trin.	Hurt,	Jesus	Bush,	Pemb.
Turner,	Joh.	*Baillie,	Trin.	*Reevor,	Pem.	*Gregory,	Trin.
Simpson,	Joh.	Hall,	Joh.	Birch,	Joh.	*Hughes,	Joh.
Lindsay, Ld.	Trin.	Hornby,	Joh.	English,	Trin.	Knipe,	Qu.
Carlyon,	Clare	Booty,	Trin.	Marriott,	Sid.	Mackinnon,	Joh.
*Mytton,	Jesus	*Yorke,	Qu.	Stawell,	Pet.	Mellersh,	Joh.
Rolfe,	Caius	King, Hon.P.	Trin.	Tomlinson,	Joh.	Parker,	Joh.
*Roberts,	Cath.	*Skelton,	Pet.	Scurfield,	Joh.	Wood,	Trin.

Ægrotat.—Keeling, Joh.

## COMBINATION PAPER, 1833.

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 13. Mr. Clark, Regin.  
 20. Mr. Calthrop, Corp.  
 27. Mr. Palmer, Jes.  
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 Mar. 3. Mr. Simons, Regin.  
 10. Mr. Burton, Clar.  
 17. Mr. Crick, Jes.  
 24. Coll. Regal.  
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 Apr. 7. FEST. PASCH.  
 14. Mr. Berry, Pet.  
 21. Mr. Chinnery, Reg.  
 28. Mr. Dallin, Corp.  
 Mai. 5. Mr. Bawtrey, Jes.  
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 Jun. 2. Mr. Gage, Magd.  
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 20. Mr. Collins, Joh.  
 25. CONVER. ST. PAUL. Mr. Bate-  
 man, Joh.  
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 Feb. 2. FEST. PURIF. Mr. Evans, Regal.  
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 Jun. 2. Mr. Berry, Pet.  
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*Resp. in Theolog.**Oppon.*

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Mr. Reynolds, Trin.	{ Mr. Birch, Cath.
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	{ Coll. Trin.
	{ Coll. Joh.

Resp. in Jur. Civ.	Oppon.
Mr. Godfrey, Joh.	{ Mr. Chabot, Joh.
	{ Mr. Dagmore, Cai.
Resp. in Medic.	Oppon.
Mr. Cory, Cai. . . . .	{ Mr. Wollaston, Cai.
	{ Mr. Thorp, Cai.

GRACES.

Feb. 5.

This day the following Graces passed the Senate:—

That the sum of two hundred pounds be granted from the University chest, in aid of the funds for the relief of the distressed Clergy.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ainslie, Mr. Whewell, Mr. Miller, Mr. Croft, and Mr. Archdall a Syndicate to consider what alterations should be made in the iron fence of the Senate House Yard, and to report before the end of this Term.

That the Professor of Chemistry have the use of the large Lecture Room in the Botanic Garden, formerly appropriated to the Jacksonian and Botanical Professors, at such times as it may not be wanted by the said Professors.

That the Regius Professor of Physic have the use of the new Anatomical Lecture Room, at such times as it may not be wanted by the Professor of Anatomy.

That the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Graham, Professor Musgrave, Mr. Black, and Mr. Hodgson of St. Peter's College, be a Syndicate to determine what allowance shall be made to the tenants at Burwell and Barton from their last year's rents, in consequence of the low price of corn.

Feb. 20.

The following Graces passed the Senate:—

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. French, Dr. Geldart, Dr. Haviland, Mr. Tatham, Mr. Peacock, Mr. Weller, Mr. Ash, Mr. Bowstead, Mr. Hanson, and Mr. Barrick, a Syndicate, to consider

of what standing Candidates for the degree of B.A. ought to be before they are allowed to be examined for that degree, and also to consider for what period after examination the certificate of approval signed by the Examiners shall remain in force, and to report thereupon to the Senate.

To allow the Rev. William Shepherd to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity without reference to the time of his matriculation.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

Feb. 23.

EXAMINERS.

John Gibson, M.A. Sidney Sussex Coll.  
William Martin, M.A. St. John's Coll.  
Wm. Aldwin Soames, M.A. Trin. Coll.  
Frederick Field, M.A. Trin. Coll.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds.	Ds.
Bunbury, Trin.	Barnes, Trin. } &
Hildyard, Chri.	Whittaker, Qn's } &
Francis, St. John's	Bury, St. John's
Walford, Trin.	Begbie, Pemb.
Wilson, St. John's	Lydekker, Trin.
	Kempe, Clare Hall.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds.	Ds.
Tate, Emman.	Taylor, St. John's
North, Trin.	Chambers, St. John's
Inman, St. John's	Stockdale, Trin.
Smith, St. Peter's	Raikes, Corpus
Nicholson, Chri.	Fowler, Trin.
Howlett, St. John's	Jones, Queen's
Brown, Trin.	Roots, Jesus

THIRD CLASS.

Ds.	Ds.
Evans, Qn's } &	Fawcett, Mag. } &
Jacob, Em. } &	Andras, St. Joh. } &
Dasantoy, St. John's	Sale, St. John's
Rose, Clare Hall	Couchman, Clare Hall
Huxtable, Trin.	Langdon, St. John's
Alford, Vis. Magd.	Barker, St. John's

ELECTIONS.

The Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, has been chosen to the office of Christian Advocate in the room of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, resigned.

The Rev. Henry John Rose, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, has been elected Hulsean Lecturer, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. J. J. Blunt, D.D.

Jan. 27.

The Rev. William Jones, B.D. Fellow

of St. John's College, was elected Lady Margaret's Preacher.

Herbert Jenner, Esq. LL.B. of Trinity Hall, eldest son of Sir Herbert Jenner, the King's Advocate-General, has been elected a Fellow of that Society.

*Feb. 12.*

Joseph Bowstead, Esq. B.A. of Pembroke College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

*Feb. 14.*

Mr. C. H. Grove, of Pembroke College, was elected a Travelling Bachelor on Mr. Worts's foundation.

*Feb. 23.*

Thomas Kynaston Selwyn.

*Jan. 26.*

At the examination at St. John's, the first classes of the second and third year were arranged in the following order:—

#### SECOND YEAR.

H. Cotteril.	Lambert.	
Sylvester.	Tillard,	} <i>æq.</i>
Scudamore.	Gibbons,	
Drake.	Waltham.	
Bateson.	Legrew,	} <i>æq.</i>
Ireland.	Laing,	
Morris.	Hutchinson,	
H. W. Smith.	Hilditch.	

#### THIRD YEAR.

Bullock.		Rolfe.
Hey.		Low.
Bryer.		White.
Trentham.		Coutes.
Giles,	} æq.	Nevin.
J. Wood,		

### PRIZES.

#### CHANCELLOR'S MEDALLISTS.

The Chancellor's gold medals for the two best proficient in classical learning among the commencing Bachelors of Arts, were adjudged to Edward Herbert Bunbury, of Trinity College, and James Hildyard, of Christ's College.

#### DR. SMITH'S PRIZES.

The late Dr. Smith's annual prizes of £25 each were adjudged to Alexander Ellice, of Caius, and Joseph Bowstead, of Pembroke, the first and second Wranglers.

#### SEATONIAN PRIZE POEM.

Subject for the present year is—"St. Paul at Philippi."

#### HULSEAN PRIZE SUBJECT.

A premium, exceeding £100, will be given this year for the best dissertation on the following subject—"What were the opinions of the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome, respecting the nature and attributes of the Deity; and how far did they differ from the revealed Word of God?"

### IRELAND.

The four Irish representative Prelates for the present Session of Parliament are, the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Whately), the Bishop of Ossory (Dr. Fowler), the Bishop of Killaloe (Dr. Verschoyle), and the Bishop of Clonfert (Dr. Butson).

### UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Mr. Forbes has been appointed by the Town Council Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University.

#### *Errata in the preceding Number in the Oxford University Proceedings.*

Page 252, for Osnam, read Oxnam.

for Gardner, read Cardew.

for Harrison, William, Balliol College, read Harrison, William, Brasenose College.

for Hinkman, read Hinxman.

for Hooper, read Hooker.

for Pulteney, Richard, Balliol College, read Pulteney, Richard T. P., Trinity College.

for Uniacke, Richard, St. Mary Hall, read Uniacke, Richard J., St. Alban Hall.

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